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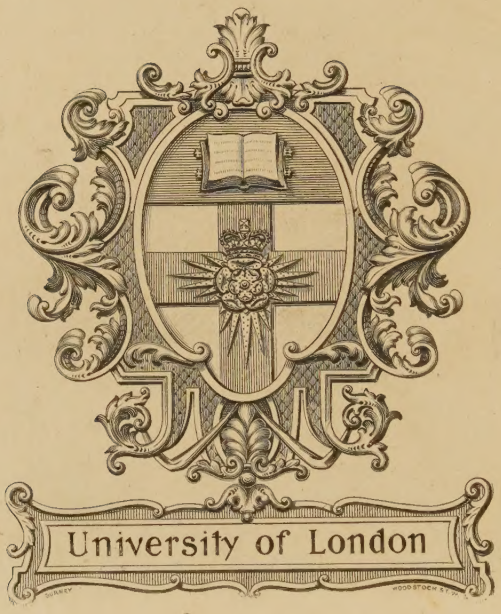

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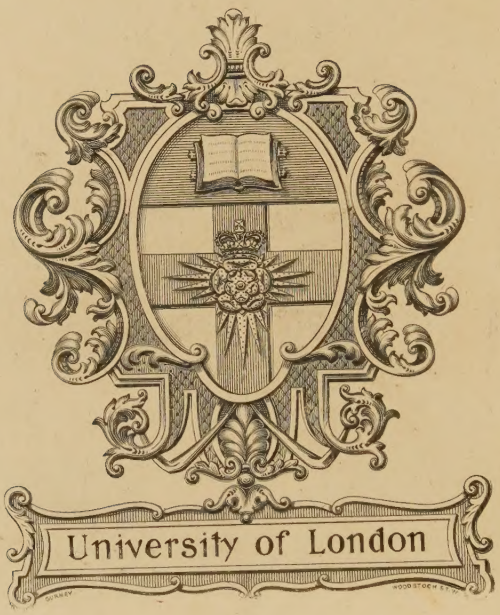

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WILLIAM IV.

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TO

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To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "while ready to consider the question of a reform in the Government of London, this House declines to assent to a proposal by which the control over the levying and expenditure of rates would be vested in one central body to the practical extinction of the local self-government of the various cities and boroughs of the Metropolis,"—(*Mr. Ritchie,*)—instead thereof.

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[1.30.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 9.

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PARLIAMENT—RULES AND ORDERS OF THE HOUSE—PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION—NEW STANDING ORDER, TO FOLLOW STANDING ORDER, No. 133—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [21st May],

"That where a Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or other similar body, sufficiently representing a particular trade or business in any district to which any Railway Bill relates, petition against the Bill, alleging that such trade or business will be injuriously affected by the rates and fares proposed to be authorised by the Bill, or is injuriously affected by the rates and fares already authorised by Acts relating to the Railway undertaking, it shall be competent to the Referees on Private Bills, if they think fit, to admit the Petitioners to be heard, on such allegation, against the Bill, or any part thereof, or against the rates and fares authorised by the said Acts, or any of them: The provisions of this Order relative to rates and fares already authorised, extend to Traders and Freighters, and to a single Trader, in any case where a locus standi would have been allowed to them or him, if this Order had not been made: Nothing in this Order shall authorise the Referees to entertain any question within the jurisdiction of the Railway Commissioners,"—(*Mr. B. Samuelson.*)

And which Amendment was,

To leave out all the words after the first word "where," to the end of the Question, in order to insert the words "an application is made by a Railway Undertaking for Parliamentary powers, attention shall be directed by the Board of Trade to the proposed, and, in the case of an existing Company, to the existing rates or fares, with a view to their consideration by the Committee; and that persons affected by such rates or fares shall have a 'Locus Standi' before such Committee,"—(*Mr. Laing,*)—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed*.. 578

After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

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PARLIAMENT—RULES AND ORDERS OF THE HOUSE, &c.—*continued.*

Main Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 94, Noes 84; Majority 10.—(Div. List, No. 155.)

Resolved, That the said Resolution be a Standing Order of the House.

PARLIAMENT—SANITARY CONDITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—Observations, Mr. J. Lowther; Reply, Mr. Speaker; Observations, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Courtney 634

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Trees Planting (Ireland) Bill [Bill 32]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Harrington*) .. 635

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday.*

Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) Bill [Bill 40]—

Order for Second Reading read 646

After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, Further Proceeding stood adjourned till *To-morrow.*

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND)—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed 'To inquire into the working of recent legislation with reference to cottages and plots of land for agricultural labourers in Ireland; and to Report whether it has been established that any amendments of such legislation are at present necessary: That the Committee do consist of Twenty-one Members,'"—(*Mr. Trevelyan:*)—Motion *agreed to*:—List of the Committee .. 648

[5.55.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 10.

Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill (No. 168)—

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read 649

Moved, "That the Order made on the 21st day of March last 'That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a second time after Friday the 27th day of June next,' be dispensed with, and that the Bill be read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President.*)

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed:* The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

Secretary for Scotland Bill (No. 157)—

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read 656

Moved, "That the said Order be discharged,"—(*The Earl of Dalhousie:*)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Order *discharged* accordingly.

Moved, "That the Bill (by leave of the House) be withdrawn,"—(*The Earl of Dalhousie:*)—After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *withdrawn* accordingly.

Women's Suffrage Bill (No. 176)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Denman*) .. 653

On Question? *resolved* in the *negative.*

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Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill (No. 177)—
Order of the Day for the Second Reading read 654
After short debate, Order *discharged*:—Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

NAVY (BOILERS)—MOTION FOR RETURNS—
Moved for, "Returns of fighting and sea-going ships of the Royal Navy, specifying also the state of forwardness (1) of ships now building; (2) of those under repair; (3) the condition of the boilers of ships in commission; (4) the draught of water of each ship known and estimated when all her weights are on board; and for a Return of the new boilers now in store in Her Majesty's Dockyards, and of boilers in a state of preparation,"—(*The Viscount Sidmouth*) 655
After short debate, Motion amended, and *agreed to.*

Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Marquess of Huntly*); read 1ª (No. 184) 665

[6.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 10.

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Parliament—Public Business—Representation of the People Bill—Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone 692

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir Stafford Northcote:*) —After long debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £31,846, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the House of Lords" .. 758

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £30,846, be granted, &c."—(*Mr. Rylands:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 775

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £30,846, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—*continued.*

will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the House of Lords,"—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 33, Noes 138; Majority 105.—(Div. List, No. 156.)

Original Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 146, Noes 23; Majority 123.—(Div. List. No. 157.)

(2.) £36,388, to complete the sum for the House of Commons Offices.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 776

(3.) £39,609, to complete the sum for the Treasury.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 785

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

Personal Estates (Scotland) Bill [Bill 262]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Cochran-Patrick*) 787

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

Yorkshire Registries (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 264]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 788

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Oyster Cultivation (Ireland) Bill [Bill 43]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Blake*) .. 792

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Manx Children) Bill—

Motion for Leave (*Mr. Hibbert*) 792

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill for enabling Manx Children to be sent to Reformatory or Industrial Schools in Great Britain, *ordered* (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 280.]

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND)—

Moved, "That the Select Committee on Agricultural Labourers (Ireland) consist of Twenty-two Members,"—(*Mr. Sexton*) 793

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Trusts (Scotland) Bill—*Ordered* (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 279] 795

[2.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 11.

Building Societies Acts Amendment Bill—

Bill to amend the Building Societies Act, 1874—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*); read 1ª (No. 188) 795

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—STATEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE ON JULY 10—Personal Explanation, The Marquess of Salisbury:—Short debate thereon 796

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[6.15.]

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Moved, "That the Standing Orders be suspended, and that leave be given to bring in a Bill to authorise the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company to raise further money by Debentures; and that Mr. Norwood, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Colonel Smith do prepare and bring it in,"—(*Mr. Dodds*) .. 816

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Standing Orders be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the first time,—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Bill read the first time.

Ordered, That Standing Order 62. be suspended, and that the Bill be ordered to be read a second time,—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Bill *referred* to a Select Committee.

QUESTIONS.

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

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After short debate, Petition ordered to lie on the Table.

Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment Bill (No. 152)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee on the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) 885
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly.
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow*; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 191.)

Bishopric of Bristol Bill (No. 181)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*) 890
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next. [6.45.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 14.

MOTION.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 8) Bill
Ordered (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 283] 892

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—o—

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Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time," — (*Sir Charles Forster*) 893
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MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SETTING UP OF SUPPLY—MOTION—

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After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £63,113, to complete the sum for the Home Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 944

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £46,474, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs" 945

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £45,474, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett:*)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 19, Noes 109; Majority 90.—(Div. List, No. 158.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £27,411, to complete the sum for the Colonial Office.

(4.) £33,309, to complete the sum for the Privy Council Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 965

(5.) £555, to complete the sum for the Privy Seal Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 973

(6.) £79,033, to complete the sum for the Board of Trade.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 973

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,677, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for meeting the Deficiency of Income from Fees, &c. for the requirements of the Board of Trade, under 'The Bankruptcy Act, 1883'" 1027

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,177, be granted, &c."—(*Mr. William Fowler:*)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 58, Noes 80; Majority 22.—(Div. List. No. 159.)

Original Question again proposed 1051

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £22,811, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission for England and Wales" 1054

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

East Indian Unclaimed Stocks Bill [Bill 269]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) .. 1054

After short debate, Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

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Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill [Bill 244]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) .. 1055
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*:)—After further short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

PRISONS (IRELAND) [EXPENSES]—
Considered in Committee 1061
Resolution *agreed to*; to be reported *To-morrow*.

Infants Bill [Bill 14]—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Bryce*) 1061
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. A. F. Egerton*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.
Original Question again proposed 1063
After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday*.

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill [Bill 22]—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 1064
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee
After some time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland) Bill [Bill 37]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Blake*) .. 1076
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Gibson*:)—Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 24, Noes 37; Majority 13.—(Div. List, No. 191.)
Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)
Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.
Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time.
Moved, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878 (Districts) Bill
Bill *considered* in Committee 1081
Bill *reported*: as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next, and to be *printed*. [Bill 284.]

Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) Bill [Bill 40]—
Order for Second Reading read 1082
[House counted out.] [4.0.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 15.

Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill (No. 179)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Kimberley*) .. 1082
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

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REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, Earl Granville; Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley 1084

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS—RESOLUTION—

Moved, That the following clause be added to all Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Orders:—

"No capital authorised by this Act shall become guaranteed capital until it has been certified by the Board of Trade to have been expended on the undertaking: Provided, that the Board of Trade shall not give any less certificate than for a sum of £10,000 (where the capital is over £100,000, or £5,000 where it is under that sum); and the Board of Trade shall not give their final certificate in respect of any such capital until twelve months after the opening of the line for traffic, when, being satisfied that the line has been duly completed and is in working order, they may issue a certificate for the balance of capital authorised by the Act,"—(*The Lord Inchiquin*) .. 1088

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

THE SUEZ CANAL—SANITARY STATE—Question, Lord Lamington; Answer, Earl Granville 1094

[5.45.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 15.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway (Chester to Connah's Quay) Bill (by Order)—

Lords Amendments *considered* and *agreed to* 1096

Edinburgh Northern Tramways Bill—

Lords Amendments *considered* 1096

Some *agreed to*; some *disagreed to*.

Committee *appointed*, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to The Lords for disagreeing with certain of the Amendments to which this House hath disagreed:"—List of the Committee 1107

QUESTIONS.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—TEELIN PIER—Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1107

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—SUNDAY DELIVERY OF LETTERS—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1109

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION AT CUMBERNAULD—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1109

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Brodrick; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1110

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—MONAGHAN—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1110

MOROCCO—FRAUDULENT CLAIMS OF ENGLISH SUBJECTS AGAINST NATIVES—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1111

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATH OF MICHAEL WATTERS, OF CROSSMAGLEN, IN MOUNTJOY PRISON—THE PAPERS—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1111

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC—THE TRANSVAAL AND ZULULAND—APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSIONER—Questions, Sir William M'Arthur, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. A. Pease, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1111

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—THE CHOLERA—Questions, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1114

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LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE NATIONALIST MEETING AT NEWRY—USE OF FIREARMS—TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1115

SALMON FISHERIES (IRELAND)—POLICE SURVEILLANCE—Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1116

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF ROMAN CATHOLICS—Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. J. Lowther; [No reply] 1116

LAW AND POLICE—THE CLEATOR MOOR RIOTS, CUMBERLAND—Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dawson, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Gorst, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Gray; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 1118

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL—Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1126

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—WASTE LANDS AFFORESTATION (IRELAND) BILL—Question, Dr. Lyons; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 1127

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE—THE FINANCIAL PROPOSALS—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1127

INDIA (MADRAS)—THE CHOLERA—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1128

MOTIONS.

—o—

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—PRIORITY OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE (RULE 7)—MOTION—

Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Government Orders have priority on Wednesday,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) 1129

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—SUPPLY—STANDING ORDER OF NOVEMBER 27, 1882—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply, on Monday or Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. 1132

After short debate, Amendment proposed, after the word "That," to insert the words "in view of an Autumn Session,"—(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After further short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 185, Noes 46; Majority 139.—(Div. List, No. 162.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—NAVY ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £1,573,600, Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 1137

(2.) £70,900, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(3.) £66,400, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1215

(4.) £21,700, Marine Divisions.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1216

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,124,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Naval Stores for Building, Repairing, and Outfitting the Fleet and Coast Guard, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" .. 1216

After short debate, Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £1,040,000, Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1226

(7.) £151,700, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1227

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SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £62,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Medicines, Medical Stores, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" 1237

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Pulestun :*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow ;* Committee report Progress ; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Newcastle Chapter Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 281]—

Order for Committee read 1239

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*, without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed.*

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill [Bill 22]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 14th July*] 1239

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported ;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday*, and to be *printed.* [Bill 286.]

County Courts (Ireland) (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 258]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 7th July*] 1250

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress ; to sit again upon *Friday.*

MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) [SALARIES]—

Considered in Committee 1252

Resolution *agreed to ;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

Education (Scotland) Provisional Order Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Mundella, The Lord Advocate*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 285] 1252

Prosecution of Offences Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Hibbert*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 287] 1253

Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Gray, Mr. Biggar, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. O'Shea, Dr. Cameron*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 289] 1253

Irish Land Commissioner (Continuance) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 290] 1253

Teachers' Residences (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Colonel Colthurst, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Moore, Mr. Thomas Dickson*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 288] .. 1253

[2.15.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 16.

QUESTION.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Question, Mr. J. Lowther; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1254

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £21,762, to complete the sum for the Civil Service Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1255
(2.) £39,338, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and Audit Department.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1259
(3.) £5,592, to complete the sum for Friendly Societies Registry.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1260
(4.) £15,936, to complete the sum for the Land Commissioners for England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1271
(5.) £340,757, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1278
(6.) £10,052, to complete the sum for Lunacy Commission, England.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1306
(7.) £44,307, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1316
(8.) £10,557, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.
(9.) £23,178, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.
(10.) £18,003, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.
(11.) £6,578, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.
(12.) £14,378, to complete the sum for the Record Office.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1322
(13.) £35,012, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.
(14.) £361,200, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1326

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

—o—

Magistrates (Ireland) Salaries Bill—Resolution [July 15] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 292] 1334

Prisons Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 293] 1334

Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 294] 1334

[5.55.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 17.

Representation of the People Bill—Resolution—

Moved to resolve—

"That this House is prepared to proceed now with the consideration of the Representation of the People Bill, on the understanding that an humble Address shall be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying Her Majesty to summon Parliament to assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible,"—(*The Earl of Wemyss*) 1334

Amendment *moved*,

To leave out all the words after ("is") and insert ("of opinion that it would be desirable that Parliament should assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Representation of the People Bill, already presented to Parliament, in conjunction with the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible,")—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

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REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—RESOLUTION—*continued.*

After debate, on question, "Whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand part of the motion?" their Lordships *divided:* Contents 132, Not-Contents 182; Majority 50.

Division List, Contents and Not-Contents 1377

Resolved in the *negative*:—Amendment *agreed to.* [7.30.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 17.

QUESTIONS.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CORK UNION WORKHOUSE—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1380

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BALLYCASTLE UNION—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1382

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OVER-PRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1384

IRELAND—COUNTY DOWN—MR. HENRY SMYTH, COUNTY SURVEYOR—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1384

EDUCATION ACTS—LOANS FOR SCHOOL HOUSES—POWER OF TOWN COUNCILS TO BORROW—Question, Mr. Jackson; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1385

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—CONTINUANCE OF APPOINTMENT—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [No reply] 1385

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—GARRY-KENNEDY HARBOUR—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1386

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CROSSMAGLEN PRISONERS—MAJOR BLAIR—Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1386

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—MR. BUTCHER, A COMMISSIONER TO ADMINISTER OATHS—Questions, Mr. Warton; Answers, The Attorney General .. 1387

SCOTLAND—THE WESTERN ISLANDS—CIRCULATION OF INFLAMMATORY PUBLICATIONS—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate .. 1388

SCOTLAND—THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION—CASE OF DONALD COLQUHOUN—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate .. 1389

MINERAL LEASES—FINES FOR TRANSFERENCE—Question, Mr. Rolls; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1390

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS—SITES FOR CHURCHES—Question, Sir Matthew White Ridley; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley 1391

POST OFFICE—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Villiers Stuart, Mr. Harrington, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Fawcett 1391

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN MONMOUTHSHIRE—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1394

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—ENNISCRONE PIER, CO. SLIGO—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1394

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—COLONEL DIGBY, J.P.—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Questions, Mr. Healy, Colonel King-Harman; [No replies] 1395

IRELAND—CORK CITY POLICE FORCE—Questions, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1396

IRELAND—SCIENCE AND ART MUSEUM, DUBLIN—Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1397

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) ACT—BONA FIDE TRAVELLERS—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1398

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF JUSTICES OF THE PEACE—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. O'Brien; [No reply] 1399

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LANDED ESTATES COURT (ORDERS)—Question, Mr. John Redmond; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1401

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) — CHOLERA HOSPITALS — Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1401

EGYPT—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD—TERM OF SERVICE AND SALARY—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1402

BURGH POLICE AND HEALTH (SCOTLAND) BILL—BURGHS OF BARONY—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, The Lord Advocate .. 1402

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EGYPT (ARMY OF OCCUPATION)—Questions, Mr. Chaplin, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gourley; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1405

LAW AND JUSTICE—SENTENCE ON FRANK STOCKMELL, AN INFANT—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1407

INDIA—THE SALT TAX—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1407

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENTS TO SURVEYORS' CLERKSHIPS—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1408

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—WATERWORKS ACT AMENDMENT BILL—Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1408

ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—THE MONCRIEFF GUN—Questions, Sir John Hay, Colonel King-Harman; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington.. 1409

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—POLLUTION OF THE RIVER LEA—Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt 1409

LAW AND POLICE—THE CLEATOR MOOR RIOTS, CUMBERLAND—Questions, Mr. Synan, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Healy, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir William Harcourt 1410

INDIA—THE SALT TAX—SALT AS A REMEDY FOR CHOLERA—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1413

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—REMOVAL OF PAUPERS—LISMORE BOARD OF GUARDIANS—Question, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [No reply] 1413

EGYPT—ABYSSINIA AND THE SOUDAN—Questions, Mr. Guy Dawnay, Mr. M'Coan; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1414

THAMES CROSSINGS—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE—Question, Mr. Arthur Cohen; Answer, Sir Hussey Vivian 1415

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF JAMES ELLIS FRENCH, EX-DETECTIVE DIRECTOR OF POLICE—Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1416

DIVIDED PARISHES ACT, 1876—REGISTRATION OF VOTERS—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. George Russell 1417

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PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL (WEST FRONT)—DR. PEARSON'S REPORT—PROPOSED APPENDIX—Question, Dr. Lyons; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1418

IRELAND—CONTEMPLATED TRANSFER OF CUSTOMS WAREHOUSES—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1418

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PARLIAMENT—RULES OF PROCEDURE—LEGISLATION—Questions, Mr. Monk, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1420

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE—PROROGATION OF THIS HOUSE—Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 1420

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CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—THE ZULU VOTE—Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1423

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Question, Mr. J. Lowther; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1424

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(1.) £315,413, to complete the sum for Public Education, Scotland.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 1425

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £22,811, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission of England and Wales" 1483

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £17,811, be granted, &c."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings*:)—After long debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £16,340, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments" 1537

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Viscount Lymington*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 33, Noes 111; Majority 78.—(Div. List, No. 164.)

Original Question again proposed 1539

After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £15,140, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Cheetham*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [16th July] *reported.*

First Four Resolutions *agreed to.*

Fifth Resolution read a second time:—*Moved*, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution" 1557

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 78, Noes 27; Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 165.)

The next Six Resolutions *agreed to.*

Twelfth Resolution read a second time 1559

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Thirteenth Resolution *agreed to.*

Fourteenth Resolution read a second time:—After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Dean Forest and Hundred of Saint Briavels Bill [Bill 184]—

Moved, "That the Order for the Second Reading of the said Bill be discharged,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) 1560

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *withdrawn.*

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill [Bill 286]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1560

After debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

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Considered in Committee 1579
Resolutions *agreed to*; to be reported *To-morrow*. [3.45.

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 18.

Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill—
Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments 1580
After short debate, Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL HOURS — COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE — Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, Lord Carlingford 1583

MALTA—CIVIL SERVICE, NAVAL, AND MILITARY EXAMINATIONS—ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AFFAIRS—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Papers and for Correspondence which has taken place during the last few years with reference to the question of making Malta a centre for civil service, naval, and military examinations,"—(*The Earl De La Warr*) 1584
After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) Bill (No. 155)—
Moved, "That this House do now resolve itself into a Committee on the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) 1587
Motion *agreed to*; House in Committee accordingly.
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 202.)

Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Presidemt*) .. 1589
Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months")—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)
After short debate, on Question, "That ('now') stand part of the Motion?"—*Resolved* in the *affirmative*.
Bill read 2ª accordingly; and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next. [6.30.

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 18.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Money) Bill—
Nomination of Select Committee postponed 1596

QUESTIONS.

ARMY QUARTERMASTERS—INCREASE OF PAY—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1597
POOR LAW (IRELAND) — ELECTION OF GUARDIANS — CARMEEN DIVISION, COOTEHILL—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1598
IRISH LAND COMMISSION—FOOTPATHS—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1599
BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—CASE OF WILLIAM HURSON—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1599

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Poor Law (Ireland)—Donegal Workhouse—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1600
Merchant Shipping — Uniform System of Buoyage — Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain 1601
The Public Offices—Designs for the New Admiralty and War Office —Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre 1602
Orange Meetings (Ireland)—Military and Constabulary Pensioners—Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Healy; [No reply] 1602
Public Health (Ireland)—Killarney Waterworks—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1603
Navy—H.M.S. "Polyphemus"—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1603
Education Department—Obligations of School Boards to Furnish School Accommodation—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella 1604
Law and Justice—The New Assize Arrangement—Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General, Mr. Speaker .. 1604
Ireland—The 12th of July Meeting at Newry—Questions, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1605
Public Health—Portable Hospitals—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1606
Public Health (Metropolis)—Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Board—Questions, Sir Andrew Lusk, Viscount Folkestone; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1607
Egypt—The Conference—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1609
The Civil Service — Lower Division Clerks — Question, Mr. Ion Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Courtney 1609
National Education (Ireland)—Teachers in Convent National Schools —The Grant—Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1609
Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero"—Questions, Mr. Storey, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1610
Privilege—Access to this House—The Reform Demonstration—Questions, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answers, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Gladstone .. 1612
Public Health—Importation of Rags from Marseilles—Questions, Mr. G. W. Elliot, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Observations, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1612
Egypt (The Soudan)—The Army of Occupation—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1614
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—General Gordon—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Observations, The Marquess of Hartington 1615
Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill—Questions, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1616
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—King John of Abyssinia—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1616

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Supply—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

East Indian Medical Service—Resolution—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the condition of the East Indian Medical Service calls for the early attention

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SUPPLY—Order for Committee read—*continued.*

of Her Majesty's Government, and this House trusts that steps will soon be taken to lessen the block in promotion and the disappointment at the methods of employment and pay which exist in its ranks,"—(*Mr. Gibson,*)—instead thereof .. 1617

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

MERCANTILE MARINE—SHIPPING LEGISLATION—Observations, Mr. Mac Iver; Reply, Mr. Chamberlain 1641

IRELAND — LIMERICK CITY (EXTRA POLICE TAX)—Observations, Mr. Parnell 1650

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor:*)—Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 55, Noes 17; Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 168.)

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £32,134, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings" 1690

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Sexton:*)—After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 21, Noes 50; Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 169.)

Original Question again proposed 1694

Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Warton:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1695

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Warton:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1698

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £25,000, Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid).

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Prisons Bill [Bill 293]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) .. 1703

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Healy:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill [Bill 278]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Courtney*) .. 1704

Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

VENTILATION OF THE HOUSE—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed 'to inquire into the Ventilation of the House,'"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) 1705

After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—List of the Committee .. 1705

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Post Office Protection Bill [*Lords*]—
Bill read a first time 1705
After short debate, Bill to be read a second time upon *Tuesday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 297.]

Public Works Loans Bill—Resolutions [July 17] *reported*, and *agreed to* :—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 299] 1706

Revenue, &c. Bill—*Considered* in Committee :—Resolution *reported* :—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 300] .. 1706

[1.45.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 21.

India (Bengal) Court Fees Bill, 1881—Case of Louis Ramay—Question, Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley 1707

Ordnance Survey—The Maps for Anglesea and Carnarvonshire—Question, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Answer, The Earl of Cork .. 1708

Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill (No. 179)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committtee on the said Bill,"—(*The Earl of Kimberley*) 1709
Motion *agreed to* :—House in Committee accordingly.
Bill *reported*, without Amendment; and to be read 3ª *To-morrow.*

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease—Question, Observations, Lord Henniker, Lord Belper; Reply, Lord Carlingford 1710

Yorkshire Registries Bill (No. 192)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Wenlock*) .. 1716
After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

[5.45.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 21.

QUESTIONS.

Industrial Schools (Ireland)—Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1722
Law and Justice (England and Wales)—Stipendiary Magistrate at Brighton—Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 1722
Egypt—Expenses—Supplementary Estimates—Question, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1723
Egypt—Torture, &c. in Egyptian Prisons—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1724
Navy (Health) Report, 1883—Operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts in Protected Ports—Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1724
Egypt—Loss of Life in War—Questions, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington 1725
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Volunteer Hospital Corps—Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1726
Royal Irish Constabulary—The Constabulary Depôt, Phœnix Park—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1726

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INLAND REVENUE OFFICERS—PROMOTION—Questions, Mr. Deasy; Answers, Mr. Courtney 1727
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—BALTINGLASS UNION—Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1728
POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POSTMASTER AT KILMORE, Co. ROSCOMMON—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1729
EGYPT—THE MUTINY AT ASSIOUT—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1729
STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO"—MAINTENANCE OF THE FAMILIES—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1729
LAW AND JUSTICE—FORGERY OF THE WILL OF THE LATE MR. JAMES WHALLEY—CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST CHARLES THOMAS—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Attorney General 1730
INDIA—THE CHOLERA—THE SALT TAX—Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1730
THE LUNACY COMMISSIONERS—THE REPORT—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Hibbert 1731
CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE BARBAVILLA CONSPIRACY CASE—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1732
PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA—Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan 1732
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, GREETHILL, Co. GALWAY—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1735
NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MR. J. G. FITZGERALD, DISTRICT INSPECTOR—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1736
EMIGRATION (IRELAND)—THE TUKE AND GASKELL COMMITTEE—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1737
POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE DUBLIN POST OFFICE—Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1738
PUBLIC HEALTH—THE CHOLERA—IMPORTATION OF RAGS—Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Monk; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1738
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES)—TEACHERS' PENSIONS—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1739
CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE TUBBERCURRY PRISONERS—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1740
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL ATTENDANCE—MEDICAL CERTIFICATES—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1740
STATE OF IRELAND—ORANGE PROCESSION, GLENARM, Co. ANTRIM—Questions, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. 1741
THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENTS TO THE COMMISSION OF THE PEACE—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan.. .. 1741
SCOTLAND—LEAD MINERS IN THE ISLE OF ISLAY—THE TRUCK ACT—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1742
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—COST OF ANNUAL CHANGE OF LOCATION—Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross 1742
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—TRIAL OF THE KILCROSS RIOTERS—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1743
EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Question, Sir Frederick Milner; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1744
EGYPT (ARMY OF OCCUPATION)—DRUNKENNESS—Question, Sir Frederick Milner; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 1744
PUBLIC HEALTH—STATE OF THE THAMES—Questions, Sir Frederick Milner, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke 1745
INDIA (NATIVE STATES)—NIZAM OF HYDERABAD—Questions, Mr. Gorst, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross 1746
EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—DR. SCHWEINFURTH'S REPORT—Questions, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. W. E. Forster, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice 1747

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POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE NEW POST OFFICE AT MULLINGAR—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Fawcett 1748
IRELAND—FREE FORCE OF THE CITY OF CORK—DISTRIBUTION UNDER 20 AND 21 VICT., CHAPTERS 17 AND 3—Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland 1748
ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — EXTRA POLICE (CORK) — Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan 1749
METROPOLITAN BUILDING ACT—THE NEW HOTEL, NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE —Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg .. 1750
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CROSSMAGLEN PRISONERS IN CHATHAM —Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. 1750
PARLIAMENT—CASUAL CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES—Questions, Mr. Warton, Mr. H. H. Fowler; Answers, Mr. Gladstone 1751
LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—THE REFORM DEMONSTRATION—ACCESS TO THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Mr. Speaker, Sir William Harcourt 1753
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL— Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1757
EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Notice of Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster 1758
LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE ROYAL ACADEMY—THE CHANTREY BEQUEST—Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. 1758
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE ZULU VOTE—Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1758
INDIA—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT—Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Gladstone 1759

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £17,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services" .. 1759
After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 117, Noes 19; Majority 98.—(Div. List, No. 170.)
(2.) £4,810, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and other Offices, Scotland.
(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £12,829, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland and for Grants in Aid of Piers or Quays" 1776
After short debate, Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £10,399, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Molloy :*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Original Question again proposed 1787
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*
(4.) £4,454, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, Scotland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1787
(5.) £4,277, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Scotland.
(6.) £23,518, to complete the sum for the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, and for Public Health, Scotland.
(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,429, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses" 1793
Motion made, and Question put, "That a sum, not exceeding £429, be granted, &c.," —(*Mr. Molloy :*)—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 13, Noes 67; Majority 54.—(Div. List, No. 171.)

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—*continued.*

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £4,600, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Barry :*)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(8.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £30,154, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments" 1800

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the item of £4,425, for the Salary of the Chief Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, be omitted from the proposed Vote," —(*Mr. O'Brien.*)

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Healy :*)—After further short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 24, Noes 143 ; Majority 119.—(Div. List, No. 172.)

Question again proposed, "That the Item of £4,425, for the Salary of the Chief Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, be omitted from the proposed Vote,"—(*Mr. O'Brien*) 1857

After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 18, Noes 126 ; Majority 108.—(Div. List, No. 173.)

Original Question again proposed 1878

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow ;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

Magistrates (Ireland) Salaries Bill [Bill 292]—

Order for Second Reading read 1895

After short debate, Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

Trusts (Scotland) Bill [Bill 279]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 15th July*] 1896

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported ;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Money) Bill—

Select Committee *nominated :*—List of the Committee 1898

[2.45.]

LORDS.

—o—

SAT FIRST.

MONDAY, JULY 7.

The Earl of Harrowby, after the death of his father.

TUESDAY, JULY 8.

The Earl of Chesterfield, after the death of his cousin.

THURSDAY, JULY 17.

The Lord Somers, after the death of his cousin.

HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

FIFTH SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-SECOND PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED TO MEET 29 APRIL, 1880, IN THE FORTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

SEVENTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1884.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 4th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) * (163); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) * (164); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) * (165); Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 14) * (166); Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 15) * (167); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 4) * (161); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 7) * (162); Indian Marine * (170); Post Office Protection (172); Educational Endowments (Ireland) (173).

Committee—Report—Fisheries (Oyster, Crab, and Lobster) Act (1877) Amendment * (135).

Report—Improvement of Lands (Ecclesiastical Benefices) * (131).

Third Reading—Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) * (151); Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings (Scotland) Provisional Order * (148); Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2) * (149); Newcastle Chapter * (130), and *passed.*

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

NOTICE OF QUESTION.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK gave Notice that when the noble Duke opposite asked Her Majesty's Government the Question which he understood he intended to put to them—namely, Whether they would undertake to introduce a Bill for the redistribution of seats at the first opportunity, and use their best endeavours so that it might come into operation before another General Election? he would ask a further Question of the Government to the following effect:—Whether, if Her Majesty's Government did undertake to introduce a Bill for the redistribution of seats on the first opportunity, it would not be open to them to abandon such Bill if important Amendments were inserted in the other House, or for any other reason, and to force an Election (supposing the Representation of the People Bill were passed this Session) under the extended franchise without any scheme for the redistribution of seats?

EGYPT (TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE)—THE VOTE OF CENSURE.—EXPLANATION.

EARL GRANVILLE: I have to apologize for troubling the House again with respect to the anecdote of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) on Tuesday last; but having rashly promised your Lordships that I would make further inquiries I think it right to mention the result. The noble Marquess said—

"I am told, on very good authority, that the two Gentlemen whose duty it is to marshal the forces of the Government were, during that division, at the door of the Lobby into which the Government and the Opposition went, and that, when asked by Liberal Members which way they were to go, instead of replying with enthusiasm, as might be expected, 'Of course, you are to follow Mr. Gladstone,' they immediately replied, 'The bulk of the Party is going the other way.'"—(3 *Hansard*, [289] 1777.)

Last night the noble Marquess said that he referred not to Lord Richard Grosvenor and Lord Kensington, but to Mr. Duff.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH: And Mr. Cotes.

EARL GRANVILLE: I have not the slightest objection to add Mr. Cotes. I stated yesterday that both Lord Kensington and Lord Richard Grosvenor had entirely denied the statement as far as they were concerned. I have now to say that Mr. Duff has written to me as follows:—

"When the Division took place on Monday I was sitting on the Cross Bench by the door, and was obliged to remain there on account of the rush of Liberal Members into the 'No' Lobby. No one appealed to me as to how they should vote; but several Members said in a laughing way—'You had better come with us.' I replied—'The Government go the other way.' From where I was sitting the spontaneous movement of the Party into the 'No' Lobby was so obvious that it would have been useless to interfere either way, and I never attempted to do so."

The noble Lord (Lord Ellenborough) has reminded me of Mr. Cotes; but Mr. Cotes says that he knows nothing of the matter, and that it is entirely without foundation so far as he is concerned. I have again to apologize for wasting your Lordships' time upon this subject; but I think your Lordships will concur with me in expressing a wish that this will not deter the noble Marquess for the future from enlivening our debates by well-placed anecdotes when they occur to him.

THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS—GRANADA, ST. VINCENT, TOBAGO, AND ST. LUCIA—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD BALFOUR, in rising to call attention to the Report of the Royal Commission on the islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago, and St. Lucia; and to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government intended to carry out any of the recommendations of the Commissioners in regard to the future government and internal administration of these islands? said, there was in the Report of the Commission ample justification for the course taken by the Government in appointing it. Those islands had been in the possession of the Crown of this country for a period of nearly 100 years. As their Lordships were aware, works were in progress for the construction of the Canal in the Isthmus of Panama, and this fact would show their Lordships that those islands were likely in the near future to become places of very much greater importance than they were at the present time. Those islands were distant from the Isthmus of Panama not more than 1,000, or, at the most, 1,200 miles. He thought there was also ample evidence in the Report to show that whatever the future intention of this country might be with respect to those islands we had not hitherto adequately discharged our obligations to the people who inhabited them. Considering the position of those islands, their fertility, and their natural resources, it was naturally to have been expected that something more would have been done for them, or, at least, that the people would have been encouraged to do something more for themselves, by the Colonial Office of this country, than seemed to have been the case. Nothing was more necessary for such countries, which depended largely upon the produce of the soil for their prosperity, than a good system of roads. He found from the Report of the Commission that the islands were very badly supplied with roads, and that their prosperity was greatly retarded in consequence of a want of complete arterial communication. In another place the Report, speaking more particularly of the Island of Grenada, pointed out that considerable sums of money had been spent on

the roads that existed; that the expenditure had not been very judicious; and that, considering the large sums of money spent on these roads during the past five years, their present condition was very disappointing. The Report also brought out very clearly the defect in the present system of administration. The first question which he wished to put to the Government was to ask what were their intentions, if they had formed any, as to carrying out the recommendations of the Report, and as to the confederation of those islands into one Colony. The Report brought out clearly that the administration was at present unnecessarily costly, and, he thought, not very efficient. This circumstance, he believed, largely arose from the fact that the administration was separate. If the islands were confederated, even if economy was not the result, a very considerable increase in efficiency would almost certainly ensue. The population of the islands was 141,000, and the sum paid in salaries and allowances to officials amounted to £50,889. St. Lucia had a population of 39,000 persons, and it spent £13,800 on salaries and allowances to officials; St. Vincent had a population of 41,000, and spent £13,000; and Grenada, with a population of £43,000, spent £17,000. The Report went on to say that if the present system of administration was continued no further economy was possible. At present, in each island, many different offices were held by the same person. For example, the Inspector of Schools and the Road Surveyor were one and the same person, and magistrates were liable to be called upon to act as Revenue officials. Any hope of reform in this matter must lie in the direction of confederating the islands, and putting the administration of the different islands under one responsible head, with the seat of the Government either at St. George's, in Grenada, or some other place that might be chosen. The size of the islands and the distances between them offered no obstacle to this proposal. The advantages of such a system were obvious. There would be a considerable saving of expenditure and a great increase in the efficiency of the administration. More capable men would be got for the discharge of the duties, while the duties themselves would be rendered more important. There would then be a justification for the separation of those islands from the administration of the Island of Barbadoes, a separation which, as far as he could learn, was ardently desired, because the interests of the Island of Barbadoes were, in some respects, not the same as those of the other islands. This would enable the Government of the four islands and the administration of justice, police, and schools to be united. He did not think there would be any very serious opposition made to this proposal. The Report showed that on several occasions efforts to unite the islands had been made with more or less success. Since 1876 he believed public opinion had advanced in this direction, and that any opposition would be likely to die out if a comprehensive scheme were prepared by the central Government. He desired to know whether the Government could see their way to carry out any such scheme as that recommended in the Report; and, if so, whether they would adopt some plan whereby those living in the islands might be permitted to elect some gentlemen to represent them on the Legislative Council? They would not ask for a large representation; but it was strongly urged that such representation would lead to a closer watch being kept on the expenditure, and to the general advantage of the administration. He also desired to know whether it would not be possible for the Government to offer any encouragement or advice with regard to a plan whereby a loan for road-making, harbour accommodation, and water supply might be carried out? A large part of the industry of these islands consisted in the growing of sugar, and a great deal of discussion had taken place on the subject of countervailing duties which might diminish the evil effects of the system of bounties which existed in other countries. He did not wish to enter into that subject now; but he might say that he had never been able to understand what were the real objections to endeavouring to put some import duty upon an article like sugar, when it was made the subject of bounties in other countries which were competing with us and our dependencies. It was the object of these countries to crush out the sugar trade of this country, so as to get a monopoly. If the Colonial plantations were allowed to go out of cultivation, and the

production of sugar were given up, it would take several years before the industry could revive, and people would hesitate to embark capital in an industry which had been destroyed by the action of other Governments, while our Government stood by without assisting it. So far as the islands mentioned in the Question were concerned, the mischief, he feared, had, except in the Island of St. Lucia, already been committed. In St. Lucia there was a considerable industry in the exportation of sugar, and he should be glad to hear that something would be done to prevent the sugar industry of that island being crushed out. He made no apology for bringing this matter forward. These islands were important possessions, and when the Isthmus of Panama was open they would become still more valuable. It would be a great pity if, through neglect on the part of the Home Government, and consequent disaffection on the part of the inhabitants, these islands were to pass into the hands of any other, and, perhaps, a hostile Power.

THE EARL OF POWIS said, he wished to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to a kindred question—the state of the islands in respect to the administration of justice. It was at once cumbrous and costly, and constructed upon the lines of the old Courts at Westminster Hall, and out of all proportion to the amount of business they had to transact. The smallness of the White population showed that the mass of business must be more suited to County Court procedure or to that of the Civil Bill Courts in Ireland. Many of the islands were inferior in population to the Isle of Wight. He hoped something might be done to diminish the burden of those Courts, and to render the administration of justice more ready and expeditious.

THE EARL OF DERBY said, his noble Friend who had just sat down had gone into the general question of the judicial establishment of the West Indies, which he had said was unnecessarily cumbrous and expensive. That, however, was not covered by the Question on the Paper, and as he had not looked into the matter of late he was not then prepared to express any definite opinion upon it. As to the general tenour of the noble Earl's remarks, it was always found, whatever might be done or attempted in the way of economy, that the administration of justice was more expensive, taking it per head of population, in a population which was divided into a number of small and scattered communities than in a population which was composed of a single community. For instance, though one Judge with £5,000 a-year might be able to satisfy the requirements of 1,000,000 of people living within a limited area, if the same population were divided into 20 or 30 small communities at a distance from one another they could not be adequately served at the same rate of expenditure. Moreover, wherever a judicial establishment was suppressed there would be a considerable amount of local prejudice and local jealousy; and if it happened by any chance that there were delays in the administration of justice, there would be a great outcry against the system, and a great demand that the community so dealt with should again have a separate judicial establishment for itself. With regard to the more specific Question raised by the noble Lord who put the Notice on the Paper, he agreed in the general tenour of his remarks as to the importance of this group of islands, though he did not go with him when he said that in consequence of the opening of the Panama Canal they would probably become of more vital importance than they were now. The difficulty which necessarily occurred in such cases as this was that they could not undertake small local works out of the Imperial funds, and that they could not put on any heavy local taxation. It might, no doubt, be said that the money required to carry out the recommendations of the noble Lord might be borrowed; but he did not think that it would be safe to go into a very large expense with borrowed money. In dealing with communities of this class it was necessary to be very cautious in the matter of loans. Their resources did not increase like those of Canada or Australia; and it was not for him to state how far the Government were prepared to go upon the Report of the Commissioners. It would be remembered that there was the group of four islands called the Windward Islands, and also a larger Island called Barbadoes; and, taken in importance as judged by population and revenue, Barbadoes was pretty nearly equal to the

other four put together. The recommendation of the Commissioners was that the four smaller islands should be separated from Barbadoes and united in themselves. On receiving that Report he thought it desirable at once to consult the Legislature of Barbadoes. They took up the idea very warmly, and they had undertaken, if this policy should be adopted, to provide an adequate salary for a separate Governor. That arrangement would, he hoped, effect considerable saving. In principle, the Government had decided upon accepting the policy of separation of the four small islands from Barbadoes; but the question of bringing the former into closer union with one another was a work more of detail, and not of so simple a character. He expected soon to have an opportunity of consulting with Sir William Robinson, and he did not think it desirable to go into a question of detail of that kind without having an opportunity of consulting with him and hearing his views upon the subject. Therefore, as far as that part of the Report was concerned, he should prefer to suspend his judgment. He had no hesitation in saying that the general policy sketched out in the Report was one which the Government considered worthy of adoption, and which they desired to carry into effect. It would undoubtedly lead to efficiency and economy. He was ready now to say that the Government were prepared to act upon the recommendations of the Commissioners if there were no insuperable local difficulty; but they could not act in such a matter without taking the opinions of the various local Legislatures concerned, and giving the people interested in the matter an opportunity of considering it.

The Earl of CARNARVON said, he was of opinion that what the noble Earl proposed to do was very reasonable and right. He could not lose that opportunity of bearing testimony to the successful result of the labours of the Commissioners, who had performed their task with singular care and accuracy, and had produced a very valuable Report. Their Report was valuable from the good temper and caution which they had displayed and the sound common sense which had characterized their recommendations. He wished to refer briefly to three points of very great importance—namely, the reconstitution of the Civil Service, the question of taxation upon food, and the burning question of immigration. With regard to the Civil Service generally, he thought it essential that a reduction of expenditure should be made; but he should be sorry to see reduction made in connection with the Medical Service or the Constabulary. We owed a certain duty to the large Negro population and the other ignorant and helpless inhabitants of the islands in question. It was our duty to see that they were provided with medical assistance. Then, with regard to the Constabulary, it should be borne in mind that we had withdrawn our troops from the islands, and that the Constabulary had since then performed their duties efficiently. He could not impress too strongly upon his noble Friend opposite the duty of paying attention to the prisons of the West Indies. In many cases their condition was not satisfactory, and the Report recommended the establishment of one central prison for all the islands. That recommendation seemed to him to be extremely wise. As to the question of taxing food, of course it was generally undesirable to levy taxes of that kind. But the amount of tax which the Commissioners proposed was very moderate, and would press very lightly upon the labouring classes. It must be remembered that if a tax was not levied upon food, the whole of that class would be absolutely free from taxation. Looking at all the circumstances, he agreed with the fairness of the proposal of the Commissioners upon this subject. He came next to the question of immigration. The islands, so fertile by nature, were in many parts uncultivated. The planter threw the blame for this upon the Negro, and the Negro threw the blame upon the planter. The Negro was certainly very indisposed to work if he could possibly avoid doing so. It had been said that a Negro who occupied an acre of land in the West Indies could, in one single month, provide sufficient food for himself and his family for a whole year, besides making a certain amount of money. Eleven months of the year were, consequently, given up to idleness. The Negro population was also said to be diminishing. In these circumstances, the planters were extremely anxious to obtain labour, and were ready to sub-

mit to considerable sacrifices in order to obtain it. There could be no doubt that immigration had been successful in British Guiana, Trinidad, and Mauritius. The desirability of further immigration was proved, and the only question to be settled was the very difficult question who should bear the expense, and in what proportion. The recommendation of the Commissioners on this point appeared to him to be a very fair one. He was of opinion that in some matters consolidation would be very much to the advantage of all the West Indian Colonies. It had been said in this country that the Crown Colony form of Government had been expensive, on the ground that the Civil Service Estimates had, during the last 10 or 15 years, nearly doubled their original amount. In reality, no blame for this increased expenditure attached to the form of Government under which it had arisen, because the Crown Colony form of Government had been the means of introducing numberless reforms, which would not have been introduced if that form of Government had not been established. If, for example, the state of the prisons and of the Constabulary was 50 per cent better than it was 10 or 15 years ago, the improvement was due to the existence of the Crown Colony form of Government. He was, therefore, anxious to refute the current fallacy that that form of Government had in these and similar matters been productive of unnecessary expenditure.

LORD BALFOUR said, that he did not recommend the expenditure of money from Imperial taxation, nor the expenditure of loans upon works which would be unproductive. He hoped, however, that the noble Earl opposite would not overlook the fact that the Commissioners had said that expenditure was fully justified to improve the harbours, the water supply, and the roads, and that the resources of the islands were sufficient to authorize a loan of £75,000 to be expended for that purpose, which, besides being a benefit to the islands, would be in itself reproductive.

INDIA (BOMBAY)—THE BIKANIR FIELD FORCE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD WAVENEY said, that in consequence of the revolt of the Thakor of Bidasir and other Chiefs against the Maharajah of Bikanir the attention of the Indian Government had for some 18 months been called to the disturbed state of the districts in question, and alarm had been created on our frontier. The Indian Government at length sent out a force for the purpose of restoring order and arranging matters between the recalcitrant Chiefs and the Maharajah. A small contingent of the Maharajah's men accompanied the troops, and the surrender of one of the forts, held by 3,000 resolute men, was effected. That he took to be an exploit creditable to the force and useful to the Government of India, as it enabled them to show that there was at their command a force of military police capable of maintaining order on our frontier and within our frontier. The troops started from their base of operations on the 16th of December, 1883, and the fort was surrendered on the 25th of that month. It struck him that it was one of those operations which did more to impress upon the Indian mind the power of the British arms than larger and more ambitious operations. The first Question he had to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for India was, whether any Report had been transmitted by the Indian Government of the operations of the Bikanir Field Force, 16th December, 1883, which resulted in the surrender of the Thakor of Bidasir and other Chiefs in revolt against His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir and the capture of the strong force of Bidasir on 25th December, 1883? He knew the rule of the Service was that if an officer commanding in the field did not think a particular action of sufficient importance to make a special report upon it, it did not become the subject of special notice. But in India it must have a most unfortunate tendency if any action creditable to the force engaged should be overlooked, instead of having a mark of honour against the name of every man who took part in it. His second Question was, whether it was not desirable that all operations in the Field should be communicated by the Indian Department to the War Office and Horse Guards for the information of the military authorities at home, and for record of war services of officers of Her Majesty's Forces, British and Indian?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he was sorry to say that he was not aware of any omission in this case until his noble Friend called his attention to it. It was the invariable rule and practice that information of any movement sent home from India was at once communicated to the War Office; but in this case unfortunately, through some oversight, that was not done. The facts were correctly stated by the noble Lord. It appeared that there was a rebellion against the Ruler of Bikanir, and he, being unable to suppress it, applied to the Indian Government, which sent to his assistance 1,800 men, under the command of General Gillespie. They marched into the country, and he was happy to say that there was no bloodshed whatever, and that the troops were not called upon to act beyond blowing up some forts which surrendered. That was the whole, the beginning, and the end of it. He had no desire to depreciate the service rendered by General Gillespie. He might say that the authorities at Bombay had expressed their entire satisfaction with the conduct of the expedition. Colonel Pottinger, Military Secretary to the Government of Bombay, in forwarding (17th January, 1884) to the Government of India a letter from the Quartermaster General respecting the operations of the Bikanir Field Force, states—

"I am to express the satisfaction of his Excellency the Governor in Council with the judicious and complete arrangements made under the orders of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Lieutenant General commanding the Mhow division for the service required by the Government of India, whereby success was assured and every precaution taken for the efficiency and health of the troops engaged."

The Quartermaster General of the Bombay Army, in the communication referred to, says—

"The Commander-in-Chief desires me to express his Excellency's entire satisfaction with the management of the expedition, which was carried out ably and judiciously by Brigadier General Gillespie. General Hardinge has read with pleasure the favourable report on Lieutenant Coles, R.E., and is glad to record that the conduct and health of the troops were all that could be desired."

POST OFFICE PROTECTION BILL.

(The Lord Thurlow.)

(NO. 172.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD THURLOW, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the Bill was to provide an easy process enabling the Post Office to obtain legal redress for a class of offences of more or less frequent occurrence, and for which the only remedy at present was a civil suit for damages. In some cases the damage was only intended, and had not occurred; while in others, perhaps, it was small as compared with what was intended, or with the inconvenience caused to the Department and to the public. For example, at present if a boy put a match into a pillar letter-box he could only be proceeded against for malicious injury, and if no injury was caused he escaped punishment altogether. The penalties provided in the Bill were light, mostly small fines such as would be now imposed on convictions if obtained in suits for malicious injury to property.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Thurlow.*)

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 173.)

(The Lord President.)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the subject with which it dealt was one of very considerable interest and importance in Ireland, and one which had had a very strange and melancholy history. For more than a century past the Irish Endowed Schools had been a subject of perpetual complaints and inquiries—the inquiries always to a large extent justifying the complaints—and yet of perpetual inaction. The Journals of the Irish Parliament were filled with complaints of these Schools. Early in the century there was a Royal Commission on the Irish Endowed Schools, and it was reported by the Commission that the schools had not been conducted according to the intentions of their founders. In the year 1813 Sir Robert Peel did something, which certainly was not effectual. He created a body, which was called the Commissioners of Educa-

tion in Ireland, for the purpose of superintending and controlling the Endowed Schools; but he unfortunately failed to confer upon that body powers which would enable it to perform its duties with success, and the consequence was that that body of Commissioners, for the last 80 years, had—not through any fault of its members, but owing to deficiency of power—carried on a comparatively useless existence. In 1835 a remarkable Committee of the House of Commons sat, under the Presidency of that able educationist, Sir Thomas Wyse, to consider and report upon the subject. In 1854 a Royal Commission was appointed, commonly called Lord Kildare's Commission, which recommended the appointment of a new Board with large controlling powers. Again, in 1870, a Commission, presided over by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Powis), recommended that these Endowed Schools should be revised upon the English plan. That was the plan upon which the Bill now before their Lordships was framed. All these inquiries, as he had said, had met with the same fate. All the recommendations made had been so many dead letters. The late Government had carried a very important Education Act, of which the friends of education in Ireland thought a great deal—namely, the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act; but that measure did not touch Endowed Schools. However, in 1878, the Lord Lieutenant—the late Duke of Marlborough—taking, as their Lordships knew he did, a very deep interest in this subject, and feeling the urgent necessity for legislation upon it, adopted the course of instituting one further inquiry. His Grace appointed a Royal Commission, presided over by Lord Rosse, commonly called "Lord Rosse's Commission." At the end of 1880 that Commission reported, and furnished a large and most valuable collection of facts and information; but it made no direct recommendations as to legislation, or as to the means to be taken to remedy the evils which were found to exist, because it was not authorized to make recommendations. The present Bill, he might say, had been drawn up by the Irish Government upon the lines clearly indicated by the Report of Lord Rosse's Commission. The endowments which would come within the scope of the Bill were attached to 278 Primary Schools under the National Board, and to 415 other schools, making a total of 693. Many of the endowments were extremely small; but others were important. The whole amount of landed property possessed by the various endowments was 76,000 acres; and the income derived from that property was something like £56,000 a-year. There were also trust funds upon the whole amounting to £27,000 a-year, making altogether, in round numbers, a sum of rather more than £80,000 per annum. The Endowed Schools which would be dealt with by the Bill were first the Royal Schools—schools which, he hoped, would hereafter be much more important than they were at present. Then there were the Erasmus Smith's Schools, and the schools of the so-called Incorporated Society, which were originally intended for the conversion of Roman Catholics, but which entirely devoted their attention to youthful Protestants. In addition to these there was a large variety of schools managed in various ways. The Royal Schools, which he had mentioned, were, with a good many others, under the supervision of the Commissioners of Education—a body which had been severely criticized both by the last and by former Commissions; but that body itself had been as desirous as anyone outside of it could be to have its powers increased and rendered efficient; and its failings had mainly arisen, as he had said, from want of proper powers. They had, for example, no power to appoint or dismiss a teacher, or even to pay inspectors to go and inquire into the condition of the schools, and none to alter the management and disposition of the endowments. As to the Royal Schools, in order to give some idea of what amount of work they were performing — an amount of work which appeared to all the Commissions and to the Government quite inadequate to what might fairly be expected from them — he might mention that six Royal Schools had, the year before last, an average attendance, all taken together, of 283 pupils; they had an expenditure of £6,500, out of which the sum of £1,300 went for exhibitions and prizes. In some particular cases the contrast between expenditure and result was even more striking than that indicated by the figures just quoted. He took the Royal School of Dungannon, which had an

average attendance of 31 pupils and distributed prizes and exhibitions among them amounting annually to £468. That was not an expenditure which ought to be longer tolerated. He might give many cases of abuse among those schools; and, to say the very least, of totally inefficient results obtained from the expenditure of the endowments. He might mention the school in the borough of Swords. It was a curious case. The borough of Swords was disfranchised at the time of the Union; and for some reason or other which he did not quite understand it received from Parliament as compensation for its disfranchisement a sum of money which now amounted to £24,000 in Government Stock, which produced an annual income of £741. That income was professedly devoted to the maintenance of the school, which, according to its foundation and its charter, was established to promote education in the Christian religion, morality, industry, cleanliness, order, and so forth. But how did the endowment perform its services under those terms? The parish had about 2,200 inhabitants, of whom 250 were Protestants, and all the rest were Roman Catholics. The school contained only 63 pupils; it was taught by a Protestant clergyman, and was in all respects an exclusively Protestant school. That was a case which eminently required to be looked into. Without giving further instances, he might say that the £83,000 a-year belonging to the Irish endowed schools was now producing results utterly incommensurate with the benefit which the interests of education ought to derive from such an income. It was known that a large amount of good was being done by the Intermediate Education Commissioners with their comparatively moderate income; and one could well conceive how much support and assistance their operations would receive from the due application of some portion of the endowments of which he was now speaking. Now, it was provided in that Bill that the Commissioners should have power, in framing their schemes, to hand over some of the endowments intended for secondary education to the Commissioners of Intermediate Education, and also to hand over endowments intended for primary education to the National Board in Dublin. It was quite evident that unless assistance could be obtained from those endowments for the object in view, the Commissioners of Intermediate Education would before long make very strong, and, he thought, irresistible application to Parliament for the purpose of increasing their means of carrying on the great work in which they were engaged. There was no more need for inquiry. Inquiries had been conducted *ad nauseam*. The time had now come for action; and the Government proposed to take action in the same way as it had been taken both in England and Scotland on the subject of educational endowments. The Bill which he had brought in did not attempt to deal directly and in detail by Parliamentary action with those endowments. It did not seek to impose upon Parliament the task of re-organizing them; but, as in the case of England and Scotland, it proposed to create an Executive Commission which would undertake that work. The Bill was framed almost entirely on the lines of the Scotch Endowment Act of the year before last; the powers of the Commissioners and the definition of the endowments which were to be dealt with by the Commissioners were, he thought, almost identical. There was, indeed, one respect in which the definition of those endowments in the Bill differed from the Scotch Act, but agreed with the English Act—namely, that the Commissioners should not have power to deal with any endowment made within the last 50 years. Under that Bill, as in the English and Scotch Acts, schemes would be framed either by the Commissioners or by the Governing Bodies themselves, and would come before the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council, and be dealt with throughout with the usual forms of notice and inquiry, and with the same power as in former Acts of application to Parliament in the case of an opposed scheme. Every scheme framed would contain provisions for inspection and audit of accounts—a matter which had been long desired, and which was considered to be of vital importance. It was not intended that the Commission should be prolonged beyond the end of 1886. It was not likely that beyond that time there would be work for the Executive Commission. He did not know that he need describe the Bill in more detail; but he trusted that their Lordships would give it a good recep-

tion. He could not help hoping that at last Parliament would thus secure to Ireland by means of those endowments for all time to come far greater benefits than had ever been derived from them before. The noble Lord concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Lord Pesident.*)

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, he did not intend to oppose the Bill at that stage; but he wished to call the attention of their Lordships to one or two points in the measure. He did not know that the second reading of the Bill was to be taken that day. Although he had heard rumours as to what the Bill proposed to do, he found that the Bill, to a certain extent, did what he expected. There were some things which he had hoped the Bill would have contained, but which he did not find in it. For instance, he did not find that any power was given to the Irish Education Board to sell their landed estates. This power was very desirable, because, although in the present state of Ireland they might not be able to sell them to any great advantage, yet, if a Bill introduced in "another place" should pass, it was not unreasonable to expect that by degrees those estates of the Irish Education Board might be disposed of. They produced £5,000 or £6,000 a-year; but of late years it had been extremely difficult to get any rent. He could not find that this power had been given in the Bill; but he expressed the hope that something might be done in this respect. He believed the provisions of the Bill would give rise to a great deal of discussion in both Houses.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, the suggestions of the noble Earl would be carefully considered before the next stage was taken.

THE EARL OF COURTOWN asked that some delay should take place before the Committee stage was taken, in order that the Bill might be considered in Ireland.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* the 14*th instant.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 4th July, 1884.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—London Government [171] [Second Night], *debate adjourned.*
Report—Local Government Provisional Order (Salt Works and Cement) * [216].
Withdrawn—Lunatics (Ireland) * [39].

QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—ACTING MAIL GUARDS, DUBLIN.

MR. HEALY asked the Postmaster General, If he will cancel his order to have the three Mail Messengers at Dublin punished for their recent agitation since it has now obtained for them his grant of nearly two years' arrears of pay; will he allow them to retain their present position and to continue performing their present duties, on which they have been employed for nearly eight years; and, if he insists on their reduction to the letter carriers' establishment, which constitutes the severest punishment save dismissal that could be imposed upon them, as it will leave them a certainty of being transferred to stationary duties, and thus deprive them of nine shillings a week, will he give them the option of resigning on compensation, or will he compensate them for the emoluments which they can show to have forfeited while serving as Acting Mail Guards?

MR. FAWCETT: I cannot admit that the placing of these men on the letter carriers' establishment involves reduction. On the contrary it appears to me that, both for the men themselves and for the Service, it is the very best thing that could be done; and I am not prepared to make any change. Whether or not they remain at those duties will depend mainly upon their own behaviour.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—LICENCES TO CARRY ARMS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that, on the 10th June, Mr. Mansfield, R.M. granted a licence for a double-barrelled gun to George

Evans, of Killycreeny, Cootehill, the Orangeman, who was recently tried for the murder of Philip Maguire; by whom was this licence recommended; and, do the Government approve Evans being allowed arms?

MR. TREVELYAN: Captain Mansfield prepared a licence with the view of issuing it to George Evans, as he was bound by law to do on the production of a certificate signed by two magistrates —Colonel Clements and Mr. H. Clements—under Section 4, Sub-section 4, of the Peace Preservation Act. Subsequently, Captain Mansfield was informed that Evans was not entitled to such a certificate, not being the occupier of an agricultural holding; the licence has, therefore, been withheld from Evans.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—PAYMENT OF RESULTS FEES.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would explain why should the payment of results fees in Ireland be delayed for two months after the results examination, especially where no errors or informalities can be attributed to the teachers?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Commissioners of National Education inform me that it is not the fact that payment of results fees is delayed for two months after the examinations. Cases of delay occur where correspondence with inspectors or others is necessary; but such cases afford no basis for a general statement of undue delay.

RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) —LOANS TO IRISH LANDLORDS —CAPTAIN M'GILL.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Captain McGill, of Beaufort, Killarney, lately an official valuer under the Land Law (Ireland) Act, and at present one of the secretaries of the Irish Land Corporation, obtained a loan, under the Relief of Distress Acts, in 1879-80, for the purpose of planting trees upon a portion of his estate near Cahirciveen; whether the inspector who was sent down by the Board of Works to report upon the progress of the work never visited the exact locality at all; and, whether, in point of fact, any steps have been taken by Captain M'Gill to carry out the work for which he obtained an advance of public money?

MR. COURTNEY: Two loans to this gentleman were sanctioned, amounting together to £1,400. I am informed that a trustworthy Inspector duly visited the works, and reported to the Board that work had been done exceeding in value the amount of the advances. The hon. Member gives no indication of his reasons for doubting this.

POOR LAW—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, BALLINAKILL, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has observed that, at a recent inquiry at Sligo, before Mr. Power, an Inspector of the Irish Local Government Board, as to circumstances connected with the election of a Poor Law Guardian for the Electoral Division of Ballinakill, in the Union of Sligo, it was proved in evidence that a number of votes had been improperly refused, and a number unduly recorded, that a proxy paper had been forged, and that a series of acts of illegality and neglect had been committed by officials concerned in the rating of the Division, and in the election for it; what action will be taken with regard to the return of a candidate at the said election, and to the conduct of the said officials; and, whether the Local Government Board will now proceed to hold a regular inquiry, and thereby afford opportunity for the tender of evidence with regard to the specific complaints which have been made of illegal conduct on the part of a candidate in the recent election for the Division of Drumcliffe, in the same Union of Sligo?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board have not yet received the Inspector's Report as to the case of the Ballinakill Division, and cannot express any opinion on it until the Report and evidence are received. With regard to the Drumcliffe case, I have already more than once this Session stated that if Mr. M'Govern, the unsuccessful candidate, has any objection to make to the right of the elected Guardian to act as such, the Local Government Board are ready to receive evidence in support of that objection. Mr. M'Govern was so informed by the Board three months ago. He has not made any reply, and the Board await

any further statement or complaint before taking the case again into consideration.

SPAIN—QUARANTINE.

MR. LEWIS FRY (for Mr. GOURLEY) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he intends adopting any measures for the purpose of inducing the Spanish Government to withdraw the recent regulations imposing quarantine upon vessels arriving from ports in the United Kingdom and the North of France with clean bills of health?

MR. O'SHEA asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that, under the regulations imposed by the Government of King Alfonso, ships arriving from British ports may be ordered to certain specified Spanish ports (many of them a great distance from their real destination), for the purpose of performing quarantine; whether, if so, he will give a list of the ports at which quarantine must be performed, and state its exact duration; whether any restrictions have been placed on ships from Countries actually adjoining France; whether it is within the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government that the Government of King Alfonso has intimated to the Government of His Faithful Majesty that, unless similar regulations are adopted by Portugal, the Portuguese frontier will be subjected to the restrictions in force on the Pyrenean frontier; whether the Government of King Alfonso has placed any restrictions on ships from Countries actually adjoining France; and, whether Her Majesty's Government has taken steps to give the Government of King Alfonso the assurances that British ports are clean, and to indicate that the severity of the regulations in question is unnecessary to the safety of the public health, and detrimental to commerce and good understanding?

MR. CARBUTT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can state what the exact quarantine regulations are in Spanish ports from Toulon or Marseilles; what the regulations are from clean French ports and from British ports as Gibraltar and Malta, where no cholera exists; and, whether the Foreign Office has made any representation to the Spanish authorities, or will do so at once, upon the ruinous quarantine regulations enforced upon British ships from healthy ports in France and elsewhere.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The following telegram was sent to Her Majesty's *Chargé d'Affaires* at Madrid with regard to the regulations by which quarantine is imposed on vessels arriving at Spanish ports from the United Kingdom:—

> "It is reported that ships direct from English ports are quarantined at Bilbao in consequence of cholera at Toulon. Remonstrate against this useless impediment to trade. There is no cholera in England, and strict precautions are taken against its introduction."

Her Majesty's Government made this remonstrance because the Spanish Government do not allege that cholera exists in England, and because it has been announced that the Portuguese Government have been asked by the Spanish Government to adopt measures of quarantine similar to those taken in Spain; but they do not feel called upon to discuss with the Spanish Government measures of quarantine adopted with reference to vessels from France, or the subject of quarantine in general. It does not appear that quarantine is imposed in Spain on vessels from countries actually adjoining France. According to existing Spanish regulations, quarantine can only be performed at ports where there are regular lazarettos; it is understood that these ports are Santander, Vigo, and Mahon. The period of quarantine established in Spain is 10 days for vessels from Toulon and Marseilles, and seven days from other French ports. Vessels from England and British possessions in the Mediterranean are subjected to three days' observation; but if they have touched at a French port the period is seven or 10 days, according to the case. Should sickness occur on board, the detention will be longer.

TURKEY—QUARANTINE IN TURKISH WATERS.

MR. LEWIS FRY (for Mr. GOURLEY) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will endeavour to arrange with the Turkish Government to allow vessels trading between the French Mediterranean ports and the Black Sea with clean bills of health, and not communicating with the shore, to pass through the Bosphorus without performing quarantine?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Under the regulations which Her Majesty's Government understand are now

in force vessels bound to Russian ports on the Black Sea are allowed to pass through the Bosphorus without performing quarantine on condition that they take two Turkish health guards at the Dardanelles, carry them on to those ports, and after receiving pratique, bring or send them back at the vessel's cost to the Dardanelles. It does not seem that any change has been made in this regulation in consequence of the outbreak of cholera at Toulon.

MERCANTILE MARINE—HARBOURS OF REFUGE.

MR. BRINTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether any support may be expected from the Government, next Session, in furtherance of the efforts now being made to save life and property by the construction of harbours of refuge or ports of shelter, for which purpose a Bill will be introduced early in 1885?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he was afraid this Question was a little premature. It would be quite impossible for him to express an opinion upon a Bill which was not introduced, and as to the details of which he knew positively nothing. He might add that a Committee had been sitting for some time on this subject, and had not yet made its final Report; but as soon as that Report was received and had been considered he should be able to say something more on the part of the Government with regard to the question.

THE SUEZ CANAL—THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE.

MR. MAGNIAC asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the statement is correct that Sir Charles Hartley, K.C.M.G. was appointed upon the International Consulting Committee of the Suez Canal by the Treasury; and, whether the Government will clear up the doubt which exists upon the subject by stating whether they consider themselves in any way responsible for the acts or recommendations of the English members of the said Committee?

MR. COURTNEY: My right hon. Friend, being unavoidably absent, has asked me to answer this Question. All the English Members of the Technical Committee were appointed by the Board of the Suez Canal Company, having been selected by them in communication with Her Majesty's Government. Sir Charles Hartley was selected by my right hon. Friend after reference to the Foreign Office. Her Majesty's Government are in no way responsible for the individual opinions of the gentlemen in whose selection they concurred. The Committee will report their views to the Company, as I am given to understand, late in the year; and the deliberations of the Board upon them will be known to Her Majesty's Government through our official Directors.

MR. MAGNIAC asked whether the Government was to be understood to draw any distinction between the individual and the collective opinions of Members of the Committee?

MR. COURTNEY said, if the Government were not responsible for the individual opinions, they could not be responsible for collective opinions.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RUMOURED FALL OF DEBBAH.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government have any confirmation of the rumoured capture of Debbah and of the massacre there; whether the pilgrims who gave at Suakin the information of the safety of Berber on the 7th June are emissaries of the Mahdi, and have been arrested; whether the Emir Shemaun, who stormed Berber, has been encountered by Major Kitchener in the desert 200 miles north of Berber; and, what steps are being taken to save Dongola?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have no confirmation of the rumoured capture of Debbah. They have no reason to suppose that the Takruri pilgrims who left Khartoum on the 23rd May and Berber on the 7th ultimo were emissaries of the Mahdi. The last news of Shemaun, dated the 21st ultimo, from Major Kitchener, was that he was retiring south from El Heimar. He was at one time in the desert to the east of Korosko, where Major Kitchener expected to attack him. The Mudir of Dongola has been urged that, while giving facilities for departure to those who wished to leave, he should himself remain with the garrison and hold the place.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The noble Lord did not say whether these pilgrims had been arrested or not, as

was stated at Cairo. I assume, from his answer to the third paragraph, that the Emir referred to has not been met by Major Kitchener in the desert 200 miles north of Berber.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In regard to the first inquiry, I wish it to be understood that the Foreign Office have not had that information with regard to the pilgrims which the hon. Member says he has read in the newspapers——

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I did not say that.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In regard to the further Question, it depends on what the hon. Member means by "encounter." In the military sense he may rather be said to have touched the Emir Shemaun.

UNITED STATES—MR. ALFRED SHELDON.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has received, from Her Majesty's Minister at Washington, information of the safety of Mr. Alfred Sheldon?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; I regret to say that the United States Government have not, so far as Her Majesty's Government is informed, yet succeeded in tracing what has become of Mr. Sheldon. A telegram was received from Mr. West on the 27th ultimo, stating that the Federal Government has given instructions in the matter, so that all possible steps will be taken on Mr. Sheldon's behalf.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT — PUBLIC BUSINESS— TUESDAY SITTINGS.—RESOLUTION.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am sorry to say that the Prime Minister is slightly indisposed to-day; and, therefore, it devolves upon me to make the following Motion:—

"That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority."

The object of the Motion is, of course, that instead of taking, as we have hitherto done, Tuesday mornings, and leaving Tuesday evenings open, the whole of Tuesday shall be taken for Government Business, the House meeting at 4 o'clock on that day. Last year, on the 10th of July, the proposal of the Government was considerably more extensive than that which is now made. At that time Tuesdays and Wednesdays were taken for Government Business, and Morning Sittings were taken on the Fridays. It is found, also, so far as can be gathered from both sides of the House, that taking the Tuesdays from 4 o'clock is preferred to taking Morning Sittings at 2 o'clock. Everybody knows that if a Morning Sitting is taken on Tuesday, practically the whole of that day is appropriated by the Government. The proposal is not an extensive one, and I hope that, under the circumstances, both sides of the House will be disposed to concur in the request for the purpose of forwarding Public Business. The arrangement will commence on the 8th instant.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority."—(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he only echoed the general feeling in expressing regret at the absence of the Prime Minister. They could not wonder, with the work which devolved upon him and in the present state of the weather, that the right hon. Gentleman should be indisposed; but they regretted it the more because, had the Prime Minister been present, he would have said—what the Home Secretary had not told them—what Business it was seriously intended to proceed with during the remainder of the Session. There was force in the observation of the right hon. and learned Gentleman that there was no great advantage made by taking Morning Sittings on Tuesdays; but the Government had had the whole of Tuesday Morning and Friday Morning Sittings for the last two months, and the present proposal must be considered, not with reference to how much further it went than the privileges already granted to the Government, but with reference to how much it was in itself. There had been several occasions, during the last two months, on which hon. Members, after having conceded the Tuesday Morning Sitting to the Government, had found themselves very hardly treated

when the Evening Sitting came. The Government considered themselves entirely free from any obligation to assist in making or keeping a House. The assistance they had received from the House had been considerable; and when a demand of this kind was made towards the end of the Session, it was usual, and, he thought, very reasonable, that the Government should state what they proposed to do with the additional time asked for. They knew there were a number of Government Bills on the Paper, and they were Bills, every one of them, which would, if fairly discussed, take a considerable time. There seemed to be no order or method in the way in which those measures were to be taken, and now was the time for the Government to declare their programme. If all the Bills were to be taken, it would be quite impossible for the Session to close at the ordinary time. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, however, had not once alluded to the state of Business in the slightest degree. What Bills did they intend to proceed with? The President of the Board of Trade had abandoned one large Bill, and his reasons were very cogent. The House ought to know whether the Government intended to proceed with the Bills on the Paper or not. He would mention two or three of them. There was the London Government Bill. Was it the intention of the Government to proceed with it or not? It would be a mere waste of time to go on discussing that, Sitting after Sitting, if there was not the least chance of passing it. Did the Government see their way to passing it? Other measures had been made to give way to that Bill, and early in the Session the significant statement was made that one of the great reasons why the Government could not introduce a redistribution scheme was that if they did so it would take up the whole of the Session, and the London Government Bill could not be passed. The House was entitled to know whether the Government seriously intended to pass the London Government Bill or not. Then there was the Railway Bill, with regard to which the President of the Board of Trade could, perhaps, tell the House something; and there were several other Government measures, in respect of which they were entitled to some further information. As he had said, he regretted the absence of the Prime Minister, all the more because he was sure that if the right hon. Gentleman had been present he would have given the House much fuller information with regard to the intended order of Business than had been afforded to them. The House wished to know what was to be done with regard to the Irish Land Purchase Bill, the Sunday Closing Bill, the Universities of Scotland Bill, and the Coinage Bill. Then there was the great question of Supply. He saw the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) and the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) present, and he trusted that they would put in their protests against any unnecessary interference with a fair examination of Votes in Supply. He did not think that they were very forward with the Votes in Supply at the present moment; and if it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to go on discussing Bills which were not likely to pass so that it might be necessary to hurry up Supply in order to enable the Session to be finished, it would be very unsatisfactory. He trusted that before the House was asked to assent to this Motion, the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite would supply the omissions in his statement which he had pointed out, and would tell the House what Business the Government really intended to proceed with.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the right hon. Gentleman opposite must feel that in the absence of the Prime Minister it was impossible for him to make any definite statement with regard to the Bills which it was intended by Her Majesty's Government should be proceeded with. It was not usual for the Government to make any final statements as to which of their Bills they would proceed with until a later period of the Session. He, however, had no hesitation in saying that next week the Prime Minister would make a statement on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman had asked whether it was the intention of the Government to proceed with the London Government Bill, and that question he could answer most distinctly in the affirmative. With regard to Supply, two days a-week would be set apart for it.

MR. RICHARD said, he thought facilities should be given to his hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr.

Dillwyn) for the discussion of his Motion with regard to Disestablishment in Wales. The hon. Member had balloted every month since the commencement of the Session for a day to bring on his Motion. He had at last secured the first place on Tuesday, the 29th instant, and it seemed very hard that he should be deprived of it. The question was of the gravest importance, and one in which the people of Wales took a great interest; he, therefore, hoped the Government would make an exception in the case of his hon. Friend.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, he had a Motion on the Paper with regard to the cultivation of opium in India, which, of course, he would have to give up in the face of the appeal of the Government. Supply was yet very far in the rear, and he thought its backward state was largely due to the unwisdom with which the time of the House had hitherto been divided between the Government and private Members. He considered that it would be very much better if, in future, the Government made up their minds earlier in the Session to take the whole of Tuesday or the whole of Friday, instead of giving half these days to private Members. By taking the morning part of the day only little or no Business was done; for it offered an inducement to debate which ended in talking out Government measures. In the evening counts out were frequent, and private Members had no opportunity of bringing forward questions in which they were interested. After hon. Members had sat from 12 to 4 in Committee and from 4 to 7 in the House it was not easy to secure an attendance at 9 o'clock punctually. He begged to intimate to the Under Secretary of State for India that he would raise the question to which his Motion had reference when the Indian Budget was introduced.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he had the first Motion on the Paper for Tuesday next. That was a Motion with regard to a large class of public servants who felt that they had a grievance which ought to be remedied. He protested against being forced to give up his place unless the Government would state frankly which of their Bills they intended to proceed with. The action of the Government would give great dissatisfaction to those who, like himself, felt that they had a claim upon the attention of the House.

LORD BURGHLEY said, he had, also, secured the first place on one of the Tuesdays which the Government proposed to take. He hoped the House would not agree to the proposal of the Government as a protest against the way the time of the House had been used. He was rather surprised to hear from the Home Secretary that it was intended at this stage of the Session to proceed with so serious and critical a measure as the London Government Bill. In his (Lord Burghley's) opinion, it was impossible to carry such an enormous measure during the short remainder of the Session. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman opposite would be able to give a more qualified reply with regard to that Bill to the question of the right hon. Baronet.

MR. HEALY asked what facilities the Government would give for the progress of certain Irish Bills if this Motion were agreed to, and especially whether Government assistance would be given for getting on with the Poor Law Guardians' Elections Bill, of which the Chief Secretary expressed approval last Wednesday? The Bill had been blocked by the hon. Member for Dublin at the instance of the unscrupulous Orange Party. ["Order!"] They knew that the Orange Party in that House were toothless.

MR. SPEAKER: The word "unscrupulous" is un-Parliamentary, and ought not to be applied to any section of Members of this House. I must ask the hon. Member to withdraw it.

MR. HEALY begged to withdraw the expression. He also wished to know whether it was intended to proceed further with the Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill, which had passed the second reading without an opportunity being afforded to Irish Members of saying a single word with regard to it? Would it not be better for the Government, if the House was to be called there again in the autumn, to wind up the Session as soon as possible, and let them away while the weather was fine?

MR. RYLANDS said, he wished to make an appeal to the Government on the question of Supply. The House would now expect that Mondays and Thursdays would be devoted to Supply. Of the many Rules of Procedure lately

introduced, one of the most important was that which gave the Government those two days for Supply without any preceding Motion when it was the first Order. They had, therefore, a right to expect that Supply would be in a forward state. But it was not so, and they actually found the Government giving up yesterday to the London Government Bill instead of Supply. Such action was almost trifling with the convenience of the House. Until himself and his hon. Friends had heard that day from the Home Secretary that it was intended to proceed with the London Bill, they never dreamt the Government had any such intention; looking to the circumstances of the case, all that they thought was intended was to have an academical discussion on the second reading. But if they were to be told that the London Bill was to be passed this Session, all the other Business of the House would have to give way to it. There was no doubt that there would be a very large amount of discussion on the Bill in Committee. If the hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) hoped to see the Bill passed this Session, he was more hopeful than many hon. Members. The Government ought, therefore, to look facts in the face. Supply was very backward. There were 23 Votes for the Army, of which only six had been taken. For the Navy, only four out of 17 Votes had been taken; and in the Civil Service, out of 139, only 26 Votes had been taken. Thus there remained no fewer than 143 Votes out of 179. If the London Bill and other measures were to be pressed forward, Supply would be hurried through, and the discussion of Votes would be a mere farce. He must protest against the conduct of the Government in this respect, as he had protested against the late Government. He would not, however, vote against the Motion; but he had a right to urge that if this additional time were given to the Government, it should be devoted to practical purposes.

MR. PULESTON said, he agreed with the speech of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), but regretted his practical conclusion. No mention had been made of the Navy Estimates. He hoped there would be an early opportunity for a full discussion on the Navy. Notwithstanding the confident announcement as to the London Government Bill, the Government would, in his opinion, have a hard task to carry it through. If they were really serious in their intention there would be no opportunity for discussing the Estimates, or anything else. He had a Motion with respect to the Civil Service clerks on the Paper, in which 5,000 or 6,000 persons were deeply interested, and he thought it was very unfair that he should not have an opportunity to bring it forward. They ought to have a chance of discussing on the Civil Service Votes the interesting question which the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) was to have brought forward on Tuesday next. The Government were much to blame for time wasted on measures like the Irish Sunday Closing Bill and other measures, which every one knew would be talked out. This year the Government had made a more than usually large demand on the time of the House in beginning so early with Morning Sittings, yet the result of these had been that stormy mornings were wasted and evenings thrown away, and great hardship inflicted on private Members. He should oppose the Motion if a Division were taken.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that the hon. Member for Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) had argued with a good deal of force against Morning Sittings; but he did not think the hon. Member could have anticipated, for instance, that the Irish Sunday Closing Bill would have required 10 or 11 or 12 hours' discussion on its second reading. On the contrary, they expected that hon. Members, whatever their opinions might be on the Bill, would have been anxious to bring them to a test. He could not but sympathize with the hon. Member for Durham and other Members who had Motions on Tuesdays and Fridays; but the Government had taken the only course which they could have taken. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had stated very strongly the claims of Supply; but the hon. Member should remember that Monday and Thursday in next week had already been set apart for Supply. He was getting the lions's share, and he could hardly expect to get the jackal's also. The Government would certainly give an early day for the discussion of the Navy Estimates. Then the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had referred to the Irish

Bills which were before the House. He could not trench on the Prime Minister's functions with respect to the apportionment of the time of the House; but he could state that such portions and fragments of the time of the House as could be given to Irish measures would be devoted to certain Bills in which the Government had already expressed a very strong interest. Among those Bills were the Government Bills on the Purchase of Land and the Sunday Closing Bill. He hoped also that they would carry the private Member's Bill on Irish Poor Law Guardians, which was an excellent measure, of which the Government fully approved.

MR. NEWDEGATE remarked, that if the House would allow him he would make, with all respect, a few observations upon its general habits. The change that had come over the habits of the House since he first became a Member was very remarkable. One element in that change was the almost total loss of independent action on the Ministerial side of the House. Yesterday, if the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Storey) had not been supported by the Opposition, he would not have been able to bring a serious grievance before the House. He had himself in former days been a "Whipper-in;" but now the function of certain Government officials seemed to be to "whip" Members out on Tuesday and Friday evenings, which constituted the small remnant of time left to the unofficial Members of the House. The fact was that hon. Members were wearied by, or could not afford time for, both Morning and Evening Sittings, so the House was easily counted out on Tuesday and Friday evenings; so that the Head of the Government, who was supposed to be the Leader of the House, was responsible for a great deal of the waste of time which, by these faulty arrangements, he contributed to produce. But there was another circumstance. The whole object of Her Majesty's Government appeared to him to be to anticipate agitation by the measures they introduced. They had carried a Reform Bill through the House, but he understood that it was not likely to become law during the present Session; and it was reported that the Government intended to propose a special Session to accomplish, not merely the object of an agitation originating out of the House, but of an agitation which they had originated themselves within the House, or had adopted, or to which they had become parties under this new phase. With a prospect before them of not being able to accomplish their agitation —the principal object—immediately in one respect, they now proposed to use the power they had in that House—a power which was exaggerated by the want of independence among their Party—to force through the House another great measure. Now, he put it to the Home Secretary whether, by that system of forcing agitation within that House in support of democratic measures, the Government did not justify Obstruction? The House had at one memorable crisis of Obstruction been liberated, not by the Government, but by the independent action of the late Speaker.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the Motion to-day raised the question of the mode of conducting Business between the Government and private Members. Long ago he had said that it would be better for the Government to take Tuesdays and Fridays for the rest of the Session. On Tuesdays there had been almost invariable "Counts-out," and now they were having a Morning Sitting. The present system was unfair to the Government and to private Members, and also to the country. There had been 17 available Tuesdays since the Session began. On nine of those the House had "Counted-out" early—before 11.30 P.M. On the first four Tuesdays the House was "Counted-out" almost before any work was done. Those days were the 4th, 11th, 18th, and 25th of March. He did not believe in private Members' legislation; and though posterity would deal severely with his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), yet his hon. and learned Friend had done good service with respect to private Members' Bills, which were almost invariably bad ones. As to Supply, he thought the time had come for something being done to put the whole question of the Business of Parliament on a different footing, so as to render the time of the House really available for practical legislation and administration and control of the Expenditure of the country. What had the Government done this Session? The Government had introduced 53 Bills, nine of which were mentioned in the Queen's Speech;

but only 14 had received the Royal Assent, and only two of those—the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill and the National Debt Bill—were of first-class importance. Then the Government had not fulfilled their promise to consider the whole question of the Civil Service Estimates. No other important Bill, except the Franchise Bill, had gone beyond a second reading. A statement was made yesterday, which he thought one of the most startling ever made by a British Minister, and which, he thought, would astonish the country. The President of the Board of Trade told the House that, in his judgment, and presumably that of his Colleagues, the present state of the law occasioned a preventible loss of human life at sea. If that statement were true, and, he believed, it was, then he said it was the first duty of the House, and of the Government, to endeavour to alter that state of the law. There was no measure on the Government programme which could compare in importance with a measure intended to save human life, yet what was the announcement that followed this startling statement of the President of the Board of Trade? It was that he should be compelled on Monday to ask leave to withdraw the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman stated also that, with the concessions that had been made, he believed if he got the Bill fairly submitted to a Grand Committee there would be no difficulty in passing it this year. In order, therefore, that his (Mr. H. H. Fowler's) conscience should be clear, he should say "No" when the right hon. Gentleman made his Motion on Monday. There ought to be no subject nearer to the heart of every Member of that House than the saving of British sailors' lives. Then there was the Bill for the regulation of railways. There could be no doubt, he thought, that if that Bill were submitted to a Grand Committee the objections on both hands would be removed, and satisfactory legislation would result. But that Bill was apparently to be thrown away. He thought they were entitled to ask from the Government a distinct statement of what they intended to do in the remaining four or five weeks of the Session. Did the Home Secretary really believe that the London Government Bill, large and important as it was, could be really discussed in Committee and advanced to other stages along with the Business that must be disposed of? There ought to be a distinct understanding that a statement would be made by the Prime Minister early next week.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he concurred in the concluding remarks of the hon. Member; but he must remind him that the Home Secretary at the outset stated that the Prime Minister would take an opportunity of making a statement to the House. He listened with great interest to the eloquence of his hon. Friend; but he could not help thinking there was some little inconsistency in some of his conclusions that appeared to have escaped him. For instance, the hon. Member referred to a statement he (Mr. Chamberlain) made yesterday, in answer to a Question, when he said that, in his opinion, there was a preventible loss of life going on amongst our sailors, owing to the present state of the law. In his opinion that was a deplorable fact, and it was a reason why he was most reluctant to suggest to the House the abandonment of the Bill; but he must point out that a similar statement applied to other work the Government had in hand. It applied to any proposal for reforming the Government of London. So long as London was without a proper effective Municipal Government, it was quite impossible to hope that the sanitary arrangements which ought to be made would be efficiently cared for; and he believed his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board, when he had the opportunity, would lay before the House conclusive facts and statistics tending to show that epidemic disease was prevalent, which would not be the case if the Municipal Government were improved. The same remarks might apply to other Bills. There was the Railway Bill. In addition to those provisions which were intended to put in a satisfactory state the relations between the Railway Companies and their customers there were provisions for the public safety. He might refer to other Bills also in charge of the Government, where, perhaps, the effect of legislation was less direct, but not less certain. He might appeal to hon. Members with regard to a Bill already mentioned—the Irish Sunday Closing Bill. Any Bill that would do anything to decrease the intemperance of the population was a

Bill that would save life, and as such was entitled to the attention of the Government and of the House. Let them not, therefore, make invidious comparisons between the Bills of one Minister and the Bills of another. Why could they not proceed with the Bills? And now he came to the point where the inconsistency of his hon. Friend came out. His hon. Friend had been urging them to give more time to Supply; but if they were to give more time to Supply at an earlier period of the Session they could not proceed with any important Bill. He thought it necessary to legislate for the wants of the country, and, if necessary, they should not hesitate to postpone Supply for the exigencies of legislation. What had they done in the present Session? His hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) said they had framed New Rules, by which they ought to have got more forward with Supply. That was perfectly true. The Government gave more attention to Supply in the earlier part of the Session than had ever been given before; but what was the result? The more time they gave the more talking there was and the less work done; and so they might go on. If they accepted the views of his hon. Friend they might give time until they had no time for legislation; and no course would be less satisfactory to the country than that. They had given time to the Franchise Bill, for which they put aside Supply; and did his hon. Friends complain of that? [*Cries of* "No, no!"] He felt sure they would not. They might have had time for Supply; but how many Votes of Censure had they had to meet during the course of this Session? [*Opposition cheers.*] He was surprised that hon. Members opposite should take to cheering that view, for hitherto they had met their Votes of Censure, and met them successfully. [*Cries of* "How?"] How? By the vote of the tribunal to which hon. Members appealed. What he wanted to point out was that a portion of the limited time of the Government had been taken up by repeated Votes of Censure and by interpolated debates, which had left for Government purposes hardly any time at all at their disposal. He did not wonder at the complaints of private Members; he sympathized with them; but he could only say the proposal of the Government was not unprecedented, except in its moderation. They were not proposing to take the whole time of the House, as they might have done, for which there would have been a precedent. They were proposing only to take Tuesdays. His hon. Friend referred to last year; but let them see what happened in the time of the late Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition had pointed out truly that it mattered little to private Members whether the Government took the whole of Tuesday or the Morning Sitting, because in the majority of cases after a Morning Sitting Members would not come down to make a House in the evening. In 1875, after the 1st of June, Tuesdays were taken by the late Government; in 1876, on the 3rd of June; in 1877, on the 5th of June; in 1878, on the 4th of June; and in 1879, from the 10th of June. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: From what date this year?] Early in May. He had no wish to trouble the House by going into a comparison between the two Governments; but it was a fact that for particular purposes the late Government had taken Morning Sittings much earlier—one year on the 13th of April, another year on the 4th of May, another year on the 11th of May, and another year on the 25th of May. He was not complaining of this; he was only showing that the present proposal was not of an unprecedented character. He recognized the importance of the Motion which the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) would be unable to bring forward on the 29th of July; but the hon. Member must have felt that he had not been favoured in the ballot, and that there was little chance of his really obtaining the day the ballot had given him. He hoped the House would accept the proposals of the Government. He recognized the duty of the Government to make a statement as early as possible regarding the future progress of Business. If it was not made that day, it was partly due to the indisposition of the Prime Minister, and partly to the fact that it was not usual to make the statement so early.

MR. RAIKES said, he had been prepared to support the Government in making a demand which was in accordance with the usual practice; but it was a reasonable expectation that the Motion should have been accompanied by a

statement as to the course of Business. He had not had the advantage of hearing the opening statement of the Home Secretary, though he had been fortunate enough to listen to the speeches of the Secretary for Ireland and the President of the Board of Trade. He condoled with the Home Secretary, however, on those speeches, which showed a capacity for Public Business in which he was lamentably deficient. The right hon. and learned Gentleman could, however, speak his own mind, if not that of the Government. Private Members were asked to part with one of their two days in order that the right hon. and learned Gentleman might proceed with a Bill which had not the slightest chance of passing. They were landed in this position by the unfortunate manner in which the Government were represented on this occasion. As they were promised the statement of the Prime Minister on an early day, and in its absence they could not appreciate the sacrifices they were asked to make, he moved that the debate be adjourned.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Raikes.*)

MR. MAC IVER said, he supported the adjournment, because if the Government got those opportunities they would only use them for electioneering purposes. He would only vote with the Government on one consideration, and that was that they should use the first Tuesday for continuing the debate on the Merchant Shipping Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: We are not now discussing the subject that we were before the Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

MR. MAC IVER: Of course, he could speak only to the adjournment; but, perhaps, he might be allowed to ask the Government to give some assurance that the Motion for discharging the Merchant Shipping Bill would be brought on at a time when it would be possible to discuss it. He did not wish to trespass longer on the House, because he understood that practically the question was simply the Motion for Adjournment.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he thought that it would be better to adjourn the discussion until Monday, when the Prime Minister would have an opportunity of giving his statement, and showing that the time of the House would not be wasted.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the suggestion of the noble Lord amounted to this—that, having wasted the greater part of Friday, they should waste a great part of Monday in renewing the discussion.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that was not the question at all. The question was whether if the Prime Minister had been present he would not have complied with the reasonable request of the House, and said something as to what Business he proposed to take. The whole difficulty had arisen because, in his absence, the Home Secretary had been unwilling or unable to afford that information to which the House was entitled.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he had already stated that it was not in accordance with the practice of the House at the beginning of July to make a detailed and final statement on a Motion of this kind. He adhered to that statement. He should be wrong if he said he was surprised at what had taken place; he was prepared for it by rumours which reached him both yesterday and to-day. He hoped a Division would be taken, so that it might be shown whether or not the House would go on with the Business of the country.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he did not know what the right hon. and learned Gentleman meant by these mysterious observations. The gist of the case was, that facilities of this kind were never granted to the Government without some information as to the course of Business. On the present occasion, when they asked for explanations as to the use which the Government would make of these facilities, they were referred to the fact that the Prime Minister was absent, and no other Minister could say a word. Under these circumstances, it was not unreasonable that the debate should be adjourned.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 136; Noes 189: Majority 53.—(Div. List, No. 153.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that as the House had decided to give the Government Tuesdays without any expla-

nation, he rose to make one last appeal to the Home Secretary with the object of saving the time of the House. The two principal measures before the country, besides the Franchise Bill, were the Merchant Shipping Bill and the London Government Bill. Looking at what had taken place, the former measure appeared to have been brought in in order to give the President of the Board of Trade an opportunity of making one speech four hours in length, and the latter Bill had been introduced to enable the Home Secretary to make two speeches of two hours each. Half of the time spent on these Bills had been taken up by the right hon. Gentlemen under whose charge they were brought forward. If, however, he was wrong in his supposition, he would urge the Government to put forward the Bill which there was some chance of passing now. Which of the two had the best chance? Putting on one side the absurd remark of the President of the Board of Trade, that the London Government Bill was a life-saving Bill—it was nothing of the sort, for London was the healthiest city in the world—it was clear that while the Merchant Shipping Bill, which it was alleged was for the preservation of life, had a tolerable chance of success, the London Government Bill had none. Of the two Bills, the Government had deliberately chosen the one which had no chance of passing, and then they came down and said it was all owing to notorious Obstruction that the Business of the House could not be proceeded with. Was it not Obstruction, pure and simple, to occupy their time over a Bill which could not pass—a Bill which must take weeks and weeks before they were even able to discuss in Committee the various clauses? He repeated that the London Government Bill had no chance whatever of passing; but this would not be due to Tory Obstruction, but rather to gross mismanagement on the part of the Government.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not know whether the hon. Member expected him seriously to answer the appeal he had just made. Did the hon. Member really seriously believe that the Members of the Government were actuated by such a spirit as that which he attributed to them? Did he think that, in determining what measures should be brought forward, the Government, and the individual Members of the Government, were only desirous of making a display by delivering speeches?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never suggested that this was their only motive.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT denied that such motives actuated them at all. [*Cries of* "Spoke!"] Having made the Motion, he had the right of reply. The Government were obliged to look round these questions, and a very serious element in the matter was the feeling of hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House, and that, of course, must govern the Administration in the determination of these questions. He thought they had been a little unfairly pressed on this matter by hon. Gentlemen opposite. The absence of the Prime Minister from indisposition was quite unexpected, and it was not till the moment he (Sir William Harcourt) entered the House that he was told it would devolve on him to make this Motion. He had no doubt the Prime Minister would have given fuller explanations than any other Member of the Ministry; but a fair tender had been made to the House—namely, that the Prime Minister would make a statement at the beginning of next week. He asked that the matter should be decided now, for everyone knew that if it was not, the whole of this discussion would recur on Monday. He desired to disabuse Members of the idea that the Members of the Government were extremely anxious to undertake the greatest possible burden. There was no individual Member of the Government who, for that matter, would not gladly see the Session close to-morrow; but their duty was, according to the best of their judgment and abilities, to get through the Business of the country. It lay entirely with the House first, and with the country afterwards, whether the Government should be supported in endeavouring to discharge that duty. Therefore, they asked the House to support them in the demand they now made.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) wished to say that he felt no personal hostility to the way in which the Government had dealt with the London Government Bill; on the contrary, he was under a deep obligation to them. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had done all in his power to make his seat certain at the next Election; for if ever 25,000 men were agreed on any question, quite apart from politics—

Liberals and Conservatives were both of one mind—it was upon the inadvisability of the scheme put forward. As far as he (Mr. R. N. Fowler) was concerned, the Government might prolong the Session till September without his raising the slightest personal objection; other official duties kept him in London, and a late Session was no inconvenience to him. This Bill bristled with details, which would have to be examined carefully. It was not the fault of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. It was only his misfortune. He had to evolve many of the details out of his own intellect, not having the advice of those who were practically acquainted with the question. The right hon. and learned Gentleman wished to go down to posterity as the man who gave London a new Constitution and was a great Legislator. But he must not expect, for all that, that his Bill was to be muddled through in the small hours of the morning. For himself, he had no objection to the Session being prolonged into September; but he wished to warn the Government that they had undertaken in July a task which would not only task the energies of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, but entail great sacrifices on Members generally.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, there was no disposition to oppose the proposition of the Government on its merits. It was the accompanying circumstances that had occasioned the long conversation about it. When the Prime Minister asked for a concession of time two months ago, he (Mr. J. Cowen) pointed out that it would be much better to take one whole day than two halves. Everyone acquainted with their proceedings knew that Morning Sittings did not much benefit the Government, while they placed private Members at a great disadvantage. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) and he took a Division against the Ministerial proposal, and the results had justified their action. He, for one, had no objection to allow the Government an even larger amount of control over the time of the House than they asked for, provided they would state frankly how they meant to use it. That was a reasonable request, and one that was always complied with at such a time and in such circumstances. As the Prime Minister was unable to be present, and as the Home Secretary was not in a position to make the required statement, it would have been easy for him to adjourn the subject altogether until Friday next. If he had done this, and asked for the whole of the intermediate Tuesday, he would have got it without demur. Instead of doing that, he had demanded the time, and refused to fulfil the conditions consequent on obtaining it. It had been stated that the Ministers meant to persevere with the London Government Bill. He was very much surprised at hearing such an announcement. He did not think there was a single man in Parliament who seriously believed that the Bill could pass into law this Session. The only person who dreamt of such a result was the hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth). He admired that hon. Gentleman's courage, and envied his optimism. To persist in discussing a Bill that all knew would have to be abandoned was not treating Members fairly. If they were to credit the reports in circulation, an event was likely to transpire in "another place" next week which would bring them back to Parliament in the autumn. If such was the design of the Cabinet, was it fair of them to keep Members hanging on in London until the middle of August beating the air? If they selected from the list of Bills those they meant to carry, and then stated their decision to the House, there was every disposition on both sides and in every quarter to give effect to their intention. The President of the Board of Trade had spoken rather slightingly about the claims of private Members. He did not wish to re-debate the question, as he had expressed his opinions on it repeatedly. But he would say this —that while the time placed at the disposal of the Government had increased every year—and never more than during the last two or three Sessions—the time at the disposal of private Members had decreased in like proportion. He regretted this. He could see many disadvantages arising from it; but it was no use arguing the point then. He must protest against the statement of the President of the Board of Trade, that there had been any wilful Obstruction this Session. There had been delay, undoubtedly—unnecessary delay, perhaps —but Obstruction of the kind known to Parliamentary practice had not occurred. The right hon. Gentleman complained of

the Votes of Censure; but those Votes of Censure were demanded by the condition of public affairs. The Government were engaged in one of the most momentous enterprizes of modern times. They were busy hatching the egg of a new African Empire. They were bungling in the process, and the Opposition were not only justified in discussing their policy, but if they had failed to do it, they would have been recreant to their duty and the interests of the country. After Egypt, the main work this Session had been the Franchise Bill. They had been told by a Member of the Government that that would effect one of the greatest revolutions that had been accomplished in this country since 1688. If that was the case, was there any man there who would undertake to say that an undue amount of time had been spent over it? Some points had been talked about too long, and some extraneous topics had been dragged into it; but, taking the controversy as a whole, he held that the Bill had made as fairly rapid progress through the House as any man experienced in legislative work could have expected. It was easy to say that one speech was too protracted and one Resolution was uncalled for; but as long as they had an Assembly of 600 Members—every one of whom had an equal right to speak—there would be tautology and verbosity. As far as his experience of Parliament went, he believed that in recent weeks the House had got into its normal condition, and that as reasonable an amount of progress had been accomplished as, under the circumstances, could have been looked for. The right hon. Gentleman complained generally of the delay in legislation. He and his Friends seemed to regard the House of Commons as a law-making machine, and nothing more. He (Mr. J. Cowen) did not share that opinion. He thought that Parliament had other functions besides passing Bills, and that the modern craving for legislation was not only unnatural, but, in the end, would be injurious. The greatest people were those who had the fewest legal restraints. The most powerful nation was that in which the greatest number of men were a law unto themselves. They required considerable legislation in the complicated society in which they lived; but he conceived that many of the laws they passed were unnecessary, some of them ineffective, and some of them baneful. They had far better try to make vigorous, self-reliant, self-dependent men than have men hampered in all their actions by swaddling bands. His hon. Friend the Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Richard) had expressed a desire that the Motion with respect to the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales should be discussed. He, too, was anxious for such a discussion, and regretted that there had not been one already. He would take the liberty of making one other remark. His hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), who had charge of the Resolution, used to be extremely tenacious of private Members' rights in the last Parliament; but he had witnessed, without opposition and without protest, not only their reduction, but their absolute abolition in the present. While sorry that the debate he wished to initiate could not take place, he confessed that he felt a quiet pleasure in seeing applied to his hon. Friend the restraints that he had so willingly applied to others.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, that if the Government had come down earlier in the Session, and stated that there were a certain number of Bills which, in their judgment, it was desirable should be passed, and had asked special facilities for the purpose, the House would have been willing to meet them. But he agreed with the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) that the Bills they were now pressing forward were Bills which had no chance of being passed. It appeared to him that the Secretary of State was anxious to obtain the second reading of an impracticable Bill for no intelligible purpose whatever. He considered that the House was asked, practically, to waste several days, in in order that the Government might have their vanity flattered by being able to boast that the Commons had passed the second reading of the London Government Bill. It was quite unprecedented for the Government to make such a Motion without stating what they were going to do with the time placed at their disposal. He hoped the House would emphatically refuse to assent to it.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he thought it was rather strange that in the present political situation the Government should have come down, in the lull before the storm, and taken up this

position with reference to the Business of the House. The House had a right to insist on its being no longer trifled with. They had a right to know why the Government wanted to waste a large amount of public time; and it was the more important that they should be told this, as the air was full of strange rumours, and everyone believed that a crisis of some kind was at hand. The questions of the Civil Service and of Disestablishment were placed on the Paper for discussion; and although they were questions which ought not to be trifled with, and were of the greatest importance, all opportunity of discussing them would be lost if the London Government Bill were to be proceeded with. He should also like to point out to the Government another question on which life was depending, and that was the question of over-pressure in Voluntary Schools. If the Vice President of the Council succeeded in killing three children every week, and an Inspector every six months, that was surely a question which the House ought to discuss. It was a further reason for not acceding to the demand of the Government that both the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War were absent, and that the Home Secretary had been left as the Representative of the Government. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was certainly a very fit representative of the Prime Minister, as he had contrived to make four speeches on the subject.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL HOGG said, that on behalf of private Members, and as the official representative of a Public Body, he felt bound to enter his protest against the proposition of Her Majesty's Government, which he thought was very unfair. On the second Wednesday of this Session he had got a Bill read a second time; but it had been postponed time after time, because Her Majesty's Government took away from private Members on Tuesdays and Fridays all possibility of bringing forward any measures intrusted to their care. The Bill he referred to was the Metropolitan Board of Works (Further Powers) Bill. It had been 16 times on the Notice Paper, and 16 times had he come down to proceed with it; but it had been impossible to go on with it. He did not grudge any time or trouble; but he grudged this—that, after the Metropolitan Board of Works had intrusted him with a very great and important Bill, to enable the Board, if it existed next year—and he thought that it was hopeful—to deal with the Water Companies, which was one of the most pressing wants of the day, he should be unable to proceed with the measure. On the first day that the Bill of the Home Secretary was brought in, the House was informed that the Metropolitan Board could not deal with the Water Question. Why could it not deal with the Water Question? Because they did not receive the assistance which they had a right to demand, and because the Government blocked the way with impossible measures. The Government could have no serious hope that they would be able to pass the London Government Bill this Session. Everybody in his senses knew that. It was impossible to adequately discuss such a measure, dealing with the interests, the health, and the happiness of 4,000,000 of people in such a short time; and it was unjust that they should be compelled to pass such a measure in a hurry, merely because it suited the Government purposes to pass it. He should certainly take the sense of the House upon the subject.

MR. MAC IVER said, he did not think that the Government would make any good use of the Tuesdays. No consideration should be shown to the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), who, when he had had a good place for his Motion on a Tuesday, had withdrawn his Motion, in order that the House might be "Counted out" for the convenience of the Government, to prevent him bringing forward his Motion with reference to the loss of life and property at sea. He thought they had reason to complain of the action taken by the President of the Board of Trade with respect to the Merchant Shipping Bill, because by that action those who had been attacked would be prevented from defending themselves. The right hon. Gentleman had himself admitted that the loss of life at sea was largely due to bad legislation; and the Bill ought to be proceeded with, so as to enable it to be shown that there were alternative proposals.

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that the House is not discussing the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Bill.

MR. MAC IVER said, he trusted the Speaker would pardon him. [*Laughter, and cries of* "Oh, oh!"] He did not appeal to hon. Members below the Gangway on the Liberal side. He hoped that the Speaker would pardon him for pointing out that he was not discussing the Merchant Shipping Bill, but only provisions which, in his opinion, ought to be substituted.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member would not be in Order in discussing that.

MR. MAC IVER said, he at once bowed to the decision of the Speaker; but he appealed to the President of the Board of Trade to afford an opportunity, before the close of the Session, for discussing the constitution and functions of the Board of Trade. It was perfectly clear what ought to be done, and he hoped the Government would give a means of discussing the question; but he ventured to think that Her Majesty's Government were more anxious to save themselves than to save the lives of British seamen.

MR. WARTON said, that he had as good a right to complain of the conduct of the Government as any Member in the House, for he had secured the first place for two important questions next Tuesday, and also on the third Tuesday in the month; and so far back as the 1st of April he had given way in order to oblige the Government. It would have been more graceful if Ministers had told the House what they intended to do. Up to a very recent date the House did not expect the Home Secretary's Bill to come on.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT could not but sympathize with the Home Secretary in his attachment to his Bill, although that Bill was both impracticable and mischievous. The House would be surprised at the audacity of the President of the Board of Trade, who had pointed out that many lives would be saved by the Merchant Shipping Bill, and yet put that Bill in the same category as the London Government Bill. Whose fault was it if the Shipping Bill had not advanced? Months ago the right hon. Gentleman was urged to refer the measure to a Select Committee, and if it had been so referred great progress would probably by this time have been made with the Bill. Then the President of the Board of Trade had complained of the Votes of Censure. But who was to blame for them? What was now the state of Egypt and the Soudan? The one was a pandemonium, and the other in a state of anarchy.

MR. SPEAKER: I must request the hon. Member to confine himself to the Question before the House.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he would not further refer to Egypt. It was Ministers who had wasted time, not only during this but duriug the preceeding four Sessions, by their mistaken policy with regard to Irish and other question. [*Cries of* "Question!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I must again remind the hon. Member that he is wandering from the question before the House. That question is a definite one, and has nothing to do with previous Sessions.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that he was discussing the grounds upon which the Government asked for Tuesdays. It was the Government who, by their mismanagement, were far more responsible for the waste of time than private Members. He complained that he was not allowed to refer to a subject of the greatest importance, which involved the safety of thousands, if not millions, of people; and that was the danger which was now threatening Egypt. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Name!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I hope the hon. Member will not oblige me to call further attention to the irrelevancy of his speech. I have done so twice; and if I have occasion to call him to Order a third time, I shall be obliged to resort to other measures.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he bowed to the ruling of the Chair. He had not, however, gone as fully into the questions raised by the Motion before the House as some Members of the Government had done. The Government had not established their case; and he should oppose the Motion.

MR. MACARTNEY said, the Government were much more intent on keeping Office than of saving the lives of sailors. While the Opposition were charged with Obstruction, the delay of Public Business was entirely due to the mismanagement and misgovernment and the reticence of the Government, who had caused infinite waste of time by refusing to give information on what was going on in any part of the world, in answer to

reasonable Questions. If they had been more communicative, Business would have gone on much more smoothly.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

LONDON GOVERNMENT BILL.

(Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. George Russell.)

[BILL 171.] SECOND READING.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [3rd July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "while ready to consider the question of a reform in the Government of London, this House declines to assent to a proposal by which the control over the levying and expenditure of rates would be vested in one central body to the practical extinction of the local self-government of the various cities and boroughs of the Metropolis,"—(*Mr. Ritchie,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. W. M. TORRENS: I will not discuss the question raised by my hon. Friend opposite as to the possibility of this Bill going further. But I believe the people of London are much interested in the determination by this House of what I take to be the principle of the Bill, which principle is legitimately raised at this stage on the second reading. Moreover, I think it would be of great importance to the future good government of the Metropolis, if the House should come to a wise conclusion as to what the fundamental principle of legislation on this subject should be. My hon. Friend on this side of the House, in his ingenuous speech last night, contended that what is called local government as now existing in London is in that sense worth little or nothing. I am of opinion that the people value very highly their present system for self-protection against wasteful expenditure and reckless overcharge, although, perhaps, they may not consider it is the most complete system that can be devised. But I do not believe that they wish to be divested of their only guard against the costly caprices of centralization, without knowing distinctly why they are to be deprived of the powers which they have exercised under the direction of Parliament without question, for a quarter of a century. For my own part, I do not like to hear the Ministers of the Queen disparage existing institutions, which they ought rather to support. I differ from my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board, as to the way in which he and the Home Secretary have held up to ridicule the existing Municipalities of this our "Province covered with houses." These institutions were invented by Parliament, and confirmed by Statute over and over again, and under them a vast amount of useful work has been done, and an enormous amount of taxation has been levied. One of our best and wisest traditions, seldom if ever departed from, is that which forbids exceptional legislation for any Province of the Empire, unless its unruly and disobedient condition renders the operation of ordinary laws abortive; or unless the specific change is demanded in clear and unmistakeable terms by a decisive preponderance of the industry, wealth, and intelligence of the community, whose normal rights are about to be taken away. Neither of these conditions can be alleged on the present occasion. The Province of London, consisting of the 10 cities and boroughs of the Thames, with a vast appendant fringe of urban property and population, is not only the richest and most independent, but the most peaceful and orderly Province in the Kingdom. Two facts suffice to attest the character of the Metropolis in this respect—the unexampled increase of rateable property possessed by an unparalleled number of industrious owners; and the proportionate diminution of the civil force found necessary by the Executive to preserve order. Is it because this great cluster of separate and self-supporting towns is diligent in business, fervent in loyal spirit, uncomplaining beneath heavy burthens, and untiring in

works of education and charity, that it is to be capriciously divested of the Municipal independence which all other boroughs in the Kingdom enjoy? If each and all of the cities of the Thames have been judged fit, for many years, to send separate Members to this House, to take part in the supreme Council of the nation, are they to be disfranchised, without their consent, of those local rights of self-rule which, time out of mind, every important borough around them exercises; and all this wanton change in defiance of the multiplied protest and prayers of their existing Municipal Authorities, and of great bodies of ratepayers besides, expressing their spontaneous will? It is mere trifling to treat the opposition to this Bill as only a City question. Since its introduction, three months ago, 180 Petitions have been presented against it; not a dozen in its favour; and, inasmuch as no fewer than 140 have been signed by the chairman only of a public body or a public meeting, the number of ratepayers actually represented by adverse Petitions cannot be computed at less than 40,000 or 50,000. Other tests of public opinion, equally cogent, it does not become the Legislature to disregard. Notwithstanding the influence of the Government, who are to be endowed with a vast amount of local patronage for the centralized working of the measure, and temptations of every degree held forth in the prospect of retiring pensions for the numerous office bearers under the present system in each constituency, what is the known judgment of a decisive majority of Metropolitan Members? Is it conceivable that, irrespective of Party, class, and calling, two to one of my hon. Friends and Colleagues not holding Ministerial Office should have openly expressed opinions hostile to the scheme? What right, I ask, has this House to disregard, in so signal a manner, the reciprocal respect always presumed, and always professed, for the local wishes and predilections of each constituent Province of the Empire? If we asked to be treated differently from all the rest, or if we set up some new-fangled claim to Corporate rule, jealousy of innovation, or the fear of untried example, might justify the attempt to overbear a representative minority by the unconcerned votes of mere numbers. But we ask for nothing that the oldest cities and the smallest county towns have not possessed by Charter or Statute time out of mind—nothing that the largest and most populous manufacturing towns, uprisen to importance in our own day, have not been emulous to obtain. We ask no more; but we shall certainly be content with no less. A flimsy and futile excuse is made that until we were threatened with what is miscalled "unification," separate Charters have not been asked for. Well, what has this rather unfair reproach come to? Nine-and-twenty years ago, Parliament thought fit to impose an imperfectly developed Municipal system for London, chiefly with the object of modernizing certain portions of parochial rule; and creating the means of electing—for a few great common purposes, thoroughfares, and thorough drains, river embankments, and open bridges—the useful body called the Metropolitan Board of Works. Many public men of experience demurred at the time to the shortcomings of the Vestry scheme; but as it left each of the great localities the control of its own rates and taxes, and secured to the active and energetic men, whose worth was known to their neighbours, an effective voice in the management of their own concerns, the confiding and good-natured townsmen of Middlesex and Surrey set to working out the experimental institutions allotted them. And I maintain that, though, in some instances, they may have failed, in the main the Vestries have done as well as could have been expected, and that the business of local self-government in Marylebone, Paddington, St. George's, Hanover Square, Islington, and many others, have been more economical and efficient than that of several of our boastful Provincial towns. But if Whitehall, in its wisdom, has discovered that something better may be attempted, why are not the great communities, whose fates and whose rates, whose privilege and whose pride, are at stake, consulted as to the changes they would desire? Anything else, disguise it as you will, is mere political empiricism. I have myself been asked, in taunt, why, if I prefer separate Municipalities, and if I believe the people would prefer them, I have not brought forward a competing plan of that kind this Session? My answer is easy and plain. Long before the introduction of the pre-

sent measure, the principle of further Parliamentary Reform was, after full debate, adopted by the House; but only adopted upon the assurance, given in the most emphatic terms by Ministers, that a Redistribution Bill should be brought in next Session, in which we were told that the representation of London should be reconstructed in proportion to population and property. Would any man in his senses have proposed the municipal rearrangement of our Metropolitan boroughs, pending their Parliamentary redistribution? We do not want fantastical or outlandish lines of demarcation on different maps for different purposes. Ours is the old-fashioned English notion that every borough deemed entitled to send separate Members to Parliament ought to have its own centre and source of municipal life within itself. For good or for evil, this has been the acknowledged principle of local self-rule in the Realm for centuries. Despotic Kings and conspiring Ministers have, at various times, endeavoured to subvert it; but they have never succeeded for long; the practical good sense of the community has always reclaimed the privileges of which it was sought to despoil them; and we see no reason, because we happen to dwell on the banks of the same great river, that we should be treated differently, or told to relinquish our separate homes of self-rule for the sake of being flung into one huge truckle-bed of centralization. We look upon this scheme as one of vast monopoly, which, for purposes of practical utility, would prove unworkable; and, for the fancied sake of uniformity, would prove an utter delusion. We do not believe that the aggregate ignorance of local wants is the concentration of general knowledge, or that it would be possible to get the best men of the middle classes to make the sacrifice that would be necessary all the year round of time and health and labour in the infinite details of local government for 4,000,000 of people. If you insist on making the attempt, the first thing you ought to do in Committee is to insert a clause that, from and after the passing of this Act, the hours of the day in the Metropolis should be 36, instead of 24. What may be accomplished when that is done my poor wits do not enable me to say; but until you have found the extra time required for the purpose, it would be worse than idle to pretend to believe that independent business men would undertake the overwhelming task: and, if not, what must ensue? Inevitably, though it may be insidiously, and at first almost imperceptibly, the substitution of paid officials for the unbought services of the men whom everywhere in their respective spheres, society in England has hitherto delighted to honour. A more corrupting and disintegrating change than this cannot be conceived. Bad laws of rating, sanitation, or police, when their blunders are laid bare, may be repealed, and better rules about assessment, sewerage, and constabulary may be adopted. But bad habits of local life, and of mean, unmanly dependence on central authority, stipendiary justice, and hired protection are not easily remedied, and when once introduced, can perhaps be never thoroughly eradicated. I do not believe that with all the army of Inspectors, and Sub-Inspectors, Commissioners at high salaries, and assistants, looking to advancement by jobs, clerks without number, and deputies without end, you would get the daily work of Metropolitan administration better done under the control of a Central Council. I am sure that you could not get it done at anything like the same cost to the ratepayers; but, even if you did, I believe it would be dear, very dear indeed, at the money. The pretence that, in a Central Council of 240, triennially chosen by Party excitement and lavish expenditure on blue posters and brass bands, you would get a superior class of men to take charge of the multifarious concerns of 10 great cities and towns, is no more than the inconsiderate chatter of West End Clubs, whose idle members look to the opening of a new career of sociable and political ambition. The promise, indeed, of such notoriety as may be gained by a few canvassing speeches and a few reckless votes when elected is distinctly held out to these pretenders, who, having no definite pursuit, and no practical knowledge, and no spare cash for speculation in Parliament, want a career that, out of nothing, will give them a chance of something. They cannot dig, but to brag they are not ashamed. They know nothing of prices that ought to be paid for contracts; nothing of values

that ought to be confirmed or rejected in surveys; nothing of the ebb and flow of the currents of trade; nothing of the pinch and fret and grief of labour; nothing of the puzzle and perplexity, the greed and the gain, that beset the overstrain of our day of competition; but they are ready to jostle from their natural place the sensible and experienced men of the middle classes, who everywhere else justly and rightfully govern local affairs as their fathers had done before them. I do not hesitate to say that this sort of over-centralization is in every sense and every aspect capable only of producing disappointment and mischief; that, however well meant as a monster experiment, its blunder would end in plunder; because it would gradually stifle all hope or possibility of spontaneous local control, substituting, or rather pretending to substitute for it, that which must, upon trial, be found utterly ineffectual. The opportunity of taxing without check or limit £30,000,000 of rateable property is too great a temption to be offered to any set of men, or rather to a majority of any set of men, chosen as this Council would be. The first few flagrant cases of partizanship or jobbery might be brought before this House; but the instincts of self-preservation would soon compel us to discourage such appeals. We are not in a condition to trifle with any serious addition to our judicial taskwork, already grievously overgrown Two years ago, we were asked to surrender many of our valued privileges for the sake of gaining a few hours of indispensable time; but if we are asked to review and revise the local controversies of 10 Metropolitan cities, how shall we ever get to bed? We shall soon be asked to sit upon Saturday, and I tremble even for the Sabbath. Only conceive the additional number of Questions that would appear on the Paper daily about matters of which the House could possibly know nothing, and the answers to which it could not possibly understand. And all this for what? To afford 240 loud-voiced demagogues and passive nominees of the Government of the day the opportunity of calling themselves Town Councillors; and hustling out of their proper places the men who best understand how local work should be done. Apart from all other considerations, the moral and social value of local self-rule is ineffably great; as well described by Lord Russell, when showing how closely connected it has always been with our representative system, in which all men of public energy and talent cannot bear a part, it taps everywhere near its source the social ambition to render public service, which, in the main, has so much to do with all that is good and sound in our national life. The Secretary of State for the Home Department has criticized with great severity the incidents of the late agitation in certain parts of the Metropolis; but he has entirely failed to show that the public in general sympathize with the shouting and hooting of a few misconducted crowds here and there; or that the opinions and wishes of the magistrates, clergy, proprietors, employers, professional men, and respectable traders of every degree are in favour of this fantastical and outlandish measure. I freely admit that some of the public meetings recently called to discuss its provisions have been disgraced by interruption and clamour. I am sorry to say that resort to unworthy expedients of this kind for out-voting and overpowering opponents has of late grown more common than it used to be. By whomsoever used, or on whatsoever pretence, I think we are all bound to repudiate what is really nothing more or less than a return to barbarism by the needy and ignorant who lend themselves to such proceedings. But I entirely deny that the bulk of the thoughtful, industrious, and respectable community are swayed in the least degree by feeble and factious efforts at uproar, of which, after all, not one in 20 of them have ever heard. I can truly say of my own constituency that, with very few exceptions, the feeling is unanimous against any further experiments in centralism, of which they think they have already had more than enough. They know that their rates have doubled of late years, and that they are still increasing, not by local extravagance, but owing to fresh impositions exacted by precept, which they may not dispute or cut down, from the Central Bodies which have been given control over poor relief, asylums, drainage, and schools. I scarce know a man whose judgment in practical matters I am used to consult, in suburb, City, or West End, who does not regard this Bill as unworkable. The real author of the scheme is the hon. and

learned Gentleman the junior Member for Chelsea; for it is the reproduction in all its leading provisions of that which he brought in four years ago: even the mystical number of the proposed Town Council being the same in both. When asked why police and water supply were omitted in this new edition of Municipal monopoly, my hon. and learned Friend candidly owned that these were left out for the present only; but that once the novel power was firmly seated in the position now claimed for it, these and every other department would gradually be clutched, and would inevitably be won. We are asked, in short, to enact this measure as a first chapter in the code of expropriation and absorption. In one of his many speeches on the subject out-of-doors, he has foreshadowed the certain progress of Municipal confiscation. The shows and hospitalities of the City would be allowed for a time to remain; but its endowments and trusts are certain eventually to go. The civil force of the capital would shortly be placed under the command of a chief magistrate, chosen, it might be, without any previous qualification, by popular whim. Waterworks, hospitals, thoroughfares, public places of recreation, workmen's dwellings, board schools, gas lightings, and workhouses, must all be brought within the one irresponsible grasp, and be rendered submissive to its paramount will. Well might he sum up the whole in the significant phrase that what he and his friends desire is the creation of a London Parliament. A pleasant look out this for the sorely-perplexed and much troubled Body that has hitherto borne exclusively the name of Legislature within this Realm. Well, Sir, we do not want any clique of men, however, chosen absolutely to rule over us. We have had abundant and varied experience of fiscal centralization, and we want no more of it. Assimilation of wood-pavement, fireplugs, gas lamps, and the rules of oakum picking, may be important improvements in the pragmatical opinion of Whitehall; but even these prodigious benefits may be bought too dear. Any material benefit would be bought too dear if purchased at the sacrifice of local life and local self-content. The 10 cities of the Thames, like other enlightened cities, know the value of co-operation for common purposes, which are comparatively few; but they comprehend likewise the advantages, which are comparatively many, of the application of their own resources to their own wants, and of competition in the means adopted for supplying them. We do not ask you to revoke what you have already decreed in the way of a common poor fund, a common school rate, or a Metropolitan Board of Works; though I hope my hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of that Body (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) will not take it amiss, if I say that we think he and his colleagues in Spring Gardens are already overworked, and that their zeal for the Public Service would earn them more credit if they had fewer subjects to attend to. The prevalent conviction that has grown up and grown strong by experience amongst us is, that in this important matter of Municipal rule, as in every other department of English life, the two things are the true things—local independence, balanced, not overborne, by federative institutions: central authority, acting as umpire and arbiter between occasionally conflicting interests, not ravening for prey at their expense. What would the self-contained and self-reliant towns of Lancashire or Yorkshire, of Scotland or of Ireland, say, if it was proposed to jumble them together under one Mayor, and to allow none of them to make a new sewer, raise a new fountain, christen a new street, make a fresh contract for emptying dust-bins, or hiring another clerk or additional beadle, without asking leave of the dominant faction that happened to be uppermost for the day at Central Quarters? How long do you suppose such an exotic scheme would last? I say exotic, because the only two examples you have been able to find in Christendom are French and American. In the midst of the madness of 1792, Paris was persuaded that it ought to be one and indivisible. With certain intervals of Imperialism, Royalty, and Communism, the forms of Centralized Municipality have been kept up; but how and with what results? At every whirl of the revolutionary wind, the civic machinery has been made subservient to purposes of confusion and convulsion; and such is the dread of the opportunity of mischief it affords, that down to the present day, even under a Democratic Republic, the Mayor of Paris is not allowed to be

chosen by the people or their representatives, but is nominated by the Head of the State. And what has the Centralized Corporation done for Paris? Compare their death-rate with any one of the cities of Surrey or Middlesex; compare the provisions for sewerage or lighting; compare the local rates, which are notoriously greater than ours. The other signal example is that of New York, which, in a moment of frenzy, having certain abuses which had been suffered to gain head, rashly resolved to suppress the distinct and separate institutions under which it had long thriven apace, and to establish a Mammoth Council after the pattern held up to Republican admiration in Paris. There has been some controversy about the details of this experiment, which, after all, was, in point of numbers, not half as extravagant as the same thing in London would be. I happen to have, within my own knowledge, an authority on the subject which I will give to the House without note or comment. Some time ago, before the right hon. Gentleman's Bill was in print, a gentleman of character and fortune from the other side of the ocean brought an introduction from a leading statesman at Washington, who said he desired some information about our institutions, with which he was anxious to compare his own. In the course of our conversation, he asked, was it true that we were thinking of boiling everything down to one indiscriminate uniform level, instead of preserving our old distinctive ways and means of life? I said, "I hope not;" and I assured him that some of us, at least, were not afflicted with such a foolish desire. "But," I rejoined, "how does it fare with you?" He replied—"I take it, stranger, the difference 'twixt you and us is just this—we are in the mud, and we have to get out of it; you have first to get into it, and then, if you can, to get out of it." Not being particular, I own I have no fancy, from what I have since heard from numerous other testimonies of the state of things in New York, to see London reduced to anything like the same condition for the mere sake of uniformity. Rather I should say, "Diversity for ever!" tending, as it does, to economy, liberty, and self respect. The multitude have been told that this Bill will confer on them additional power, because, by 400,000 votes, they would be able for the first time to choose 240 men to administer the innumerable concerns of 10 overgrown cities. Sir, I can afford to use all plainness of speech when dealing with fair promises and specious hopes held forth to the people, for there is not a right or privilege that has been accorded to them in the last 30 years for which I have not voted, spoken, or written; and there is no enactment that will truly serve to better their condition which I am not ready and willing to support. Only one thing I will not do to please the people—I will not fool them by flattery into believing that they are not, as other men are, incapable of carrying on wisely an overgrown system of Centralized Government either directly or by deputy. I believe that the men who would consent to serve upon the Central Body it is proposed to constitute, and to give up the whole of their time to the duties it must involve, would not be the sort of men fit to be intrusted with them. I believe that they would be the idlers and speculators, spouters and jobbers, that would inevitably float to the top in every successive commotion, because of their want of weight; and when they failed, the cry would be raised to get clever officials, at high salaries, on whom the whole business of urban rule would devolve. But what does this imply? It was not by a multiplied staff of officials that local liberty had been cultured in England. It was by enlisting the infinitely varied shades of local competency, from the hard-toiling tradesman to the country gentleman, and rewarding them each and all in their respective spheres by the approval and praise of their neighbours, that public virtue had been nurtured and strengthened throughout the land; and it is only by such means that the genuine love of self-rule can be preserved. The tendency of exaggerated centralism is inveterately at variance with the English spirit of liberty; for it seeks to substitute the hard and selfish motives of venal devotion for the higher and worthier impulses that have hitherto prevailed. Complaint is made, and sometimes with truth, that our Metropolitan communities lack thews and sinews, owing, no doubt, to the sense of their overgrown size; and that is the reason why we ought to strengthen them by every means in our power. But this Bill would pluck them

up by the roots, and substitute for them nothing but mechanical routine and agency. Failing to persuade us by other arguments, the Secretary of State for the Home Department has appealed to our fears, on the score of sudden calamity, and has striven to scare us by the impending danger of cholera. If we do not pass this Bill, pestilence may come; and because there is over-crowding and misery in certain parishes, which, he well knows, neither this or any other Statute can suddenly eradicate, the plague may come upon us, and our homes will be made desolate, because we have not adopted this particular form of law. But if he really believes in the peril, why is not the Metropolitan Asylums Board called on at once to exercise suitable precautions? Nobody has ever accused it of slackness or parsimony in using the powers it possesses; and if new powers are necessary, why not bring in a short Bill, giving it fresh powers, which all of us would vote for, and which might be passed within a week?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: We have brought in a Bill for the purpose.

MR. W. M. TORRENS: Then there is an end of the argument derived from the danger of cholera; and, at all events, it must be clear to the most thoughtless that, as the present proposal, with its numberless clauses and sub-sections, would take many weeks to discuss, and then, should it pass, would take as many months to bring into operation, it is wholly delusive to press for its passing on the ground thus assigned. For all these reasons, and with many thanks to the House for permitting me, with so much length, to state them, I must give my vote against the second reading.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he thought the House must be completely puzzled by the speech of the hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. Torrens). No man who was not already thoroughly acquainted, in all its details, with the system of government existing in London at the present time could possibly gather any but an incorrect impression of that system from the speech. The hon. Member spoke, over and over again, of the historical associations attaching to the 10 cities of the Metropolis as if they were existing Municipalities; and had complained that the Bill would take away from them the municipal rights which they had possessed for ages. This was a pure figment of the hon. Member's imagination; the boroughs had no municipal existence.

MR. W. M. TORRENS: I spoke of the borough system of England created by Act of Parliament in 1835, and asked why you disfranchised them?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the hon. Member, in making his explanation, repeated his statement that we proposed to disfranchise Municipalities. The Government did not propose to do so. Let them take the case of the hon. Member's own borough, there were six or seven local authorities in that borough, the borough had no ancient boundary, it was a creation of the Act of 1855, it had not even the dignity of an 1835 creation; and as to the character of some of those bodies, even the hon. Member would admit that they were not deserving of any great consideration at the hands of that House. The hon. Member declared that the Bill was practically the Bill of his (Sir Charles W. Dilke's) hon. Colleague. On that he joined issue. The Bill of his hon. Colleague contained no District Councils or Representative Bodies in the various existing localities; it created one great Central Body, and no local bodies. The proposals of the Government were really those embodied in a series of carefully-drawn Resolutions brought forward by Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth in the last Parliament, on which the House pronounced an adverse opinion by a small majority.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: It was a large majority.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: At any rate, several Conservatives voted with their opponents. The hon. Member declared himself in favour, as against the Government, of encouraging Local Government by local men. That was, in the opinion of the Government, precisely what the Bill would do; and their contention was that the present elections by 13 or 16 votes could not be called elections of representatives at all. His hon. Friend asked them why they wished to take out of the ordinary order of the law and institutions of this country these 10 imaginary cities and boroughs. Their desire was not to take them out, but to put them in. They proposed to apply to London, with exceptions which had to be made owing to its extraordinary size, those principles of municipal self-go-

vernment which were applied by the Act of 1835 to the rest of the country. His hon. Friend based the whole of his speech on the assumed hostility of the public to the Bill. Well, he would only venture to give his own experience as a Metropolitan Member against that of his hon. Friend; and he ventured to assert that if this Bill were now defeated and the Party opposite came into power they would be compelled to carry this Bill. ["Oh!"] Well, that was his opinion. He knew London well. They were told of the number of Metropolitan Members who opposed this Bill — the four Members for the City, the two Members for Westminster, the two Members for Greenwich, and one each for several other boroughs; but his hon. Friend did not name the boroughs in which all the Members were in favour of the Bill. [Mr. TORRENS: Name!] They should come to that by-and-bye. [*Cries of* "Name!"] If they were allowed to go to a Division they would see. It was his firm conviction that if there was a General Election they would not find Conservative candidates offering themselves to Metropolitan constituencies with declarations against the principles of this Bill. As to public meetings his hon. Friend spoke vaguely; but he led the House to think that public meetings generally pronounced against the Bill. He asserted that the exact opposite was the case. From the extreme west of Chelsea down to the extreme east of Greenwich public meetings had pronounced in favour of the Bill. He would take Finsbury, where there were four meetings, two called by the opponents and two by the supporters of the Bill. The two called by the supporters were very large meetings, and they gave an all but unanimous vote. In the other two he was told, as to one, that persons were paid 1*s.* 6*d.* a-piece to attend. It was known where they were paid and who paid them. Well, at that meeting the supporters of the Bill were overborne by these paid persons. At the other meeting, which the hon. Member for Finsbury attended, he was outvoted by an immense majority.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR): No, not an immense majority; it was very nearly equal.

MR. W. M. TORRENS explained that it was just a toss up which party was in a majority; but being opposed to the Bill, he thought it fair to give the benefit of the doubt to the other side.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he should withdraw "immense majority;" but the meeting was called against the Bill, and it decided in favour of it. There had been no serious attempt to deny the statements as to the manner in which the agitation against the Bill had been got up. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) would take his share in maintaining the accuracy of those statements. Reference had been made to Petitions. He should be glad to hear what was the amount of money paid by the City in getting up Petitions against the Bill. There was some interesting documentary evidence on the part of those concerned in getting up the agitation as to what the Petitions cost and the character of those who signed them. The hon. Member for Finsbury had attacked the Home Secretary for depreciating existing Institutions, and for holding up to ridicule existing Bodies charged with the local government of London. Now, the Home Secretary had stated, and he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) said also, that, in their opinion, the majority of the existing Vestries and District Boards did their work very fairly. But, on the other hand, there was a minority which did their work doubtfully; and there were a few who did it about as badly as it could be done. The hon. Member for Finsbury had himself submitted a scheme quite as sweeping as this Bill. [Mr. TORRENS dissented.] He could easily prove it. His hon. Friend, for instance, proposed to establish one Municipality for Finsbury; but that would be a much greater interference with the existing system than the Bill proposed. His hon. Friend would not only give the Local Bodies the power they had now; he would give them some of the power now held by the Metropolitan Board. That was to say, his hon. Friend would sweep the Vestries off the face of the earth. [Mr. TORRENS: Incorporate them.] He contended that his hon. Friend's scheme was just as he had described it; it would sweep Vestries like St. Luke's, St. James's, and St. John's, Clerkenwell, off the face of the earth. That was a greater change than anything contained in the Bill, because the Government maintained the existing areas. No one could be satisfied with the working of the Vestries; but what did his hon. Friend

propose? That there should be a Commission — a Body something like the Railway Commission—to make them do their duty. That was a greater innovation than anything proposed by the Government. The hon. Member for Finsbury had said that he did not wish Finsbury to be divested of the powers which they had long possessed; but inasmuch as Finsbury possessed no Corporation, no such powers had been exercised by them; and, therefore, the Bill did not propose to divest them of any such powers. The hon. Member had told the House nothing about the existing Local Governing Bodies of the Metropolis. When the hon. Member came with a deputation to the Local Government Board, he did say something against the local Vestries; but that night he had said nothing of the kind. But no one had a right to ridicule or to sneer at the Vestries generally, because the majority of them were very good, although some of them were as bad as bad could be. His hon. Friend had proposed a more sweeping scheme of reform than that proposed by the Government, for he would destroy every one of the existing Vestries and District Boards, whereas the Government would keep the existing areas, and would elect District Councils, which might be composed of the same men as the present Vestries. His hon. Friend had proposed to the Local Government Board that there should be a Crown Commission, something like a Railway Commission, to have certain powers over Vestries, and to keep them up to their work. This alone would be a greater interference with them, and a greater step in the direction of centralization than anything that the Government had proposed. The hon. Member had spoken as though he were satisfied with the existing government of London; but as he had proposed a scheme which would revolutionize the existing Bodies, he might be assumed not to be well satisfied with them. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had no desire to ridicule Vestries; he was a vestryman himself, and had been so for years; and, as far as his other duties permitted, he attended the Vestry meetings and took part in their deliberations. He would ask his hon. Friend whether he was satisfied with the composition of the Local Bodies in his own borough? He presumed not, because the hon. Member wished to establish a borough of Finsbury. But the effect of the hon. Member's speech and vote would be to back up those Bodies, and to enable them for an indefinite time to mismanage the affairs of a portion of the Metropolis. The hon. Member knew the composition of the Clerkenwell Vestry well enough, and that the Sanitary Committee of Clerkenwell had been turned out by the Vestry, because Chairman after Chairman of that Committee had reported in favour of sanitary reforms in that parish, which had been year after year vetoed by the Vestry, the majority of the members of which were interested in the property it was proposed to deal with. Some of the most interested of those vestrymen were returned at the head of the poll by 13 votes. Some who had held the Chairmanship of the Sanitary Committee in years past had testified to the harm done by the action of the majority of the Vestry. The Sanitary Committee had now been repressed, and there was no one left to protest against the mismanagement of the affairs of the parish. Was the hon. Member acquainted with the fact that, some years ago, the beadle of one of the parishes of his borough had made £12,000 in consequence of knowing what street improvements were about to be carried out, and that he had managed to get himself elected to the Metropolitan Board of Works, from which he was expelled with ignominy? Vestrymen had been fined over and over again, not only for the breach of sanitary laws, but for adulterations and other offences. His hon. Friend knew the amount of property in his own district which was held by leading vestrymen which was a disgrace and a danger to the whole town. The hon. Member knew of the jobbery which prevailed in some of the Vestries with regard to surveys, paving, and other matters, and of the sums of money made by contractors and dishonest men. Knowing all this, his hon. Friend could not contend that the government of London was in a satisfactory state. The Home Secretary had spoken of some parishes as constituting a danger to the whole of the Metropolis, and on his own official responsibility he endorsed that view completely. He maintained that the sanitary condition of the parish of Clerkenwell rendered that district a

danger and a disgrace to the whole of the Metropolis, and that the Vestry which allowed it to remain in that condition was unfit to exercise the powers entrusted to them. Medical officers of health had testified that they had much difficulty in performing their duties when so many of those who employed them were directly or indirectly affected by the discharge of those duties. He might on this matter quote words from *Hamlet* about "a mildewed ear blasting his wholesome brother." Unsanitary districts were peculiarly liable to be attacked by epidemic diseases, which would necessarily spread from them to other parishes which were better governed. The hon. Member had asked why the Government did not propose to make the Metropolitan Asylums Board the sanitary authority for the whole Metropolis. But it must be remembered that the Metropolitan Asylums Board was a body elected by Guardians, and was a wholly separate and distinct Board. It was a Poor Law Board; but, because it went over all London, it was said —"Take it for a purpose it was not intended for, and make it act for all London." Was it not, he asked, better to form a new body, whose natural duty it would be to do that which it was not the duty of the Metropolitan Asylums Board to do, and one that should be equally worthy of the larger duties they would have to discharge? The noble Lord the Member for Westminster (Lord Algernon Percy) said that this Bill would make no new departure as to attendance at Vestry elections. That was one of the most amazing statements he had heard in the course of this debate. Could anyone suppose that, if this Bill became law, members of Vestries would be elected by two votes? If the noble Lord believed that he would believe anything. He did not wish the House to think he had picked out the parish of Clerkenwell as the only instance in favour of the Bill; he would take another parish, that of St. Luke's. The Governing Body of that parish, which contained some of the worst districts in London, had written to him last November to say that no areas at present existed in that parish to which the Act of the hon. Member for Finsbury would apply; but the hon. Member himself knew that there were extensive areas in that parish to which his Act would apply. Then, again, the Governing Bodies of the parishes of St. Pancras and of Clerkenwell had refused to listen to the proposals of the Local Government Board for making sanitary improvements in their districts. It was an undoubted fact that Vestries and District Boards were less liable to financial control and audit than any bodies which existed. Any conceivable sums might be charged for gourmandizing of the worst description, and large sums were so charged in Clerkenwell, and there was no power to disallow these sums which the ratepayers had to pay. His hon. Friend seemed to agree with the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) that the Metropolis was less heavily rated now than it might be under the proposed scheme. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets stated that the Metropolis was less heavily rated than Provincial towns; but it ought to be borne in mind that that which was included in rates varied in almost every place. Before they could establish any criterion of comparative rating in London and the great Provincial towns they must ascertain what was included in the rates. For example, the rates of Liverpool included water. Then, again, it should be remembered that in London the rates were greatly affected by the fact that London was assessed higher than any other town in the Kingdom. It was assessed nearly 10 per cent higher than most Provincial towns, and 20 per cent higher than some Provincial towns. This, of course, affected the rates, and therefore the comparisons were necessarily fallacious. He had tried to verify the figures given last night by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets, but had been unable to do so. It was worthy of remark, however, that all the boroughs mentioned by the hon. Member were situate in more than one Poor Law Union. The hon. Member for Finsbury had referred to the healthiness of London, and compared it with Paris, which was, he said, less healthy; but surely his hon. Friend must be aware that for the purposes of health generally Paris was governed by a Prefect of Police, who was nominated by the French Government, and who gave directions to the 20 *maires* of the different districts. His hon. Friend likewise spoke of New York; but he knew that his statement was entirely incorrect as to the changes

which had been made. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets had told them that London was the healthiest City in the world of its population. Well, as there was no other City in the world of its population that was a very easy statement to make. If they looked at the death-rate a very fair test as to the effect of the government of London on the health of London was to be found by comparing the decreased rate of mortality in London as against the decrease in the country generally. They must, of course, take the relative rates and the relative decrease. In every part of England and Wales there had been a steady and a gratifying decrease of mortality since the passing of the Sanitary Acts of modern times. In the last 10 years the mean death-rate in London had decreased 1·1 in the 1,000. In the 19 great towns of England, the death-rate had during the same period decreased to the extent of 5·1, being a decrease of 4 per 1,000 in the Provincial towns more than in London.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE: Will the right hon. Gentleman state what the decrease is from?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: In London the decrease has been from 22·1 to 21 per 1,000.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE: And in the other towns?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The decrease has been from 27·7 to 22 per 1,000.

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY: That is a very fallacious test.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that, doubtless, the death-rate was not a very accurate test, because it was necessary to correct it, inasmuch, for instance, as a great many London deaths occurred out of London. Unless the Registrar General's figures were corrected by allowing for those deaths any test of the London death-rate must be altogether fallacious. The death-rate in London was still a great deal higher than it ought to be, and he trusted they would see the time when it would be greatly reduced—say, to two-thirds of its present rate. But the decrease which had actually taken place in London appeared to be connected with the operations of the Metropolitan Board of Works in constructing a system of sewers. Prior to the action of that Board the death-rate of London had been nearly stationary for a great many years at 24 or 24½ per 1,000; but after the partial establishment of the sewer system it fell to 22, and after its complete establishment to a little over 21. This result, he thought, was owing to the action of the Metropolitan Board of Works, which was so well presided over by his hon. and gallant Friend opposite; and he regarded it as a proof that the administration of London by a united Body would be a good thing. At present they had, as regarded sewage, one authority; but as regarded infectious diseases, there were no fewer than 70 authorities in London, while there were 39 authorities which had power in reference to the regulations for tenement houses. Of those 39 some 15 or 20 were now doing their duty. Formerly, only two did their duty. Out of the 39 about 29 were indisposed to do their duty, and some five were absolutely refusing in the strongest terms to do it. That was a specimen of the present system of government of London. The hon. Member had said that there were 27 great services for which London was united at the present moment under the Metropolitan Board; but he should have been glad if his hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury, who desired to destroy that unity, had given the House some notion as to what the services were which he would wish to break up among the 10 different Municipalities. With regard to gas and water in London, there was no authority except Parliament which could be called into play whenever anything had to be done. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets stated last night that the vast majority of those who were interested in the present system of local government in London opposed this Bill. He entirely denied that statement. The hon. Member for Finsbury asked them to pronounce for separate Municipalities; but the hon. Member was not yet prepared for that plan, because he stated that, though there were now 10 Metropolitan boroughs, there might shortly be 20; and, therefore, he wished them to wait for a Redistribution Bill, which could have no conceivable connection with the government of London. The ten boroughs had no root—no ancient life. He admitted the case of the City, and he admitted that as regarded the borough of Westminster there was something, though very little, to be said. As

regarded the other communities of the Metropolis, however, they were the modern creation of that House; and yet his hon. Friend asked them either to take these boroughs and destroy the unity which now existed, or else to wait until other new boroughs should be created by that House. On the contrary, he asked the House to approve the principle of this Bill, which was, in his opinion, the most decentralizing measure that had been seen in modern times.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned"—(*Mr. R. N. Fowler,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Tuesday* next.

CRIMINAL LUNATICS [EXPENSES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Expenses of the detention of Criminal Lunatics in, and of removing Pauper Lunatics to, an asylum, and of contributions towards the cost of maintenance, &c. of discharged Criminal Lunatics under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Criminal Lunatics.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT [COST OF CERTIFICATE].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the cost of the certificate of the death of any registered Medical Practitioner, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session for the consolidation and amendment of the Law relating to Medical Practitioners.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

PARLIAMENT—COMMITTEE OF SELECTION (SPECIAL REPORT).

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY *reported* from the Committee of Selection; That they had added the following Fifteen Members to the Standing Committee on Law, and Courts of Justice, and Legal Procedure, in respect of the Criminal Lunatics Bill, viz.: Mr. Buszard, Mr. Edward Clarke, Dr. Commins, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Inderwick, Mr. James W. Lowther (Rutland), Mr. Morgan Lloyd, Mr. Marum, Mr. Mellor, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Ernest Noel, Mr. Shield, Mr. Waddy, and Sir John Eardley Wilmot.

Report to lie upon the Table.

The House suspended its Sitting at ten minutes before Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MINING INDUSTRY.—RESOLUTION.

MR. BURT, in rising to call attention to the subject of accidents in mines; and to move a Resolution thereon, said, that it was not necessary that he should dwell upon the importance of the mining industry of the United Kingdom; since whether the House looked at the very large number of persons employed in mining—namely, more than 560,000 men and boys, or at the value of the material they produced, the importance of the industry in itself, or on account of the many other large trades that were more or less dependent upon it, he thought they might say it stood at the very head of the great industries of the country. If we stopped our coal supplies, we should stop at the same time nearly every other industry, for our manufacturing establishments were in a large measure dependent upon the production of coal. Now, this mining industry was carried on at a very great sacrifice of life and limb. There was no authentic and complete Return dating further back than 1851; but from that time to the present there had been more than 35,000 lives lost in our coal mines alone, to say nothing of fatalities in connection with metalliferous and other mines. During the last 10 years the total loss of life in coal and metalliferous mines was 12,170, or an average per annum of 1,217. Last year the number was 1,140. These figures told a very sad and terrible tale. Perhaps in comparison with one or two other industries, such as those of the seamen and the railway *employés,* mining entailed a somewhat less loss of life, considering the number of persons employed. But in one respect he thought

mining occupied a very sad pre-eminence, and that was in the number of non-fatal and minor accidents. He was very much surprised when he examined into this part of the question a few years ago. He remembered that the late Mr. Macdonald, who did good service on matters of this kind, both in the House and out of it, estimated, in 1878, that the number of persons injured in mines was about 5,000 per annum. That was considered a somewhat extravagant estimate; but he (Mr. Burt) was quite satisfied that it was very considerably under the mark. There was no complete record; but, from the facts that were obtainable, there could not be the slightest doubt that the number really very considerably exceeded 5,000 a-year. There was a certain amount of authentic information furnished by the Reports of the Miners' Relief Funds, the rules of which provided for relief of men who were laid off work by injury for more than a week. In connection with one Society alone—the Northumberland and Durham Miners' Permanent Relief Fund—no fewer than 14,929 persons received payments on account of shorter or longer periods of injury. That was out of a total of 81,600 members in that Society. There were other Societies in Cheshire, Lancashire, and elsewhere; and if the whole of these Societies were taken together, they found that last year the total number of persons injured was 34,579 out of a total number of 224,000 members. Now, if the ratio of injuries was the same for the whole mining population, that would give a grand total of more than 86,000 persons who were injured every year while following their employment in the mines of the country. It was perfectly true that many of those accidents, fortunately, were not very serious; but they were sufficiently serious to throw the men out of employment, and to deprive them of their ordinary source of income for weeks; and no inconsiderable number of them, he was sorry to say—certainly some hundreds—were permanently injured, and would never more be fit to earn their support by their usual labour. These certainly were some melancholy facts. At the same time, he must admit that a great deal had been done by Parliament in the past. Very valuable Acts of Parliament had been passed in the interest of the miners. Those Acts had had, on the whole, a very beneficial effect; and, bad as the position was at the present time, it was only fair to admit—and he admitted it with great pleasure and satisfaction—that whether they took into consideration the number of persons employed or the quantity of minerals raised, there had been from 1851 to the present time, year after year, a constant and steady diminution in the loss of life. That ought to encourage Parliament to go forward in the direction of inspection and improved management of mines. With regard to inspection, there had been a gradual development. In 1851 there were only three or four Inspectors employed. Then the number was increased to six or seven, and gradually it continued to increase until, at the present time, there were 14 Chief and 12 Assistant Inspectors in connection with coal and ironstone mines. The theory of inspection had also improved and developed. For a considerable time the position held by the Inspectors themselves was that they should never visit a mine unless an accident had occurred, or unless they were specially sent for. That was not only the view of the Inspectors, but also of the Home Office some years ago. The late Sir George Grey, for whose memory he cherished great respect, gave evidence before a Committee of the House in 1857, and he accepted that view as the view of the Home Office. He (Mr. Burt) was very glad to find that latterly that view had been repudiated. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), when Home Secretary, issued instructions to the Inspectors telling them that they were to go to mines whenever requested; that they were to accept even anonymous communications; that they were to go unexpectedly, and were to keep a regular record of each visit they made. That was certainly a very important step in the right direction. It altered the whole theory of inspection. But there was no corresponding increase—in fact, there was no increase whatever—in the number of Inspectors in order to make the inspection more effective. He wished to say that he made no complaint whatever against the Inspectors. He knew many of them. Those with whom he was acquainted performed their duty with great intelligence and with great ability; and he believed, speaking of the In-

spectors as a body, that they would bear comparison with any other body of public servants in the zeal and earnestness with which they performed their important duties. But he said that when the House took into consideration the great number of mines, their areas, and ramifications; when they took into account the enormously increasing amount of clerical work that was constantly devolving upon the Inspectors; when, also, they considered the very large development of the mining interest during the last few years, all these facts together showed the necessity for a considerable increase in the number of Inspectors. In fact, with the present staff of Inspectors, he did not hesitate to say that it was physically impossible that there should be any real and thorough inspection of mines. Very few hon. Members had any notion of the immense area of some of these mines. A terrible explosion occurred some time ago at Seaham Colliery. The Home Secretary paid a visit to the scene of the disaster, and it was a very great satisfaction to the miners, and widows, and to all connected with the colliery, that the right hon. Gentleman showed such personal interest in the matter. The main airways in that colliery extended over more than 12 miles, and that was not at all exceptional. He knew mines in Northumberland, and in Durham also, where the roadways extended over 40 or 50 miles. To inspect a mine of that kind required four, five, or six days, and it was no child's play to have to go through those narrow and intricate passages, and to examine them as they ought to be examined, to ascertain whether everything was right. The mines were also increasing in depth. The hon. Member for North Durham (Sir George Elliot), who spoke on the subject in 1878, declared that they were gradually getting into more dangerous "zones" in the working of these mines. That fact alone showed the necessity for stricter supervision. Even assuming, which he did not admit, that the inspection of mines was satisfactory in 1871-3, it must be remembered that since that time they had developed by fully one-third. The output had gone up more than 40,000,000 tons a-year since then; and that fact alone seemed to make out a good case for increased inspection. In his Motion he raised no question as to the *status* or standard of qualification of Inspectors. The working miners, as the Home Secretary was very well aware, would very much like to see a certain proportion of men advanced from the ranks of labour to act as Inspectors. The only thing he insisted upon, and the only sound principle that would bear examination in or out of the House, was that a sufficient number of thoroughly capable and efficient men should be appointed. He thought it would be advantageous to have men from the ranks if suitable men could be obtained; and he had no doubt that the increased education and mental improvement that were manifesting themselves on all hands among the miners — their progress in scientific questions, their knowledge of mineralogy, and other matters relating to mining—all that led him to think that the spirit of exclusiveness which had for so long characterized the service might, to some extent, be broken through, and they might have men from the ranks of labour appointed as Sub or Assistant Inspector of Mines. He felt all the more confident in approaching the Home Secretary on the subject, because he could not help remembering that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had already taken a very important step in that direction. The right hon. Gentleman had already broken through the old traditions and conventionalities of the Home Office, and had appointed as Inspectors of Factories men who came from the ranks of labour. No doubt objections would be raised to this Motion. The increased cost would, of course, be mentioned. He was one of those who advocated economy; but every now and then he had to come forward and ask for increased expenditure in certain directions. He was well aware, as the Scotch said, that "many a mickle makes a muckle," and that added very much to the expenditure. But if they took into consideration the object aimed at—the saving of human life—such an increase of expenditure would be amply justified, and the right hon. Gentleman himself would admit that the smallest military expedition would swallow up more than would pay the salaries of these extra Inspectors for all time. Doubtless, it would also be said that this step would lessen the responsibility of mineowners. He never

met a mineowner but that objection was used, and in nine times out of ten it was a sham objection. He had never found that a mineowner or other employer of labour had really such a strong desire for responsibility. Their chief objection to the Employers' Liability Act was that it overwhelmed them with responsibility; so that he submitted that there must be some other objection than that, so far as the mineowners were concerned. But he admitted that it might be possible to extend the inspection so far as to lessen the responsibility of individual owners, and it would be a very great evil to extend it so far. The Home Secretary, however, would be the first to admit that we were a considerable distance from even approaching that point so far as mines' inspection was concerned. It only remained for him now to thank the House for the kind attention with which they had heard him. He hoped he had presented his case fairly and temperately, although he had not stated it so fully as he should have done under other circumstances. He had endeavoured to point out the great sacrifice of human life. He had admitted that that sacrifice was fortunately diminishing. The House of Commons and the country were certainly not indifferent to the lives of the mining population. Whenever a terrible explosion or other calamity occurred the hearts of the people of all classes were filled with sympathy; and he had no doubt that the House of Commons, and no Member of the House more than the present Home Secretary, would be desirous of doing all that could be done by legislative enactments and by scientific appliances, supplemented, as he hoped and believed these would be, by increased care and experience on the part of the mineowners and workmen, to diminish, as far as possible, the terrible record of the sacrifice of human life in the working of our mines. He begged to move the Resolution which stood in his name.

Mr. C. JAMES said, he begged to second the Resolution. The greater number of his constituents were working colliers, and he could say there was no class so thoroughly outspoken and independent. When they came together at a meeting they never left you in doubt as to what was in their minds. There was no question about which they were so sore as this question of the inspection of mines. They never complained of the character of the Inspectors. He knew several Inspectors himself, and they were men of great intelligence and industry, and did their work thoroughly well. But when gentlemen were put in a position where no industry could overtake the work it was no wonder that the work failed to be done, and that was the case with the inspection of mines. Formerly, no doubt, according to the rules of the Office, the Inspector did not conceive it to be his duty to go to a colliery until after an accident. That had been lately altered; but still, if they had not improved their staff by increasing their number, what were those gentlemen to do? He wished to draw the attention of the Home Secretary and the House to what happened in the North of England, and to what occurred in the South Wales districts. There was a district in the North of England which included Northumberland, Cumberland, and North Durham. That district raised, in 1882, 16,900,000 tons of coal, and the South Wales district raised in the same year 16,500,000 tons. Anyone would suppose that, all things being equal, the death-rate in the mines in South Wales would be about the same as the death-rate in the North of England districts. What were the facts? The number of deaths in the mines in South Wales was double that in the collieries of the North of England district. In 1882 there were 73 deaths in the North of England district; but in the South Wales district there were 144. This was a serious matter. It might be said that the South Wales mines were more difficult to work than the collieries of the North of England, and that the custom with regard to timbering was different. But those circumstances alone could not and ought not to raise the death-rate in South Wales to 144. It was most important that the Inspectors should turn their attention to the subject, and do what they could to reduce that number to something which represented the normal condition of things—the 73 deaths in the North of England district. He had never seen anything to show why there should be so great a difference between the two districts with regard to the death-rate. But the matter did not rest there. He found that in the North of England nine deaths occurred in shafts; but in the South Wales district the number killed in shafts was 17. Why was that? A

shaft was a shaft all the world over. It was a hole in the ground with machinery to lift people up and let them down; and why should not a shaft in South Wales be as safe as a shaft in the North of England? He could see no reason why they should be killing 17 in the South Wales shafts, when in the North of England, where the same quantity of coal was raised, only nine were killed. Then, with regard to deaths from falls of ground in the mines, that was a matter which possibly ought to be brought prominently before the colliers themselves. Those falls, no doubt, arose in some cases from imperfect timbering; but while in the North of England the number of deaths from that cause was only 32 the number in South Wales was 66. He was sure it was not necessary to do more than mention the matter to induce the Home Secretary to look into it, and see what could be done to reduce the number of deaths in South Wales from falls of ground in pits. Then, again, he wished to call attention to the increase in the output of coal in South Wales since the year 1872. In that year there were 38,000 people employed in the South Wales pits; in 1882 the number was 54,000. The quantity of coal raised in 1872 was 10,000,000 tons; in 1882 it was 16,000,000. Was it, therefore, in accordance with common sense to ask a man who inspected pits in 1872 which raised 10,000,000 tons, to inspect pits with the same care in 1882 which raised 16,000,000 tons? The thing was simply impossible. There were 374 collieries in the South Wales district which the Inspector had to attend to. Some of those pits employed over 1,000 men underground. If the Inspector had those collieries in his office at Swansea, with all their plans, he could not get through the work of inspection, seeing that there were only 300 working days in the year, while there were 374 collieries to be looked after. With reference to the *status* of the men to be appointed as Inspectors, he would say that it was necessary that the work should be done properly, so as to make the miners as contented as possible, and to give them the assurance that all was being done that could be done for them. The colliers, however, would not be assured of that unless they had among them Inspectors who had worked their way through the various underground offices upwards, and who had by honesty and hard work attained to superior positions.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "considering the great development of the mining industry of Great Britain in recent years, the number and extent of the mines, their increasing depth, and the large number of persons employed therein, this House is of opinion that the time has come when there should be an addition to the staff of inspectors of mines,"—(*Mr. Burt,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not wish the House to remain in doubt as to the views which the Government took on this question, which had been so admirably presented by men in every respect fitted to represent the cause of the miners. He did not think it very likely that in the House, as constituted that night, he would find it necessary to wait and listen to arguments from the other side; and, for himself, he had no disposition to argue against his hon. Friends. Besides, he had had the advantage of meeting, the other day, a large number of the men themselves, who spoke with much directness and frankness. It was not necessary to impress upon anyone holding the Office of Home Secretary the importance of this question. That the miners of England were among the most useful class of the people of this country—that they contributed most directly to its wealth and prosperity—were matters of common knowledge. That they were exposed to many risks was a fact of which no one was more aware than himself. The death of an entombed miner was probably one of the most fearful that the human mind could contemplate. There were days, no doubt, when the matter was regarded from a *laissez-faire* point of view; but it was not necessary to argue that aspect of the question now. Parliament long ago decided that some protection was due to men engaged in coal mines. The miners had sent to that House a spokesman who was always heard with respect. Whatever questions might be neglected, and whatever difficulties there might be in making a House at 9 o'clock, those difficulties had not been experienced to-night on account, in the first instance, of the importance of the matter which the House had to consider; and, in the second degree, on account of the respect entertained by

the House for the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt). The facts which the hon. Gentleman had laid before the House, with much earnestness and moderation, were sufficiently graphic. He had told them of the thousands of men whose lives were lost, and whose prospects were damaged by accidents which did not actually destroy their lives. His hon. Friend had referred to the functions of the Inspectors and of the Home Office. He could most sincerely and frankly say that nobody was more fully aware than he was, or deplored the circumstance more deeply, that among the multitudinous and miscellaneous duties of his Office he should not be able to devote more time to this great and important subject, which of itself might well occupy the whole of the time of any official. But, at all events, in the administration of these questions, he had always desired to take the rigorous view of the matter; and when a doubtful question arose he had always urged the Inspectors to take that course which was most likely to secure safety. With reference to closed lamps in mines, he might point out that mines differed immensely in their character. Some mines were much more dangerous than others in consequence of defective ventilation, and some mines were more fiery than others. As he had already suggested to a deputation of miners from South Wales, inspection was of very little use unless the precautions recommended by the Inspectors were accepted and enforced by the miners themselves. Only a few months ago he received from an Inspector a recommendation that the use of closed lamps should be enforced in a mine in South Wales. He did not wish to mention the name of the mine; but he might state that he received the most vehement remonstrances against the order which issued from the Home Office that closed lamps would be insisted upon in this mine. He received communications on the subject from hon. Members who were connected with the district, and a deputation from the miners themselves waited upon him to protest against the hardship and injustice of that precaution, which had been taken for securing the safety of human life. The miners said it placed them at a disadvantage, and caused inconvenience, and they wished him to rescind the regulation; but his answer to them was that he could not assume such a responsibility when it was reported to be necessary for the safety of human life. He thought his hon. Friend had amply made out his case with regard to the number of Inspectors. In consequence of the great consumption of coal in this country mines were going deeper and deeper, and consequently they became more difficult to manage. Since the great famine, as it was called, of iron and coal in 1873, there had been an immense extension of the works of the mines. His hon. Friend had referred to one of the most difficult practical questions of administration that could possibly arise. It was admitted that a certain amount of inspection was necessary in order for security; but it was quite impossible for the Government to undertake such an extensive constant inspection as would be, in itself, a guarantee of security. If they were to attempt to do so, then would really arise what his hon. Friend deprecated—the responsibility of the owners and managers of mines would be destroyed. A statutory regulation which he had stringently enforced required that a visitation of the mine should be made before the men went down. This was one of the greatest securities, and he could not relieve the owners and managers of mines from the responsibility which that regulation entailed. If a mine were fiery, it might become dangerous in an hour. The stroke of a pick might open a vein from which the gas issued, and no inspection could guarantee that mine from a danger which might spring up in a moment. Therefore, it would be simply misleading the House and the miners if he were to represent that the Government could undertake the task of appointing such a staff of Inspectors as would supersede the responsibility of a daily and weekly management of the mine. If that were to be done, they would require to have a Government official attached to each mine in the country, and he was sure his hon. Friend did not propose that. But apart from that, useful functions could be performed by the Government Inspector. First, his visiting the mine and ascertaining the cause of accidents, and arranging for their prevention in future, and by occasional inspection, would operate not only beneficially on the mine visited, but on others which might be visited at any

time without notice. That seemed to be the reasonable limit of what the Government could be expected to do in such a matter as this. If the number of Inspectors 10 years ago to perform such duties was adequate, then it could not be adequate now, and, therefore, he accepted the proposition of his hon. Friend; but he would not expect him at that moment, in a matter of such consequence, which required to be looked at from every point of view, to give any definite pledge upon the subject. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would be satisfied with the observations made to the deputation of miners and to the House, that he was with him on this question. Of course, as the hon. Gentleman said, this would lead to increased pay; but extravagance consisted in what the money was spent for. With regard to the class of men who were to be employed, he must also request his hon. Friend not to expect him to give any definite pledges. He had already made, with great success, the experiment of introducing into the factories' inspection men of the class who were interested in the inspection. When he commenced that practice, there was a great deal of noise and sound about it. It would be a great evil to introduce class considerations in these appointments—to appoint Inspectors who were adverse either to employers or to workmen. It would be introducing class distinctions to determine that any employment of this character should be confined to a particular class exclusive of the rest; this would be the worst of all class distinctions. It was most desirable to give the miners confidence in the inspection, to let them feel that the Inspectors were chosen, not because they belonged to one class or another, but because they were thoroughly conversant with the subject. Another feeling which had influenced him in making the experiment he had was that the industrial classes of the country, who formed the great majority of the community, should feel that they had their share in the Civil Service of the country. Nothing could be more beneficial in the progress of modern civilization than the breaking down of the walls of partition which had separated classes. Differences which had existed between the higher and the middle classes had been very much removed within our lifetime. The educational disadvantages of the weekly wage class were gradually disappearing, and, as the obstacle of imperfect education was removed, he hoped there would be greater interchange and communion between all classes of the community. It would be well to proceed cautiously upon this principle, for a mistake would be injurious to all concerned. This was a statement of the case from the practical point of view, from which he had had to consider it. His hon. Friend would feel that before practical effect could be given to any new views on the subject other Departments of the Government would have to be consulted. As representing the Government in the interests of this large class of men, he hoped the statement he had made would be considered satisfactory to the hon. Member who had introduced the subject, and that he would not press the Motion further at present.

SIR HUSSEY VIVIAN said, that the hon. Member for Morpeth might well be satisfied with what had fallen from the Home Secretary, who, as he understood, practically accepted the Motion, and accepted it unreservedly, simply saying that he required due time to consider how it could best be carried out. Personally, he was entirely satisfied with what had fallen from the right hon. and learned Gentleman. It was a matter he had had under his consideration from the time he entered the House. There could be no doubt on one point, and that was that responsibility must rest upon the mineowners. It would be a dangerous thing to introduce anything which relieved the mineowner from responsibility. But there was no reason to fear that by increasing the inspectorate, responsibility would be taken off the shoulders of owners. The owner who conducted his mine in a proper manner did not fear inspection; on the contrary, he always welcomed it; because the more information an owner obtained the better was he able to maintain the efficiency of the management. If mines were conducted in an improper or niggardly manner, it was well that they should be under constant inspection. It was impossible to overrate the dangers which might result from niggardliness. If anything could be done to prevent danger, it was the bounden duty of owners to do it. It was inevitable that there should be risk and

danger in the business, as much so as in the manufacture of gunpowder or fireworks; but this risk ought to be reduced to a minimum. As to the loss of life in South Wales, it was just possible that the statistics that had been quoted might be explained by a single accident in which a large number of men were concerned. As to falls from the roof, it might be that the system of timbering in the North, where each man timbered for himself, was the better system; but men did not like to change their habits; and in South Wales there was a strong feeling against the double-shift system which prevailed in the North of England. The loss that occurred from a single accident outweighed any advantage to be gained from unduly stinting expense; and it was, therefore, the first interest of the owner to prevent accident. The very best agent he ever had was a man who rose from the ranks, who began as a door boy; and if he wanted to provide for the proper management of a colliery he should like to have a man of that class as his most important underground manager rather than a young gentleman brought up in a kid-glove school and taught high engineering. The Inspectors they had had hitherto were men of a most excellent and praiseworthy class, who had done their duty in the most self-sacrificing manner, and had been the first to be ready to risk their lives whenever a terrible explosion had occurred in a mine. At the same time, he desired to see them aided by men who had been practically and thoroughly acquainted with the working of mines from their boyhood. In conclusion, he believed that the Motion of the hon. Member for Morpeth had done great good, and they must look to the Home Secretary to carry out the promise he had made that night.

MR. HARRIS said, he thought it was only right that the side of the House on which he sat should contribute something to this interesting debate before it closed. He had been much interested in the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), who introduced this Resolution to the House; and he thought that he had put forward the claims of those whom he most particularly represented—namely, the colliers and miners, in a most able and convincing manner. He was also much satisfied with the assurance which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary had given. There was one passage in the Home Secretary's speech to which he meant to take exception more by way of giving the right hon. and learned Gentleman the opportunity of making an explanation than by way of finding fault. The right hon. and learned Gentleman at the commencement of his speech used these words—"I do not think it necessary to listen to arguments from the other side before I rise, &c." Now, he felt sure that he knew the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not mean to infer that this side of the House was likely to be inimical to the proposals of the hon. Member for Morpeth, although his words might give that impression.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that he had no intention of indicating anything of a Party nature.

MR. HARRIS, continuing, said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman would doubtless be the more obliged to him (Mr. Harris) for having given him the opportunity of explaining himself. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear, hear!] The fact seemed to be very apparent that from every part of the House the hon. Gentleman would find support, and it was more for the purpose of giving him this assurance than with the object of making a speech he had risen. The ground had been pretty well covered by previous speakers, and he was glad to agree with them in thinking that a certain number of the Inspectors of Mines should be men who had raised themselves from the ranks, men who knew where the shoe pinched, and who could put their hands on the right place. If to these were added men of the class of mine and colliery managers—and there must be many such now seeking employment owing to the depression of trade—these would be a suitable counterpoise from the coalowners' side, who would oppose any extravagant recommendations which they thought unnecessary. The real object was to save life. Some persons might argue that the wages paid were higher than in many other industries, and that the high wages compensated the men for the risk; but that was no reason why the risk should not be minimised. It must answer the purpose of the employers as well as of the colliers to make the risk of life as small as pos-

sible, because if wages were relatively higher on account of the risks, when the risks were removed or reduced the same difference was not likely to continue, and the industry would draw to itself more of the surplus labour from other centres. He had collected statistics of the earnings of the men in a large steam coal colliery in the North of England, and he found they were as follow:—In 1875 the men earned 8*s.* 6*d.* per diem; in 1876, 7*s.* 3*d.*; in 1877, 6*s.* 6*d.*; in 1878, 5*s.* 7*d.*; in 1881, 5*s.*; and at the present time they were earning about 5*s.*, though a year or so since there had been a small advance. For the nature of the work, he considered 5*s.* a-day was a very low wage, and seeing, moreover, that men could not be expected to work underground for six days in the week, it was quite evident that no part of the cost of extra inspection must come from the men themselves; but, as he had before said, he thought the employers would gain as much in the end as they might lose at present by any small claim upon them to defray the cost of the extra supervision proposed. He presumed the Government did not mean to make it an Imperial charge. It was not that he grudged the expense; but he thought there were other industries which would be apt to claim similar subventions. Having made these few remarks, he would not trespass any further on the time of the House.

Mr. CAINE, as a mineowner himself, also expressed the satisfaction with which he had heard all that the Home Secretary had said on that question that evening. He could assure the right hon. and learned Gentleman that as far as regarded metalliferous mines—and he was not personally entitled to speak in respect to collieries—he should be very glad if they had a much larger amount of inspection than they now had. He was certain, from his experience, that the inspection at present was very inefficient, and not sufficient to meet the requirements of the country. The Home Secretary made use of a phrase in which he agreed—namely, that the tendency of democracy was towards the increased expenditure of money; but he thought it was also towards economy in the expenditure; because economy, after all, was not a parsimonious but a wise expenditure, and he would press upon the Home Secretary that the Treasury should give a larger grant to provide an increased staff of Inspectors. The abolition of the Royal Yachts and other economies which he could mention would provide for the expense that would be entailed.

Mr. BROADHURST thanked the Home Secretary for the way in which he had met the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth. The encouragement offered by the right hon. and learned Gentleman would give very great and wide-spread satisfaction, not only among the miners of the United Kingdom, but also among the other trades of the country generally. There were other departments of industry which required some further attention; but they must take their turn among the matters calling for the consideration of the Government. Reference had been made, in connection with the necessity for the miner himself exercising caution, to a case in which certain miners in South Wales had objected to have closed lamps imposed on them. But it might be said, in extenuation of the view taken by the men, that in that particular district to work with closed lamps meant a considerable reduction in their weekly earnings; and that was the reason why they objected to the new regulations. It was not that they were unwilling to observe the best modes of insuring safety, but because the mode of safety suggested involved a reduction of their weekly earnings. With respect to any risk of over-inspection, there was, he thought, no danger now of their reaching such a degree of inspection as would interfere with the freedom of industry; while, as to the argument about increased expenditure, the people of this country were all for true economy; but did anyone believe that that was either a wise or a true economy which resulted in the sacrifice of health or of human life? He would not presume to advise his hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth as to the course which he should pursue; but after the speech of the Home Secretary, perhaps he would not deem it necessary to press his Motion any further.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE said, he sympathized so heartily with the object of his hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth that he should have been quite prepared to second his Motion that evening, had he not been prevented by a prior engagement from being present at the earlier

part of that discussion. There were one or two points which he wished to refer to. He was anxious that in no system of inspection should the weight of responsibility be taken off the shoulders of the conductors of mines. Most of the mines in this country were in the hands of very responsible owners; and the men employed, or who ought to be employed, to conduct them should be those who were well calculated to carry out those regulations, which, so far as human foresight could devise, were necessary for the safety of the men.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

SIR JOSEPH PEASE, resuming, said, another point which he was anxious to see carried out in the inspection of mines was that the responsibility should not be taken off the men themselves. There was an important clause in the Mines Inspection Act which gave the men the power to examine any mine at any time—a power which he should be glad to see the men put more frequently in force. It was on the intelligence of the men themselves that they should rely in future for the prevention of those mining disasters, rather than on any system of Government inspection. At the same time, inspection was a necessity, and he was glad to think that out of the ranks of the men themselves could be found those whose practical knowledge and ability fitted them to discharge all the duties of Sub-Inspectors.

MR. T. C. THOMPSON said, that instead of expending a great deal of money on the Inspectors, who, no doubt, did their work remarkably well, but who were more theoretical than practical men, some plan should be devised of paying one or two men in each colliery to institute a weekly or monthly inspection. If this system was adopted, he believed a great deal of money could be saved to the country, and much more efficiency would be attained in inspection than at present existed. The causes of accidents in mines were threefold—gas explosion, falling of the roof, and disobedience to orders. Disobedience to orders was one of the great evils which mineowners had to contend against. No doubt, the better class of workmen in the collieries set themselves against the men who broke the rules; but, having no power to interfere, they could not prevent the disobedience. If they had a few selected men acting under an Inspector, and who had some power to interfere in the case of disobedience to the rules, he believed a great many accidents in mines could be prevented.

MR. SALT said, the object of the proposal submitted to the House by the hon. Member for Morpeth must commend itself to every Member of the House irrespective of Party. With reference to the extension of powers of inspection, the House must always bear in mind that inspection alone could never prevent accidents. Inspection might do a great deal in ascertaining the probable causes to which accidents were due, and in indicating how accidents might be prevented; but accidents could not be prevented by an extended system of inspection. With regard to the character of the inspection, he desired to point out that in all cases where Inspectors were employed by the State, especially with regard to this particular class of work, they should not be hostile critics either of the owner or of the men. They ought to be the friends of the employer and the employed; and the real value of a good Inspector was, in the first place, in this—that he extracted the best information on the subject he had to deal with; and, secondly, that he could give advice. It was of the greatest importance, he believed, that the Inspectors who were appointed should be men who were capable from their experience, from their knowledge, from their character, and other considerations, to give advice and help to the employer and also to the men themselves. He trusted that, in making fresh appointments, the Home Secretary would be careful to select such men.

MR. BURT said, the statement of the Home Secretary could not have been more satisfactory; and he was bound also to express satisfaction with the spirit in which the discussion had been carried on. He felt confident the right hon. and learned Gentleman would lose no time in giving practical effect to the proposal; and he would, therefere, ask the leave of the House to withdraw the Motion.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

CENTRAL ASIA—RUSSIAN ADVANCE.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. MACFARLANE rose to call attention to the advance of Russia in Central Asia; and to move—

"That the recent advance of Russia to Merv and Sarrahks endangers Herat, the integrity and independence of Afghanistan, and is deserving of the most serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government."

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter before Eleven o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 7th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Earl of Harrowby, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister * (177).

Second Reading—Representation of the People (159), *debate adjourned.*

Committee—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 7) * (162).

Committee — Report — Tramways Provisional Orders * (150); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 11) * (156); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 14) * (166); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 15) * (167); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 4) * (161).

PUBLIC HEALTH — THE CHOLERA—REPORTED OUTBREAK ON A BRITISH VESSEL AT SEA.

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he observed, in the newspapers, that a British ship had been sighted with cholera cases on board; and he, therefore, desired to know, Whether the powers which existed under the recent statute had been fully taken advantage of; also, whether the authorities had been instructed to put them in force?

LORD CARRINGTON, in reply, said, that the Local Government Board had reason to believe that the paragraph which appeared in *The Times* of that morning was substantially correct, to the effect that the British ship *Carthagena*, from Marseilles for Cardiff, had passed off Lisbon, and signalled that she had two cases of cholera on board. The Local Government Board at once sent a telegram to the Local Authorities at Cardiff that morning, stating that the ship might be expected, and requesting them to give effect to the Local Government Order of the 12th of July, 1883, which he had explained to their Lordships the other day, and to inform the Board by telegraph immediately on the ship arriving there. But no reply had yet been received; and, as far as he could ascertain, she was not expected to arrive at Cardiff till that (Monday) night, or early on Tuesday.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION—REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

QUESTION.

THE DUKE OF ST. ALBANS, in pursuance of Notice, rose to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether they will undertake to introduce a Bill for redistribution of seats on the first opportunity, and use their best endeavours so that it may come into effect before the election of another Parliament?—when——

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, the Question was out of Order, as there was other Business before it on the Paper, including the Order for the Second Reading of the Representation of the People Bill.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK, who had the following Notice on the Paper:—

"To ask as a further Question, Whether, if Her Majesty's Government did undertake to introduce a Bill for the redistribution of seats on the first opportunity, it would not be open to them to abandon such Bill if important Amendments were inserted in either House of Parliament, or for any other reason, and force an election (supposing the Representation of the People Bill were passed this Session) under the extended franchise, without any redistribution of seats,"

said, he thought that if the noble Duke (the Duke of St. Albans) were permitted to put his Question, the answer given to it might elucidate the course which the Government proposed to take, and might have a material effect on the course of the coming debate. He would, therefore, appeal to the noble Lords on that (the Opposition side) to allow the Question to be put, especially as the

noble Duke had no knowledge of the place it would receive on the Paper.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that would be a pure waste of time. The noble Earl who was to move the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill (the Earl of Kimberley) would, no doubt, be able to state what course the Government intended to take in respect to the redistribution of seats. It was most important that the Notices should be taken in the order in which they appeared on the Paper.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—(No. 159.)

(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said: My Lords, I must ask the indulgence of the House if I trespass upon your Lordships' attention rather longer than is my wont; as, on a Bill of this extreme importance, it is necessary that I should state both the details of the Bill, so as to make it intelligible to the House, and that I should also bring before you the general considerations which, in my opinion, ought to lead you to assent to the second reading. Before I proceed to the Bill itself, I may naturally be asked what is the reason for introducing a Bill at all upon this subject; and, why, when, no more than 17 years ago, a large change was made in our representative system, we should now again bring before Parliament a measure of very great magnitude, and seek to disturb again the foundations of our representative system? My Lords, I am one of those in common, no doubt, with all your Lordships, who wish that those disturbances should be as infrequent as possible. But, in the present instance, the answer is not far to seek. The measure which is now before your Lordships is one which arises naturally, I may say of necessity, from the measure of 1867. From the moment that you established throughout the great populations of our boroughs the system of household franchise, it became apparent—certainly to me, and I believe to most men—that the same system must be extended throughout the country. And, my Lords, I have always had some difficulty in explaining to myself why, in 1867, the measure was restricted to the boroughs. In the first place, it is a mistake to suppose that there is a strict dividing line between our populations in boroughs and in counties, and that boroughs alone contain the artizan class to which the extension of the household franchise in boroughs especially applies. On the contrary, there are considerable districts of the country, inhabited by precisely the same men, working at the same trades, who are equally capable of exercising the vote, and who are naturally discontented, because they find that by the mere accident of residence they are deprived of the same privileges. It is obvious that that may easily happen; for instance, say, a miner or shipwright—and, equally so, men employed in other trades—may remove his residence a quarter of a mile, and thus deprive himself of a vote. But independently of that fact, I have been unable to give myself a satisfactory answer why the great class of agricultural labourers have been excluded from the franchise. I suppose that there was an opinion that there was something peculiar in that class, which made them either more dangerous, or less capable of exercising the franchise than others who had been intrusted with it. I have always thought that that fear rested on no basis whatever. Perhaps I am prejudiced in favour of the agricultural labourers, having lived among them, more or less, during the greater part of my life. But I never could perceive that the agricultural labourer was a more dangerous man than the artizan. On the contrary, he is, as a rule, a staid and sober man, not readily moved by political passion, and not at all likely to be led away so easily as the man of the town by every new doctrine that may be propounded. He is a man, no doubt, slower of speech than the man of the town; but he is a shrewd man, who understands his own interests, and he is far better acquainted with all the interests of the land, no matter of what class, than the man of the town. In these days, when we have a variety of questions of great importance cropping up almost every other day concerning property in, and the occupation of, land, and various matters besides concerning

its cultivation, I believe there is nothing more dangerous than that Parliament should legislate upon those subjects, inspired, as it were, principally by the population of the towns, who do not understand those questions, and that they should lose the opportunity of obtaining, at first hand, the opinions of that great class connected with the land —the agricultural labourers. To my mind it is, in the highest form of the word, a Conservative measure to give to the agricultural labourer an equal vote along with his brother and fellow-workman of the town. Now, my Lords, these being the obvious reasons for dealing with this subject, what is the practical condition of the question? For several years the question has been before Parliament, and it has been largely discussed throughout the country; and I venture to say that there was no question at the last General Election in internal politics which was more completely present to the minds of all the constituencies when they returned the present House of Commons. In these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government would obviously have been wanting in their duty if they had not, during the present Parliament, endeavoured to settle this great question; and they have approached the question at least with an earnest desire to prepare a measure which should be moderate in its character, which should not go, in the slightest degree, beyond the necessities of the case, and which should, as they hope, meet with the general approval of public opinion. They have, accordingly, presented such a Bill, and the Bill which is now before the House is, with very slight exceptions, the Bill as originally introduced. The Government introduced a Bill which is an enabling and enfranchising measure, which gives a vote to a large and increasing population, but which sedulously avoids depriving anyone, with very slight exceptions, of their present electoral privileges, and which sedulously avoids interfering with the ancient and the accustomed franchises of this country. Such is the character of the measure which your Lordships have now before you. Now, my Lords, I will next shortly explain to the House the actual provisions of the Bill; and they will be best understood if your Lordships will remember that the purpose of this Bill is to place, speaking generally, the county franchise upon the same footing as the borough franchise. That is the general tendency of the Bill; and, therefore, I will first explain what the borough franchise now is, and what it will be, and then how the county franchise will stand. At present, the borough franchise in England is, first of all, a £10 occupying franchise of buildings, with or without land. That is also one of the comparatively old franchises of the boroughs. Then you have the franchise which is enjoyed by the inhabiting occupiers of rated dwellings—in other words, what is popularly known as the household franchise; thirdly, you have the lodger franchise, established by the Act of 1867. A slight change is proposed in the £10 occupying franchise. At present, there must be buildings, with or without land; in future, it is proposed that there may be £10 occupation of land only, without buildings. Then we add to this franchise an entirely new one; and, in connection with it, I must be allowed to use the term which has become popular, although perhaps not entirely accurate in its description—the service franchise. The present law is, not speaking technically, but broadly, that where a man occupies a dwelling, in virtue of his office or his employment, as part of his remuneration, and where the relation of landlord and tenant is not created, that man has no vote. A familiar instance to your Lordships is a caretaker of a large warehouse, or a gamekeeper or gardener. It is proposed by the 3rd clause of the Bill to put an end to that disqualification, and to provide that, where a man himself inhabits his dwelling-house by virtue of any office, or service, or employment, he shall be entitled to the franchise. At present, the franchise in the counties in England is, first of all, a £50 payer of rent under the Chandos Clause; then there is the £12 rating franchise; the 40*s.* freeholder; and copyholders and leaseholders enjoy the vote in a manner which I need not particularize. In the first place, we propose to change the £12 occupying franchise into a £10 clear yearly value franchise, and to merge in that the £50 rentpayer, who, of course, will get the vote under the new franchise. In Scotland—for the Bill applies to Scotland—the borough franchise is practically the same as in England, and we propose to

add to it the service franchise; and, in counties, instead of the £12 rating franchise, as in England, there is the £14 rating, which we propose to reduce to a £10 yearly value, the same as will be the case in England. With regard to Ireland, the borough franchise consists, at the present time, of the £4 rating franchise, the household franchise, and the lodger franchise. We propose, by the Bill, to substitute for the £4 franchise the £10 franchise as it will exist in the English and Scotch boroughs, and to add to the county franchise the household, lodger, and service franchises. Speaking generally, your Lordships will see that that will establish an identity of franchise throughout the United Kingdom. Now, with regard to the freehold franchise, there have been connected with it some abuses which, while the exercise of them has not been confined to any Party, are generally acknowledged as such—I mean the abuse of fagot votes. They are clearly an invasion of the true principle of voting—that true principle being that a man should have a real interest in the property which forms his qualification, and that there should be nothing illusory in his qualification. These illusory qualifications arise in two ways—firstly, out of the grant of rent-charges; and, secondly, out of the conveyance of property to joint owners. Now, we propose to put an end to the rent-charge as a qualification altogether, except in the one case of the tithe-owner of a whole parish; and we also propose to prohibit altogether the conveyance of property to joint owners for the purpose of creating votes, except where property is held jointly, either by marriage, inheritance, or partnership in trade. The result, therefore, will be that the old freehold franchise, with these exceptions, will remain purified, so to speak, but untouched, and I myself rejoice that the Government have left it so. We had next to consider the case of the non-resident voters in counties. But the abuse of non-resident votes is intimately connected with the creation of fagot votes; and if you put an end to the creation of fagot votes, I do not think it is dangerous that non-resident votes should be allowed, and it is reasonable in itself, because an owner might have a very large stake in a particular part of the country, and yet not reside there. Well, then, the result of our measure is, speaking generally, this—that the franchise will be placed upon the broad and, as we consider it, solid foundation of the household suffrage; and I cannot but hope that it is a foundation which may wear for many years, and may prove to be lasting, as well as beneficial, in the interests of the country. Now, your Lordships may, perhaps, like to know what will be the probable number of voters which will be added to the Register by this measure. It is, of course, impossible to give an absolutely correct estimate; but, as far as it can be reckoned, it is probable that the measure will add about 2,000,000 voters to the present number, which is about 3,000,000; and, therefore, your Lordships will see that it is a very large enfranchising measure. These 2,000,000 voters are distributed—about 1,300,000 in England, about 200,000 in Scotland, and about 400,000 in Ireland. As an illustration of the magnitude of the proposal, I may, perhaps, add that by the great Reform Bill of 1832 no more than 500,000 voters were added to the constituencies; and, by the Act of 1867, I believe I am correct in saying that only 1,084,000 voters were added to the total then existing of 1,364,000. I have not, at present, specifically referred to one very important feature of this measure—namely, that it applies to all the Three Kingdoms alike. With regard to England and Scotland I need not say much; but as regards Ireland I feel bound to say a few words. At first, I certainly admit the problem of extending the franchise to Ireland, and adding 400,000 voters to the constituencies, seemed one very difficult to approach, and the operation appeared to be one which might bring with it some imminent and grave dangers. ["Hear, hear!"] I am in no way surprised that noble Lords, probably connected with Ireland, should cheer that sentiment. I fully admit that there are grave dangers connected with the extension of the constituencies in Ireland, and they must be obvious to all; but we had to weigh the whole matter, and to consider in which direction the path of safety seemed most to lie. I am sorry to say that there is in Ireland a very large Party violently hostile to the connection with England, ready by every means in its power to sever that

connection, and represented in Parliament by a body already considerable in numbers, and possessed of considerable ability and energy; and it is scarcely to be doubted that if this measure passes into law, the Party led by Mr. Parnell must receive a considerable accession to its ranks. I admit that entirely. Then we have to consider what may be said for the alternative. Now, in the first place, if it be true, as I believe would be the case, that that Party would receive a considerable accession, what does it prove? It proves that the true feeling in Ireland is not even now fully represented in Parliament; and, painful as it may be, that we should have Members sent to represent and advocate opinions which in this House, at all events, we entirely disapprove, yet, I think, that that is better than that we should remain under the delusion that we have before us the representation of the opinion of Ireland, and should not know fully and clearly with what we have to deal. But I do not say that that consideration in itself would be sufficient. There is another which seems to be far more weighty, and to which I attach the greatest importance. There is no danger more serious to the maintenance of our present relations to Ireland than that the Irish people should have a real and substantial grievance; and that, in their protests against that grievance, they should have the support and sympathy of any considerable Party in this country. As long as we, in this country, no matter to which political Party we belong, are firmly determined to maintain resolutely the Union which I believe to be necessary for the happiness of the Three Kingdoms, so long, however great the embarrassments we may suffer, we are in no actual danger. But from the moment that the Irish Separatist Party shall obtain, in this country, any large support, from that moment the danger becomes real and serious; and I can conceive no step more likely to produce that result, than that, on a question of this kind, where the sympathies, at all events, of one Party in this country—and that certainly not a small Party—are strongly aroused on the side of the extension of the franchise, you should, by refusing the extension of that franchise to Ireland, place these men upon the same side as the Irish Party. That would be an ominous conjunction, and one which I believe to be the interest of all Parties alike to avert; and I look upon the danger which may arise from the extension of the numbers of Mr. Parnell's followers, as nothing to the danger which would be incurred if we excluded Ireland from the operation of this Bill. These are the considerations which have brought the Government to the decisive opinion that they ought to include Ireland in the Bill; and I think that, in the course of the discussions that have taken place, there has been shown ample justification for the decision we have arrived at on the matter. My Lords, this, then, is the Bill that is presented to this House; and it might have been hoped that, having been received in the other House and in the country with such general approval, it would have also met with sympathy and support in this House. But, unhappily, the second reading of the Bill is to be met by a Resolution, moved by one of the most eminent Members of this House; and it becomes my duty to examine that Resolution, and to see what are the grounds upon which we are asked not to assent to the second reading of this Bill. This Resolution divides itself into several parts. The first portion says—

"That this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise."

That contains a proposition in itself—the proposition that the House is prepared to assent to a well-considered and complete scheme. I may be under a delusion, but I had thought that this measure was a "well-considered and complete scheme." It has received, at all events, all the consideration the other House could give it in the large number of 23 not very short Sittings. It was introduced into the other House in February, and it reached this House at the end of June; and therefore I think that, as far as consideration is concerned, this Bill is truly a well-considered Bill. Then, I think it is also a complete Bill. The noble and learned Earl does not, I suppose, contemplate manhood suffrage; and, unless we go the length of manhood suffrage, we could not have a more complete Bill. This House is asked by the noble and learned Earl to approve this Bill or something very like it; and then it is asked, for other reasons, not to assent to the measure, on the ground that it is not a complete and well-con-

sidered measure. The Resolution affirms that the House—

"Does not think it right to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom, but which is not accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return Members as to insure a true and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme."

Stated shortly, that amounts to this—that the House is invited not to assent to this Bill, because it is unaccompanied by a measure of redistribution. I admit that the question of redistribution is one of the highest importance, and it is impossible not to feel that a measure of this kind ought to be most closely followed by a measure of redistribution; but, now, we are asked not to assent to this Bill, because a measure of redistribution does not now accompany it. Let me advert to what took place in 1866. Then the Bill brought in by Lord John Russell's Government failed, because the other House was not satisfied to deal with that Bill without having redistribution included in the measure. ["No, no!"] Anyhow, the Bill practically failed on the question of redistribution. I wished to show that there is some distinction between the two cases. At that time, the question of the extension of the franchise necessarily connected itself directly with the question of redistribution; because, when you have a franchise which is not identical, it is obvious that, according to your redistribution, the franchise will be given to this or that body of persons. Therefore, there was plausible ground for calling for a full explanation in regard to the proposed redistribution. But the same ground does not exist now. When we are told that a Redistribution Bill ought to be introduced together with the Bill for enlarging the franchise, we are asked to do that which has never been done in the history of this question. In 1832 the great Bill of that period dealt only with England. In 1867 the Bill dealt only with England, and Scotland and Ireland were dealt with in the following year. What I wish to point out to the House is, that, plausible as appears, at first sight, the demand that Parliament should deal with the whole question at one, it is simply a demand for an impossibility. If the Government had come forward with a measure for the extension of the franchise, and also with a measure of redistribution, they might just as well have declared to Parliament that they had no expectation whatever that either of the Bills would pass. But that would not be a practical course for the Government to take. It is the duty of a Government to submit measures to Parliament in such a shape, that there may be reasonable ground that they will be decided upon during the Session. But—and I state it without fear of contradiction—looking to the time that this Bill has already taken, and to the notoriously long time that the discussion of the question of redistribution must take, it would have been idle to expect that the two Bills would pass, had we taken the course which we are told we ought to have taken. I do not suppose that mere assurances from me will have any effect on those noble Lords opposite who are determined not to believe that we are sincere in our intention to deal with redistribution; but I certainly am prepared to repeat in the strongest manner—and I am certain that in doing so I speak with the voice and utter the opinion of my Colleagues—that we consider ourselves emphatically pledged to deal with the question of redistribution next Session, unless some most extraordinary circumstance should arise. [*Laughter.*]. Noble Lords opposite may laugh; but do they think that I am so inexperienced in public affairs as to suppose that there ever was, or ever will be, a Government which could absolutely pledge itself that nothing would occur which would prevent something particular being done six months hence? But what I did say is, that, according to all forecasts that can be made, and all the probabilities of the case, and making only the reservation which it is necessary to make in public affairs, it is the full intention of the Government, and it is our absolute belief, that we shall be able—supposing, of course, that we are in Office—to bring forward a Redistribution Bill next Session. In that view, we assented to an Amendment to the Bill to make it perfectly clear that the Franchise Bill could not come into operation until the Redistribution Bill should have been fully considered by Parliament. That Amendment provides that the Bill shall not come into effect

until January 1, 1885; and anyone who knows the operation of our Registration Courts is aware that the result is that the voters under this Bill cannot come on the Register till January 1, 1886. I do not regard as very serious the objection which is entertained by some noble Lords, that there may be some hypothetical circumstances which would prevent the introduction of the Redistribution Bill. There is great probability, which almost amounts to a certainty, that if this Government remains in Office, there will be a Redistribution Bill next Session. But what I understand noble Lords fear is, that such a Bill might be of such a nature that there would be no chance of its passing. It may, therefore, be that your Lordships would gladly wish to hear what are the principles, speaking generally, which would be likely to form the foundation of such a Bill. They have been sketched on a former occasion by my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government. [*A laugh.*] Probably the noble Lord who laughed did not read what was said by the right hon. Gentleman. I do not think that I shall incur the dissent of my Colleagues behind me if I say that, in the first place, we contemplate that there should be a very considerable measure of redistribution. That I feel will approve itself to all, for nothing could be more undesirable than to have a measure of such a partial kind that we should be likely to be soon engaged again—if I may use the term—in tinkering our Constitution. The changes in our population are so considerable that it will be necessary, remembering how large a measure of enfranchisement has now been introduced, to bring forward a measure of redistribution which shall also be a large one. We have heard a great deal about electoral districts. If I thought it was the intention of the present Government to bring in a Bill which would destroy our ancient system, and substitute for it a system of equal electoral districts, I should be very desirous that the Bill and the Government with it should fall to the ground. Neither I, nor, I think, my Colleagues, have any predilection for such a revolutionary measure. If, indeed, we were beginning afresh and moulding a representative system, I can conceive that, theoretically, there might be much to be said for electoral districts and a self-adjusting system of redistribution; but no system of that kind would be adapted to the present circumstances of the country, and no measure of the Government will contain provisions for establishing such a system. Then we should desire to maintain, as it is now, the old distinction between town and country; between urban populations and rural constituencies. We are not at all likely to be thought desirous of regulating the number of those who are to return Representatives to the House of Commons, and the number of those Representatives themselves, by some strict rule of representation proportionate to population. We have never adopted such a rule. In the Metropolis, for example, the population is rapidly increasing, and the Members are in no way proportionate to that population; nor is it probable that the time is approaching when we could attempt to adjust the number of its Representatives to the number of the population. It will be necessary that the principle of proportion should be applied to a greater extent than it now is; but it is not likely that we should adopt any strict system of proportion between population and representation. That brings me to a subject that has been much discussed—I mean the case of Ireland. Many gentlemen in the newspapers have settled the question very much to their own satisfaction by saying that the population of Ireland has diminished, and that that of England and Scotand has increased, and that, consequently, the number of Irish Representatives ought to be diminished, and those of the latter to be increased. Now, that calculation assumes what ought not to be assumed—namely, that the number of Representatives ought to be adjusted in strict proportion to the number of the population. In connection with this point, my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister has been rather misunderstood. He laid it down absolutely that there should be no diminution in the numbers of Members representing Ireland; but he also threw out a suggestion that it might prove desirable to increase the total number of Members of the House of Commons, and the whole of what he said on this subject ought to be taken into account, and not one particular portion of it. Besides these questions there

are others by no means of small moment. There is the question regarding minority representation, and what is known as proportional representation. There are a great many such schemes. Very different opinions are entertained concerning them. Some of them, in my opinion at least, are more ingenious than sound; but, be that as it may, many of them are urged by persons of great intelligence and weight, whose opinions are entitled to much respect; and, at the proper time, I feel certain that Parliament will give a full and proper consideration to them. I think that I have now dwelt sufficiently on these points, and that I have expressed, with regard to redistribution, the views entertained by my Colleagues in a general manner. I trust I have met the objections which are raised in the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl opposite; but I cannot help thinking that there is something more behind that Amendment than appears at first sight. I do not think that the allegation that this measure is not well-considered nor complete, or that the redistribution scheme is not introduced and tacked on to it, or that the scheme may not be such as would be acceptable to Parliament—I do not think these are the sole motives for the Resolution of the noble and learned Earl. We have heard it said in some quarters—and it seems to me that it is not improper that I should allude to it—we have heard it said that it is possible there may be a Party in this country who may desire to make the occasion of this Bill coming before this House the means of forcing a Dissolution of Parliament. Your Lordships have undoubtedly the most perfect right to object to this Bill, and to reject it with the direct view that the result may be a Dissolution of Parliament. I will go further, and say that I have no doubt that to do so may be considered a good Party move. It is not for me to express an opinion as to whether it would or would not be a good Party move. I give my opponents credit for the same honourable motives which I will ask them to ascribe to me; and I will admit that when they made this Motion they thought the interests of the country would be served by it. But what I wish to put to the House is this—that the House has something very different to decide than the mere questions of the interests of this or that Party. Is it for the highest interests of this country that this Bill should pass? Is it in the interests of this House that the Bill should now be laid aside? It seems to me that the very circumstances of this House ought to make it much more careful than a Representative House in a matter such as this. Owing to its constitution, its Members cannot, like the Members of the House of Commons, be suddenly changed. More or less, its composition remains the same from year to year, and from Parliament to Parliament; and it seems to me that the majority of this House have to consider whether it is safe and wise to place itself permanently in antagonism to the other House, to one great Party in the State, and to the wishes of the country, and to associate it exclusively with one section of the country. Let your Lordships remember what took place in 1867. This House was then told that it was about to take "a leap in the dark;" it was told this by a Conservative Minister, and, singularly enough, this House showed a perfect readiness on that occasion to take that leap into the gulf. But now that the House is asked to accept and pass a Bill which is desirable in itself without redistribution, the noble and learned Earl opposite says—"Do not take the leap." In 1867 you opened a very large door; you added a very large number of voters to the constituencies, and you placed the whole of your borough representation on a democratic basis. In 1884, though you may for a moment prevent this Bill passing, there is no man in this House who is not aware that you must open the door further, and that we are very near the time when the whole representation of this country will rest upon a Democratic basis. Let us consider how this affects your Lordships' House. The position of this House is peculiar. There is no other such House in the world—a House in which nearly all the Members inherit their position, and the others are admitted to it only by the favour of the Crown. Must it not strike everyone how exceedingly difficult and delicate a problem it must be to maintain the useful and valuable functions of this House unimpaired in connection with the Democratic body which you will create in the other branch of Parliament. I say that even the wisest statesmanship, the gravest caution, and the utmost wisdom

—men of the greatest caution and prudence—will find it one of the most difficult political problems ever presented to a nation. In such circumstances, ought we not to consider, though our Party feelings may be strong and the opportunity tempting, whether it is not worth while to avoid taking such a course, in order not to place this House in antagonism to the other House and to one great Party in the country, upon this great question, which involves the consequences I have pointed out? None of us can be blind to the extraordinary changes of opinion which are going on in the world. There are some very new and revolutionary theories abroad in Europe, some of them striking deeper at European institutions than is generally confessed, and all of them occupying the attention and rousing the fears of every Government on the Continent. There is not an absolute impossibility that those Socialistic doctrines may, to some extent, reach our shores, and that we may be ourselves involved in controversies in which we shall require all our strength and the sympathy of the people generally to deal wisely and firmly with the questions that may arise. I remember a striking speech of Lord Beaconsfield in this House, in which he dealt with extreme adroitness with the Ground Game Bill, pointing out to the House that when questions arose connected with the landed property of the country, that was not the time for your Lordships to place yourselves in opposition to legislation, when that opposition was not absolutely proved to be necessary for the interests of the country; and I say that what was true of such a small measure as the Ground Game Bill is true in a much higher degree of this greater measure, because there cannot be a doubt that the large majority of the people are in favour of this Bill, their sympathies are aroused, and the action of this House is being watched with more than usual interest and anxiety. Your bitterest enemies are longing and praying for you to reject this Bill. Will you not disappoint their expectations? You have the opportunity, if you pass this Bill, of seeing one of the greatest Constitutional changes which have been made for many years take place in singular calmness. I am the last man to exaggerate danger, or to appeal to popular and violent passions; but I think there is no man in this House who will not agree with me that, if this Bill is rejected, there must be a bitter and exciting controversy, in which must be involved the question of the action of this House. That being so, I ask the House to pause. You are now at the parting of the ways. Pause before you take the way that is not that of peace. I know from the unusual and ominous assembly of noble Lords opposite what we may have to expect; I well know the eloquence and power with which you will be addressed by the noble and learned Earl; but, notwithstanding that, I still venture not to part with the hope that you will not be led away by his subtle and practised advocacy to take a step which all must admit to be most grave, and which many believe to be perilous. I move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

EARL CAIRNS, in rising to move the following Amendment:—

"That this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, does not think it right to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom, but which is not accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return Members as to ensure a true and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme,"

said: My Lords, although I rise on this occasion for the purpose of following the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley), I am glad to say that with regard to a great deal of what has fallen from him I have no controversy with the noble Earl. I do not propose to delay your Lordships by entering into any examination of the details of the Bill, the second reading of which has just been moved. I do not propose to do so; but I will accept the general principles of the Bill as a Bill of enfranchisement. The noble Earl has compared it with the great measure of Reform passed in 1867 by a Conservative Government, and has expressed some surprise that, at that time, so large a difference as then prevailed was allowed to remain between the franchise in the boroughs and the franchise in the counties. I dare say

that a sufficient reason could be given why that difference was left remaining at that time; but I shall not stop now to enter into any explanation of that reason. I prefer rather to allude to what has happened since. Seven years after that Bill passed—namely, in 1874—a Conservative Government was again in Office under the Premiership of my late lamented Friend (the Earl of Beaconsfield), then Mr. Disraeli, and he had, in the House of Commons, as strong a following at that time as almost any Government of modern times has ever had. In that same year a measure was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Trevelyan, to assimilate the suffrage in counties with the suffrage in boroughs. Mr. Disraeli stated his opinion at that time upon that question, and I should like to be allowed to remind your Lordships of what Mr. Disraeli's views were, because the noble Earl opposite has spoken of this as a matter on which there was some antipathy on the part of the Conservative Party to the enfranchisement of county voters. This is what Mr. Disraeli said on the 13th of May, 1874—

"I have no doubt that the rated householder in the county is just as competent to exercise the franchise with advantage to the country as the rated householder in the towns. I have not the slightest doubt whatever that he possesses all those virtues which generally characterize the British people; and I have as little doubt that if he possessed the franchise he would exercise it with the same prudence and the same benefit to the community as the rated householder in the town."—(3 *Hansard*, [219] 251.)

But, having expressed that opinion on the question of enfranchisement, he proceeded to explain why he objected to the Bill before the House, and these were his words—

"Now, Sir, my great objection to the Bill of the hon. Gentleman is this—that there is no case in which large classes of our fellow-subjects have been invested with the franchise without a general distribution of power in consequence being considered."—(*Ibid.* 252.)

And as an illustration of the effect of admitting a large number of persons to the franchise without a redistribution of political power, he gave some figures which I will take the liberty of repeating, and which will be one of the few references to figures I shall have to make—that by the proposed enlargement of the franchise with no redistribution, the result would be that, according to a calculation he then made—speaking of the enlargement of the franchise to all England—there would be 1,740,000 county voters returning 187 Members to Parliament, while there would be 1,250,000 borough voters returning 297 Members. Now, what has been the attitude of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons in regard to this Bill, as a measure for the enfranchisement of county voters? I do not profess to have read very carefully all that has been said in that House upon the subject of this Bill; but so far I have observed, putting aside the question of the extension of the franchise to Ireland, as to which the noble Earl himself has very fairly admitted that there might well be a difference of opinion—putting aside that question, I am not aware that in the House of Commons any contest has arisen with regard to this Bill merely as a Bill of enfranchisement. I believe I do not exaggerate what has taken place when I say that, although something like four months has passed over since this Bill was introduced in the other House, two-thirds of the time was occupied in discussing, not any question with respect to the franchise itself, but the question to which I am going to ask the attention of your Lordships—the question whether it is consistent with what has been the practice of this country, and safe with regard to the Constitution of the country, to have a large extension of the franchise unaccompanied by a measure for the redistribution of political power? Now, the noble Earl opposite, in repeating what has been advanced "elsewhere," has said that there never has been a case in which a complete Reform Bill has been presented to Parliament, or passed by Parliament. By that I suppose he means a Reform Bill in the sense in which we mean it—namely, a Bill containing, not merely provisions for an extension of the franchise, but also provisions for the redistribution of electoral power. I must take issue there with the noble Earl on that point. I have, at all events, read the history of one legislative difficulty; and I say and maintain that the Reform Bills of 1832—the Reform Bill for England, and the Reform Bill for Scotland, and the Reform Bill for Ireland—were each complete in itself, inasmuch as each contained complete provisions, both as regarded the extension of the franchise and the redistribution of seats. But what happened on the next occasion to

which the noble Earl has referred? He said that a Reform Bill was introduced by Lord Russell's Government in 1866; but it failed in consequence of there not being included in it any provisions for redistribution.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: No, no; I did not say that.

EARL CAIRNS: Well, it did not exactly fall through because of that, for it had a small majority in its favour; but so convinced were Government that, without redistribution, it would not pass, that they supplemented the Bill by another for the redistribution of seats; and, on the same day, they laid on the Table of the House of Commons Bills for Scotland and Ireland, also containing provisions for enfranchisement and redistribution. Therefore, I think I have shown that it is a mere play upon words, and not accurate to say, because you had separate Bills for different parts of the country, each complete in itself, that you never before have had at any time a complete Reform Bill. Let me ask your Lordships to consider, for a moment, what this Bill gives; because, in looking at the necessity of a complete measure of Reform, we must endeavour to see what might be accomplished by this Bill, which is not a complete measure. What will this Bill do? It will add, in round numbers, 2,000,000 of voters to the existing constituencies of 3,000,000; and, if I remember right, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, not very long ago, that the change in that respect which this Bill would make would be the greatest change made in the Constitution since the date of the Revolution. It would be very tedious to quote an extensive series of figures for the purpose of showing the effect of this measure as a measure of enfranchisement alone. Perhaps, however, you will allow me to give, by way of illustration, the effect in three instances of different constituencies—one in England, one in Scotland, and one in Ireland. The constituency in England which I will take is the Southern Division of the West Riding. As far as I can find, that is a Division which contains 766 square miles, and, as far as I can make out, the constituency in that Division, taking the present distribution, would be raised by the Bill to something like 60,000 voters. The constituency I take in Scotland is that of North Lanarkshire, which, from 10,000, what it now stands at, would be raised to 40,000. The county of Cork, in Ireland, contains 2,812 square miles, and the present constituency of 14,000 would be raised by the Bill to 45,000. Now, in the first place, a moment's consideration will, I think, show your Lordships that if you stop there, if you let these constituencies elect the number of Members now elected, you will annihilate in them, for all practical purposes, the representation of public opinion; and I say that for this reason—we all know that if, in a great town, you have a constituency of 40,000 or 50,000, a great number of electors remain unpolled at a General Election. But take a county like Cork, with nearly 3,000 square miles, or the Southern Division of the West Riding, with nearly 1,000 square miles, and if you create in either constituency a body of 40,000 or 50,000 electors, consider the difficulty of canvassing, or conveying voters to the poll, or providing polling places, or making adequate provision for providing the people with a knowledge of the views of the candidates on the political questions of the day. The representation of a constituency of that kind would be simply a mockery. But, passing away from this, which, it may be said, is a purely mechanical difficulty, what would a General Election be all over the country, with an enlargement of the franchise as it is proposed in the Bill, and without a redistribution of seats? It does not matter very much for this purpose whether the figures I have given are exactly precise; but, for all practical purposes, I believe I am sufficiently accurate when I say that, if you were to take the present distribution of seats, and add to that the enfranchisement proposed by this Bill, the result would be this—that in every county there would be a seat for about 10,000 electors, and in every borough a seat for about 5,000. That is the difference which you would create by this enfranchisement without a redistribution of seats. I only point that out in order to show your Lordships what would be the result of a Bill of enfranchisement alone. Now, from the speech of the noble Earl, and from the Prime Minister, I know that the Government feel the Bill must be accompanied by a redistribution of seats, and that it must be a large one; and I think the Prime Minister said, in comparing it with that

of 1832 and that of 1867, it would be much nearer the redistribution of 1832 than that of 1867. I want to remind your Lordships of the problems involved, and of the task to be undertaken, when we come to speak of a scheme of redistribution. We know it is the opinion of those who have studied the question most deeply that, as regards England and Wales, no case can be made out to say that England and Wales are over-represented. There has been a complaint that Scotland is under-represented; and, with regard to Ireland, there is a controversy on the subject, some contending that Ireland is not over-represented, some contending, whether you take the test of population, or whatever other tests you may apply, that Ireland has more Members than her share. Then, what are the questions you have to solve? There are also certain internal questions to be solved. With regard to England, you have to decide how you are to get the additional Members for the great constituencies created in the counties, and you have to consider how you are to get additional Members to satisfy the Northern part of the country with regard to additional representation. With regard to Ireland, you will have to decide an internal question as between the South and the North. There is a claim on the part of the North—I refer to its population and its property—to a larger share of representation, as compared with the South, as it is at present. Then you have to solve the great problem, how are the additional Members to be given to Scotland to be provided? Are they to be provided by being taken from England? Are they to be provided by being taken from Ireland? Or are they to be provided by an increase of the total number of Members of the House of Commons? Then, again, you have a large body of men in the House of Commons who attach great importance to the subject of proportional representation. You have got all these problems to solve. I do not stop now to examine or to argue them; but they are matters on which different opinions are entertained, and I wish just to indicate them as being the problems which will have to be solved, in some way or other, before the measure of Reform is complete. The result of the consideration of all these problems is this, that we can easily see that there must be a very large measure of redistribution in order to meet all those to which I have referred. Now, that being so, the next question I have to ask your Lordships is to consider whether the question of enfranchisement and the question of redistribution ought to go together, or can they be safely separated? It is not in accordance with our Constitution to consider that the electors of this country at large are the real depositaries of power, the real depositaries of power being the electors grouped into particular constituencies. I may illustrate very easily my meaning by asking your Lordships to suppose that the whole of England was one great constituency, returning 500 Members by a majority of the electors. I think your Lordships will see that it is quite obvious that any return of that kind would not represent, in any way, the true voice of the country? And so with regard to the constituencies; unless you have your electors fairly and truly grouped into what may be termed a proper distribution of constituencies, you cannot get the expression of the true and right voice of the country. Now, what are the arguments against connecting these two processes, and connecting them in such a way that they cannot possibly be separated? The first argument of the noble Earl opposite, I understand, is that it would be impossible to work a measure of redistribution in one Session through Parliament. I do not know, in the first place, what reason there is for that supposition.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Together.

EARL CAIRNS: Together? Well, so far as the Enfranchisement Bill is concerned, the great bulk of the time occupied in consequence of it in the House of Commons has been devoted to a complaint that the measure was not accompanied by a measure of redistribution. But if there is not time this Session to pass a measure of redistribution, is it much encouragement to be told, in the same voice, that it is proposed in the next Session to pass a measure of redistribution, and that it is quite certain to be passed? What is the next argument? The Prime Minister stated—it is an argument which has not cropped up since, but I must refer to it—that one of the reasons why redistribution is not undertaken at pre-

sent is, that the Government must first know what will be the numerical extent of the electors under the new franchise in the different parts of the country. But inasmuch as the Bill makes no provision for registration by which that numerical strength could be obtained, the Prime Minister's argument must fall to the ground. What is the other reason? The Prime Minister said the desire to separate these two questions was because the franchise question was a national question; it raised national considerations, and ought to be argued and settled upon those considerations; but with regard to redistribution, that raised local and selfish questions of a wholly different kind; and "we want," he said, "for that reason to distinguish between the two." I have not a word to say as to his objections in keeping the two measures distinct as regards discussion, and even as regards Bills, provided he will make arrangements that one measure cannot come into force until both can come into force. It is no answer to say that redistribution gives rise to different considerations from those connected with enfranchisement, and that, therefore, you cannot provide for them in one Bill; but that is no reason for leaving one measure with the risk of coming into operation without the other also coming into operation at the same time. Authorities have contended that it is essential to the safety of any measure of Reform, that enfranchisement and redistribution should be linked together. I am glad to see sitting opposite me the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), whose speech I had the pleasure of listening to in "another place" in the Session of 1866. I have heard that speech rightly called a speech that was unanswered and unanswerable. There never was any answer given to it. I have read it again lately, and I believe no answer could be given to it; indeed, I believe the noble Earl himself could not answer his own speech. The noble Earl has said that the state of things now is different from that of 1866, and that arguments strong enough then did not apply now; that there was a different county franchise and a different borough franchise; and that questions of disfranchisement arose. With regard to that, it is remarkable, if you take the speech of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the reason now mentioned by the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) is not given in the speech from beginning to end. Therefore, I am unable to agree, this being the noble Earl's argument, that that was the ground of the argument in 1866. The answer of the noble Earl opposite is no answer at all. The noble Earl says there is no disfranchisement by this Bill. The word disfranchisement is not used; but it is there just as much as in 1866. Take the case of a small borough, with, say, 500 electors. The existence of that borough would be terminated through a redistribution scheme, and the 500 electors would become 500 out of a mass of 20,000 or 40,000. What is the position of any one of these electors? In name he is not disfranchised, but his voting power is reduced to 1-40th or 1-80th of what it was before. Is not that practically just the same thing, only different in degree, from the case of the elector who, in these circumstances, would lose his vote altogether? I therefore venture to claim the authority of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the present occasion in my favour. Every word of that speech, which is wholly unanawerable, is against the procedure of the Government with regard to this Bill. In addition to the noble Earl, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) has given his opinion upon the question more than once. At different times Mr. Trevelyan brought in Bills to assimilate the county and the borough franchises; and, in 1875, the Marquess of Hartington declined to vote for the Bill, on the ground that redistribution was the larger and more important part of the question and should accompany the assimilation, and that no private Member could grapple with the question. In 1878, Mr. Trevelyan brought forward a Motion in favour of assimilation and redistribution; and on that Motion, the Marquess of Hartington said—

"I think my hon. Friend has done very well to bring these two subjects together under the view of the House. He has done well, because I believe that whenever the House does proceed to deal practically with this question it will insist, as it has done before, that the question shall not be dealt with partially, but shall be dealt with as a whole."—(3 *Hansard*, [238] 245.)

Your Lordships will see that the words of my Amendment are founded almost, if not quite, upon the authority of the speech of the noble Marquess. I now proceed to cite the authority of the Government as a whole. As I understand, the Government, up to a certain point, profess themselves to be alive to the necessity of combining or supplementing this measure by a measure of redistribution; they promise a measure of redistribution, and they say they have introduced into the Bill provisions for the purpose of linking in and associating in some way the measure of redistribution with the measure of the franchise. I therefore claim the Government as an authority in support of my position; but have they done it? The whole question is—have they practically succeeded in doing that which they admit they feel they ought to do? This is a small and simple issue; there can be no doubt about it; and we can easily arrive at a solution of it by examining the provisions of the Bill. What have the Government done? They have provided in the Bill that it shall not come into operation until the 1st of January, 1885. [Several noble LORDS: 1886.] No, no; the Bill provides that it shall not come into operation until 1885; that being equivalent to its coming into operation for election purposes in 1886. It is said that there can be no registration until the summer of 1885, so that, therefore, practically, there can be no election under the Bill until after next year. I must beg leave to say, in the first place, that I cannot attach any weight to that as a concession on the part of the Government; because, if the Bill had been left as it was, the effect would have been the same; for unless notices of registration had been given by the end of the present month, they could not have been available for registration next year, and it was never likely that this Bill could have been passed in time for the notices to have been so given. The Government, therefore, have really introduced into the Bill that which was practically there without the introduction of the clause. I understand it is said by some—"If you are not satisfied with the provisions of the Bill, why should it not be amended? Why should not a clause be introduced which would prevent it coming into operation until the Redistribution Bill has been passed?" Of course, it could be done by an Amendment; but we are in this position—the Government were asked to take this course in the House of Commons, and they declined to do it. Therefore, if we introduce such an Amendment, which we are told has been refused, and will be refused, by the Government, that will only be to postpone to a later day of our procedure the reconsideration of the issue which we desire to take on this question of redistribution. Otherwise, if the Government are prepared to meet the difficulty by a special provision, it is easily done, and they have only to say so. Now, I want to consider for a moment what would be the state of things next Session. I must pause for a moment to ask—as we are told we can only expect one other Session of this Parliament—whose fault is it that we are driven into this position? There was no question more prominently before the country in 1880 than that of the franchise; and it was then clearly intimated that the Government would introduce a measure dealing with it. That being so, how comes it that year after year—in 1880, 1881, and 1882—the question has been forgotten by the Government until the year 1884, when we are told we must count the days before the end of this Parliament? The Government may say that there were a great many other things not thought of at the General Election that have occupied the House of Commons; but I would ask, if that has been so during the past four years, what security is there that it will not be so during one year more? The legislation with regard to the peace of Ireland may have to be renewed next year; and we know very well, by experience, what that means in the House of Commons, and how, side by side with a measure like that, a measure for redistribution would be likely to fare. The noble Earl says we can accept the assurance of the Government that, if nothing happens to prevent it, they are determined to bring in, and pass, a measure of redistribution. I quite believe in the sincerity of Her Majesty's Government. I pay them a compliment they do not pay us, for the noble Earl does not believe in my Amendment, and says that there is something behind it which is not expressed, on the ground that I am asking your Lordships to pass the Resolu-

tion as against the second reading of the Bill.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I made no insinuation to that effect.

EARL CAIRNS: I may tell the noble Earl that I quite believe in his sincerity. I also believe in the sincerity of the Prime Minister. I believe the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly sincere the other day, when he promised the Opposition in the House of Commons to give them a day for the discussion of affairs in Egypt. He was perfectly sincere in making that promise; but it so happens that the day was not given. I read, with some astonishment, in the papers of to-day that the Prime Minister compliments the House of Commons upon their marked good sense in refusing to do that which the Leader of the House—the Prime Minister—had pledged himself to do. The same thing may occur again as to the Redistribution Bill; and perhaps the Prime Minister may again have some reason for taking a similar course, and complimenting the House on their marked good sense. Now, what may happen? A Redistribution Bill may be brought in. It is not likely to please everybody; and suppose it does not satisfy those who are not the supporters of the Government. What will be the consequence? Was there ever before an engine of this kind put into the hands of a Government? The Party say—"We do not like this Redistribution Bill;" the Government say—"You must either take it or leave it; if you do not take it, you leave the election to the new electorate without any redistribution at all." Is that a course which it is fair to take towards Parliament—to call upon Parliament to legislate under duress? Again, suppose those who otherwise would support the Government think that the Bill does not go far enough, that they are indignant, and the Government have not the momentum to carry the Bill through, and it is shelved. Or suppose those whose seats are affected on both sides—for this is not a Party question, and there will be a considerable number—refuse to sacrifice their seats, and, having voted for a large increase of the electorate, determine to go back to their constituents, and the Bill fails on that ground, as it well may. Now, I want your Lordships to consider what will be the consequence if this Redistribution Bill does not pass, and there is an election of Members of Parliament with the old distribution. What would the House of Commons be? It would not be elected by any permanent electoral body which either side in Parliament accepts as a permanent electoral body; it will be a Convention Parliament, elected by those who, by a merely temporary accident, are the depositaries of power, and whom neither side in Parliament intends to be the permanent depositaries of power. You would, therefore, get a Convention Parliament elected by those bodies who are mere temporary depositaries of power; and suppose that when that House of Commons assembled they were to say—"We are bound by no pledge; we will undertake no redistribution; we are quite satisfied with things as they are; we will remain as we are; we will have no Redistribution Bill; things suit us very well as they are at present; and as they are at present they shall remain?" They are the masters of the situation; they remain the masters of the situation; and you have a fundamental change made in the Constitution of the country simply by an accident. It is this danger—I call it a grave and serious danger—that I ask your Lordships to guard against. It is idle to say that we oppose ourselves to any wish of the country in this matter. We appeal to the country; we desire to be judged by the country. It is a calumny to say that we set ourselves against the country, or against a measure of Reform. We desire that that which has been done on all former occasions in the reform of the Constitution should be done now, and that a peril and danger of that character should, if possible, be avoided. My Lords, I have endeavoured briefly, and I hope fairly, to place before your Lordships the bearing of this question. I have preferred to confine myself to argument, and I have not referred to any of those considerations by which this question has been surrounded out-of-doors. Your Lordships have received, with regard to the decision to which you ought to come on this Motion, a considerable quantity of good advice and some menace. The advice has come from various sources; but the menace has come mainly from one quarter, and that quarter, I venture to think, one from which menace to this House was neither fitting nor Constitutional. My Lords, it would be inconsis-

tent with the dignity of this House to respond to the menace. I feel persuaded that, in the course which your Lordships will take, you will be of opinion that any menace, such as we have heard of, can only recoil on the heads of those, however eminent they may be, by whom the menace was uttered; and as to your Lordships, I feel persuaded that in your decision upon the matter you will not be deterred by threats from supporting this Amendment if you approve of it; and that, on the other hand, you will not be provoked, as some might be, by threats, to support the Amendment unless it has your entire approval. I believe that the Amendment which I now propose has the approval of the great majority of this House, and I believe it will have the approval of the country. In that belief I place the Amendment in your Lordships' hands.

Amendment *moved*,

To leave out from ("That") to the end of the motion for the purpose of inserting the following words ("this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, does not think it right to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom, but which is not accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return Members as to ensure a true and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme.")—(*The Earl Cairns.*)

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, although I rise after the noble and learned Earl who has just sat down, I do not rise to address to the House a strong controversial speech. I rise rather to explain very shortly the reasons why I shall myself vote conscientiously for the second reading of this Bill, and to address to the minds of the independent Members of this House some arguments which, I trust, may not be wholly unacceptable to them. Let me, in the first place, refer to the few remarks which have fallen both from my noble Friend below me (the Earl of Kimberley) and from the noble and learned Earl opposite (the Earl Cairns) in regard to the functions and position of this House. I shall, in the first place, dissociate myself entirely from everything approaching to the language of menace. I agree with the noble and learned Earl opposite that such language addressed to this House is hardly Constitutional, and I hope it will not influence a single vote in your Lordships' House. But I trust it will not be considered unworthy of the dignity of this House, if I say, in passing, that I have read with astonishment the language used by men of conspicuous literary position; language which I can characterize in no other term than as scurrilous, and as overpassing all the decencies of public life. I wonder what those persons think of us who address such language to this House? My noble Friend has referred to our peculiar constitution, and the immense privilege we enjoy in having a voice in the legislation of this country. It is an immense privilege; but let it not be forgotten that it is balanced by an immense disadvantage. If we are hereditary Members of this House, we are also shut out of the other House of Parliament. All that great channel of public life is shut against us. The privilege that we enjoy is, indeed, an immense privilege, of which we may well be proud, considering its origin and its history; but we shall be proud of it only, if it is accompanied with some real and substantial power. When I say some real and substantial power, I do not mean, of course—for neither House has that—conclusive power against the public opinion of the country; but I mean some real and substantial power—some responsibility in that Legislature of which we form an important part. I do not know whether many of your Lordships know of the circumstance; but I remember well that one of the most distinguished Members of this House—I do not know that he said it in public, but I am aware of the fact—when he succeeded to the Peerage, being then a Member of the House of Commons, felt so anxious to retain a seat in that House, that he actually consulted the highest Constitutional lawyers in this country, to know whether it was possible for him not to take up that Peerage, in order that he might continue to be a Member of the other House. And, my Lords, I say this, that I believe there are many of us who would be glad to exchange the peculiar privilege to which my noble Friend referred for the other; and if we are to have no substantial right to exercise our functions for the public welfare, I, for one, should infinitely prefer the

privilege of having access to the other House. Now, my Lords, with regard to another point, I wish to repudiate an assertion lately put forward. Some language was recently used in a debate raised by my noble Friend below me (the Earl of Rosebery) in an interesting speech on the character and position of this House. I will not say my noble Friend himself made use of the assertion; but one or two noble Lords who followed him alluded to the fact of Members, who do not habitually attend this House, being summoned for the purpose of taking part in great debates and Divisions. Now, I do not object to what are called Country Peers coming to take part in our proceedings. It is a mistake to suppose that only those living in the neighbourhood of St. James's or Piccadilly reflect or understand the public opinion of this country. It has been lately one of the great items of the Radical creed to say that the London Press does not so much represent the opinion of the country as the Provincial Press does; and I so far agree with this that I think that Peers resident in the country, and who attend to their duties on their estates, who read the daily Press away from the excitement of the capital, and keep their minds acquainted with the course of events, are quite as well able to judge of public matters as the few dozens of Peers who habitually attend the Sittings of this House. Therefore, instead of deprecating the presence, I rejoice at the presence, of a great many noble Lords opposite who do not usually attend our debates. The truth is, that every part of this country is full of public life, and every Peer who comes up from the country, if he has given his mind conscientiously to the matters before him, is just as able to decide upon them as any Members of this House who are continually resident in this Metropolis, and nightly present in this House. But now comes the question, how are we best to exercise this great privilege which belongs to us by hereditary right? There is one fact which we must all acknowledge. The debates of this House and the votes of this House are no longer decisive of the fate of Governments. I am not sure that there ever was a time in the political history of this country when the votes of this House standing alone were decisive of the fate of Governments. I think this fact indicates our duty and our line of duty. Both political Parties are, to a great extent, independent of the individual; and, in my opinion, the individual is also to a very large extent independent of Party. My noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville), in some good-humoured banter which he addressed some weeks ago to my noble Friend (the Earl of Wemyss), spoke, I thought, in a tone of some contempt of what he called "the Cross Bench mind." My Lords, I disagree with him. I am conscious very largely of partaking of the nature of the Cross Bench mind. I have been summing up the years during which I have had the honour of being in high Office since I entered this House. I find that the total number of years I have been in this House is 37, and of those 37 years I have been 18 years a Member of various Cabinets. I have thus some right to know what are the advantages and the disadvantages of the Cross Bench mind and of the Treasury Bench mind. They each of them have their dangers and their temptations; but I have no hesitation in saying this—that it would be well for this House if a great majority of its Members had the Cross Bench mind; and if every man was determined to vote upon the merits of every question that came before him, then he must necessarily be of that mind. Let me, in confirmation of this argument, address the independent Members of this House, and let me recall a few circumstances of personal experience, not because they affect myself, but because they affect important questions of public interest. When I first came into the House I sat on the Bench opposite with that group of statesmen of whom the late Earl of Aberdeen was the centre and the most distinguished ornament. That group of men were essentially Cross Bench men. They had come out of the great Conservative Party, and they maintained for some years an independent position between the two sides of the House. Now, my Lords, I say this—that during the years in which the Earl of Aberdeen and his late Colleagues had a powerful influence upon this House, there never was a time when its debates were better; there never was a time when its votes had more sanction from the people; there never was a time when the in-

fluence of the House of Lords was greater than during that period. During that period the votes of this House could not be counted upon by the Government Whips in the event of a Party Division. I recollect very well an old Friend of mine, a strong Conservative, a Tory of the old school, lamenting the state of things that had arisen. He said that—

"In my early days the votes of the House of Lords could be counted upon with perfect accuracy and safety. There would be a certain number of Whig Peers and a certain number of Tory Peers who would vote true to their colours, and we knew exactly what the decision of the House of Lords would be; now, however, we do not know."

I believe that was a great improvement in the character and position of the House of Lords. Now to pass from the House to individual men. I entreat noble Lords opposite who are disposed to answer the Whip rather than to answer their own individual consciences upon such a question as this—I entreat them to ask themselves, is it true that they lose influence by taking an independent course, independent of their Party Leaders? I hope my noble Friends on the Treasury Bench and the Front Opposition Bench will forgive me this breach of discipline, this preaching of rebellion to their respective sides; but I ask, is it true that individual Peers or individual Members of the other House of Parliament lose influence by taking up a position independent in its character? Look at the case of my noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor. During a former Government of Mr. Gladstone, his conscientious objections brought him into a position in which he differed from his Colleagues, similar to that which was taken by the Earl of Aberdeen, and there is now no man in the House who has a greater influence than my noble and learned Friend. I appeal to my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who is Leader of this House, and who was my Colleague in that Government. He must remember that we were perpetually getting into scrapes of various kinds. I will appeal to him, whether we were not always supremely happy when we could lay hold of the skirts of Sir Roundell Palmer? In the present House of Commons there are two distinguished men, who, by a similar accident, by similar rules of conscientious opinion adverse to the general politics of their Party, stand in a similar position; and I ask are there any two men who have greater influence upon public opinion, and upon even the opinion of Parliament, although they may not always be followed into the Division Lobby by all whom they may influence, than my right hon. Friend Mr. Goschen and my right hon. Friend Mr. Forster? Let me give another case affecting the independence of Members. I can speak of it more particularly as I was not present on the occasion, and because I have no personal feeling in the matter. I can ask you to look to the case which occurred in the House of Lords a Session or two ago upon the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Bill. I have always thought that what was done on that occasion, although it may not have been agreeable to the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), was in the highest degree creditable and honourable to both the parties concerned, and to your Lordships' House. The noble Marquess opposite was perfectly right in urging that there were the greatest possible economical objections to the Bill, and in pressing those objections upon his Party; but I maintain that the minority of his Party, who took the other view, and who said that, on the whole, the balance of argument was in its favour, and who rebelled against his authority on that occasion, and enabled that Bill to pass through this House—I say that that action on the part of the Conservative Party redeemed, to a very large degree, the position of this House in the opinion of the country. Well, now, my Lords, I wish to apply the Cross Bench mind, the independent mind, to this question of the franchise. My Lords, I have some recollection of the question of Reform. In no less than three Cabinets of which I had the honour to be a Member the question of Reform was brought before me, and I have no more dreary recollection than of the manner in which Reform was dealt with in those days. We were perpetually counting numbers and discounting proportions, seeing how many voters would have to be added by a £6 franchise, by a £5 franchise, by a £4 franchise; and then a rating £5 franchise, a rating £6 franchise, and so on. We were always counting numbers and trying to apportion exactly, as far as we could, the number of voters in

what we supposed to be a safe limit of the Constitution. It was in the middle of this state of things that Mr. Disraeli came in; and I must say now, after the years of controversy have gone, and the grave has closed upon that distinguished man, I must do Mr. Disraeli the honour and the justice to say that, in my opinion, it was a real stroke of genius when he said—

> "Let us depart from these old ruts of figure franchises; let us go down to something like a principle; let us go down to the old franchise, which is one of the most familiar franchises of the English people, and let us found our new franchise upon household suffrage."

My Lords, I shall say nothing as to the political morality of that view. It was certainly a curious vindication of the ways of Providence that that right hon. Gentleman, who had attacked Sir Robert Peel with conspicuous bitterness, was himself the instrument of a change in the Constitution and policy of this country in the circumstances of which his own conduct bore a close analogy to the circumstances which he had condemned. All that is forgotten now; but my own belief is that if Lord Beaconsfield is to be remembered in the history of this country as undoubtedly he will be remembered, it will be for the most remarkable political career any man has ever had. He will be remembered in the Statute Book, above all, for the household franchise which he passed. What is the lesson we have derived from that? I draw this conclusion, my Lords—that all our anxiety with regard to numbers was a mistake. We were constantly led into the belief that English society lay in horizontal strata; and that, as you went down from one into another, you went down into a deeper and deeper abyss, until, at last, you got into the deepest of all which would overwhelm all the others. What has been the actual operation of the household franchise? Why, in a very few years after that great measure had been passed, after that leap in the dark, as it was called, had been taken, we had the strongest Tory Government that this country had seen for generations. Well, my Lords, let us take heart from that. We may depend upon it the same thing will recur as regards the county areas. The county areas are much less homogeneous than the borough areas, and there will be a greater variety in the opinion represented by the new county constituencies. Now, my Lords, is it not clear to every man who takes an independent view of this matter that the assimilation of the county and borough franchise is a matter of absolute necessity? I go a step further. I say that even if this measure of county franchise is dissociated from redistribution no alarming consequence will follow. I fully admit that it would be well to accompany the one with the other, if we could; but I deny altogether, looking at it from an independent point of view, and in the light of experience, that the dangers are ahead of us which have been predicted by my noble and learned Friend. The noble and learned Earl asserted that a Parliament elected on the new franchise, and with the existing constituencies, would not be a Parliament, but a Convention. That, certainly, appears to be a monstrous exaggeration. What will be the effect of the operation of lowering the county franchise? The general effect will be that the county areas and the county constituencies, not the borough constituencies, will be reinforced. I do not for a moment deny that the county constituencies, as now existing, will be largely modified in character. But it is the county constituencies that will have their numbers increased. Look at the effect of this in regard to redistribution. What is the Radical programme, or supposed to be the Radical programme, on the subject of redistribution? It is to accumulate Members in the great cities and large industrial centres. That is the universal inclination and desire of the Radical Party. That is the tendency of their language. If I am not misinformed, that is the desire of a section of the Cabinet, who want to pledge the Government to particular measures of Reform. It is, perhaps, somewhat unusual, and an extraordinary failing, for Members of a Cabinet to endeavour to bring pressure of this kind upon their Colleagues; but it appears from the Public Press that one Member of the Cabinet has indicated that the City of London should have at least 40 Members under the scheme of redistribution. I say it is the tendency of the Radical Party to accumulate Members in the cities. But what will be the effect of this Bill on redistribution? It will be to strengthen the

county constituencies; and they will have a right to object to that accumulation of Members in the cities and boroughs. They will have a right to claim their share in the allotment of Members from the disfranchised boroughs. What did my noble and learned Friend say? He quoted Mr. Disraeli, as pointing out that the population of counties, with an exception of a few cases which you could count on the fingers of one hand, was very much larger than the population of cities. That was the fact which Mr. Disraeli pointed out, and I believe he was the first to impress it on the mind of Parliament. In spite, therefore, of the pledge of the Government to deal with this question of redistribution next, and in spite, also, of the possibility of their being put off, or thwarted in their intention of doing so, I think we may look to the future of redistribution with comparative satisfaction, with peace and comfort; and I do not believe there is the danger which has been dwelt upon by my noble and learned Friend opposite. Before I sit down I wish to say a word in regard to the character of this measure. The noble and learned Earl referred severely, I think, to the language of the Prime Minister, some few days ago, in "another place," with regard to the action of this House. I do not altogether dissent from the first opinion that the word "quarrel" was unnecessarily severe, as characterizing what may be a mere temporary difference of opinion between the two Houses: but what I am surprised at is this—that the second part of Mr. Gladstone's speech has not attracted more attention than it has. The second part of that speech, so far from being minatory or intimidating, was, to my ear when I heard it, eminently reasonable and moderate; but, more than that, it contained an obvious allusion to circumstances which some of your Lordships may not have noticed, but to which I may be excused for referring. I hope, however, that in what I say I will not be supposed to be speaking from any information I have obtained of what has taken place in the Cabinet. The circumstances, as they have appeared before the public, are sufficiently remarkable. During last winter a Member of the Cabinet, or, if I am not mistaken, two Members of the Cabinet made electioneering speeches in the North of England, and both made speeches which struck me at the time as obviously intended to bring pressure on their Colleagues to induce them to introduce a fundamentally new Radical franchise—a one-man one-vote franchise I think it was called. That was the programme, so far as I could gather it, of the Radical section of the Cabinet. Very soon afterwards we had another very remarkable statement from another Member of the Cabinet. Again, we had Lord Hartington addressing his constituents and holding out a flag of distress. He did not wish—at least, so it seemed to me—that this Radical pressure should be brought in the Cabinet, at least without some counter-speech being delivered; and he distinctly indicated his doubt whether that complete and radical change would be, or ought to be, adopted by the Government. Now, the second part of the speech of Mr. Gladstone attracted the attention of the House of Commons and the public, and, indirectly, the attention of this House, to the unquestionable fact that this Franchise Bill has been drawn up on the most moderate lines. This was well explained by my noble Friend below me (the Earl of Kimberley), who, it seemed to me, made a most able and conciliatory speech. But it does not rest on this evidence of my noble Friend. We have these public statements on the part of other Members of the Cabinet, and they show that there must have been some contest and some difficulty on the part of the Prime Minister in carrying through the Cabinet, and through Parliament, so moderate and rational an extension of the franchise. Under these circumstances, and looking to the circumstances that all parties in the State had been pledged to admit an extension of the franchise; feeling that it has been brought before Parliament in an eminently reasonable and moderate form, and that if it is rejected the action of this House will be liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented out-of-doors, I appeal earnestly to every independent Member of this House to support the second reading of this Bill.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: My Lords, I am not going, at this very early period of the debate, to attempt to adduce any additional arguments to support the case put for-

ward so eloquently and conclusively by my noble and learned Friend; but, as one jointly responsible for the Reform Bill of 1867, and, in that respect, differing both from the noble Marquess and the noble and learned Earl behind me, I desire to state why it is that, after much consideration, I have determined to support the Amendment of my noble and learned Friend. I do not think that the noble Earl opposite will accuse me of being guided in the course I am taking by Party motives, and still less will he attribute factiousness to me, for I have on some occasions supported the Government when I considered that they were taking a course which the interests of England demanded, though, in doing so, I had to separate myself from those with whom I generally act. I hope, therefore, that my conscientious opposition to this measure, in its present form, will not be misinterpreted. My Lords, it is not necessary that I should enter into the principle of the Bill, because I hesitate to accept a measure admitted by its authors to be incomplete; and upon this rests the question whether it will be a safe and just measure for your Lordships to accept when complete, or whether it may not be made complete in a way which will render it destructive of all those principles which we have hitherto held sacred. My Lords, the principle of household suffrage in boroughs having been conceded in 1867, it appeared to me certain that a similar extension of the franchise to the rural population would, sooner or later, be demanded by those who found themselves outside the limits of the boroughs, and who would naturally feel desirous to possess that franchise which was enjoyed by their fellows only separated from them by an artificial line. There were various modes of giving them that vote; and the noble Earl and his Colleagues have, as usual, chosen the heroic course, and have assimilated, purely and simply, the town and the county franchise throughout the Kingdom. Now, I think such a course would be justified if, at the same time, a carefully considered measure for the redistribution of voters were brought forward; and if, instead of swamping the existing constituencies by importing into them the lowest class of voters in the country, the Government had simultaneously with this measure, or in any mode, brought forward a Bill which would provide for a redistribution of voters to take place at the same time as the extension of the franchise, the objections I entertain to the Bill would have been greatly modified. I see my noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Derby) taking notes; and as he has been alluded to, he will forgive me if I venture to say how entirely I agree with the opinions he expressed on a former occasion, upon the Motion made by my noble Friend the Master of the Horse (the Duke of Westminster) in 1866. It seems to me that that Motion was precisely the same as that of my noble and learned Friend behind me, only different in words. The Motion brought forward by the Master of the Horse was this—

"That this House, while ready to consider, with a view to its settlement, the question of Parliamentary Reform, is of opinion that it is inexpedient to discuss a Bill for the reduction of the Franchise in England and Wales, until the House has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the people."

That is, I say, almost identical in language with the Motion of my noble and learned Friend behind me. On that occasion the Master of the Horse was seconded by the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and he will, perhaps, forgive me if I call to his recollection the words he made use of, because they are so apt and apposite to the present occasion; and I shall wait with some interest to hear how my noble Friend separates the opinions he held on that occasion and the vote I am afraid he is likely to give on the present occasion. The words he used were—

"Who can say that the Cabinet of next year, though still composed of Members sitting on the Liberal side of the House, will be the identical body which we now see before us? Who can tell what question, foreign or domestic, may arise, leading to a dissolution of Parliament after the passing of the Franchise Bill—supposing it to be passed in the present Session—and before the Bill for the re-distribution of seats is brought on for discussion? . . . What we really want is some guarantee that the body which deals with the question of enfranchisement shall be in a position also to deal with the question of the re-distribution of seats. . . . The question of the re-distribution of seats is that which ought to be taken first, because, of all matters connected with the representation of the people, undoubtedly the greatest anomaly is the unequal distribution of electoral power."—(3 *Hansard*, [182] 1168-9-72.)

That I regard as a perfectly unanswer-

able argument; and I think that if I sat down now after reading those words I should justify the vote which I mean to give to my noble and learned Friend. The Government are not exactly of one mind on this question. The Prime Minister has stated, both on introducing the Bill and in his speech on the third reading, that the majority to be enfranchised by the Bill will be agricultural labourers; while Mr. Shaw Lefevre thinks—he is not sure—that nearly half will be agricultural labourers.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Mr. Shaw Lefevre is wrong.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: The noble Earl opposite says that Mr. Shaw Lefevre is wrong. That may be so; but these contradictory opinions show that I am right in believing this to be an incomplete measure upon which the Government are not all agreed. They are not agreed as to the numbers that would be enfranchised; and, therefore, I look to the opinion of another Gentleman, for whose opinion I entertain the highest respect, and that Gentleman is Mr. Goschen. He said—

"An Election on the new franchise, as I can conclusively prove, will add immensely to the strength of the urban democracy. . . . . In 30 county constituencies out of 95 the addition to be made to the constituency from what I may call the industrial and urban element will be so great as to entirely outvote the agricultural constituents. . . . . The urban element will be strongly increased. . . . They will be enfranchised in such numbers that in 30 county constituencies returning 60 Members there will be an entire transfer of political power from an agricultural and farm class to the urban class." —(3 *Hansard*, [286] 1868-78.)

Therefore it is that I hesitate to give my vote for the second reading of this Bill, which enfranchises a great number of voters, without, at the same time, being assured that it is to be accompanied by a Redistribution Bill, which will correct the anomalies of which Mr. Goschen speaks. There are other anomalies to which I could point. For instance, the two constituencies of Calne and Liskeard return two Members between them, having 1,763 voters; while South-West Lancashire, which, if this Bill passes, will have about 60,000 electors, will also have but two Members. The towns of Kinsale, Ennis, and Portarlington, with 590 electors and three Members between them, will be on an equal footing with the county of Cork, which, under the Bill, will have 45,000 electors. The effect of the Bill in regard to Ireland would be to place the occupiers of mud-cabins, rented at under £1 a-year, in an enormous majority. Two things occurred to me on the statement of the Prime Minister—first, what security have we that the Government will be able to introduce a Redistribution Bill; and, secondly, what security have we, if a Redistribution Bill is introduced, that it will be of a satisfactory nature? Who can tell what complication of foreign affairs may prevent the introduction of a Redistribution Bill? Many things may arise which will render it impossible for the Government to carry out the pledges they have given and the intentions which, no doubt, they have now. With regard to the second point, some of the more advanced Members of the Government are said to be in favour of equal electoral districts; and, however much the Prime Minister may be opposed to them, we cannot forget that Ministers have before now given way to their more advanced Colleagues, and have been converted in a very small space of time. We know that, at least, one Member of the Cabinet was strongly opposed to the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill. He may now think that equal electoral districts are equally undesirable; but by this time next year he may be convinced, by his more advanced Colleagues, that this is a measure which commends itself to him, and which ought to be placed before your Lordships. If the pledge given by the Government is not fulfilled it places us in this position, that we shall have no Redistribution Bill. If a Redistribution Bill is not passed, we shall have an election under the new franchise with the old boundaries, and anyone who has the smallest knowledge of what goes on in "another place" can imagine whether a House of Commons so elected would be very likely to agree to a redistribution which would confer a fair representation on all classes in the country. At all events, I decline to fix the franchise until I know how it is to be distributed; and I am, therefore, induced to vote for the Amendment. I am not opposed to the extension of the franchise. The late Lord Derby characterized the Act of 1867 as "a leap in the dark;" but is there any reason why, because we took a leap in the dark in

1867, that in 1884 we should with our eyes open jump into an unfathomable abyss? The Prime Minister called this a Conservative measure, and the reasons which he gave for so calling it are rather surprising. He said—

"We have been told that this is a Bill to insure the permanent existence of a Liberal Government. Is that an equitable or a liberal mode of looking at public questions? Is it a rational mode? Whom are we asking Parliament to enfranchise? Why, Sir, taking England and Scotland—I will not speak of Ireland, because the case is separate—the largest enfranchisement about to be made . . .[s] is the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourers. Is that a proceeding taken by the Government which has in view nothing but the perpetuation of its own Ministerial power? Is there any class in the country which is so liable to influence from above—I do not mean illegitimate influence . . . . is there any class so liable to this influence as the agricultural labourers of this country? Why, Sir, nothing but the greatest misconduct of those over them ever could separate the agricultural labourers from the farmers, the landlords, and the clergy; and yet the Bill which we are bringing in, and which seeks to enfranchise this great mass of men immediately associated with the farmers, landlords, and clergymen, who are the bases of the Conservative power of this country, does not for one moment shield us from the charge of the Opposition that we are seeking to enfranchise those who are, more than any other, our political opponents, for the purpose of perpetuating our own power. Sir, I humbly and respectfully say that that it is not a rational argument. Then, what are we to say as to the service franchise? Does that look very like the action of a Government seeking to perpetuate its own power? Are the gamekeepers, the gardeners, the coachmen, who are chiefly, certainly very much under influence, not illegitimate, but, perhaps, legitimate—are those generally persons who are in the service of Liberals, or are they not, in the enormous majority of cases, in the service of our opponents?"—(3 *Hansard*, [289] 1436-7.)

Well, I was not myself of opinion that gamekeepers and gardeners were the monopoly of Members sitting on the Conservative side of the House. I thought I had heard of Chatsworth and Trentham, and other large places owned by noble Lords of Liberal views, at which we may presume that gamekeepers and gardeners are employed. I do not wish to add anything to what has been said about the unconstitutional language of the Prime Minister. But, my Lords, I hope you will not be prevented by it from giving a conscientious vote. I am quite prepared to admit that your responsibility is great; but I do not think that it is unreasonable that we should require substantial guarantees that a measure which is admitted by its authors to be incomplete shall not come into operation unaccompanied by such a fair re-arrangement of voting power as shall give full representation to all classes and interests in this country. With such a safeguard as that, I should not fear a large extension of the suffrage; but without it, if this Bill passes, I foresee great and immediate peril to the interests and prosperity of the country, and, in the not distant future, to the dignity and integrity of the Empire.

THE EARL OF JERSEY said, that a great responsibility rested on every one of their Lordships in reference to the Bill under consideration. A decision of great moment had to be taken, and no one should be absent from his post, or shrink from the duty that rested on him. There was no disagreement in principle between the supporters of the Amendment and those who shared his views. The extension of the franchise to 2,000,000 of people was a stupendous change, and they could not know in what direction the new voters would use their influence. They might be sure, however, that their opinions would be reflected in the legislation of the country. It was consequently very necessary that an extension of the franchise should be accompanied by a Redistribution Bill. That House was only discharging its proper functions when it took care not to allow a measure, which was confessedly one-sided and full of dangers and anomalies, to pass. But it would be quite possible for their Lordships to pass an Amendment which would delay the operation of the present Bill until after the passing of a measure of redistribution, and both Bills might then come into operation at one and the same moment. But it was essential that the Bill should be complete both as regarded extension of the suffrage and redistribution. He fully admitted the right of that House to reject this measure; but the question was, would it be wise to refuse to go into Committee on a Bill which their Lordships did not oppose on its main principle? If they did refuse, in what position would they place that House? Were their Lordships to refuse to consider a Bill which had passed the other House without opposition to its main principle, and to say that they could not amend it in Committee? On the contrary, they

ought to give it a most careful consideration. Whatever happened this Session the question of Reform would not slumber; and it would keep that House awake until it was settled. The die would be cast in a few days, and he feared that it was not the Conservative Party who would cross the Rubicon and march on to Imperial Rome. If the Bill were not passed, other questions besides the extension of the suffrage would come to be discussed, which it would be far better for England if they were not discussed at a time of public excitement. If their Lordships' House lost the day, their influence over a future Reform Bill would be very slight, and they would have to bend low. They were, indeed, being asked to fight a battle in which their enemies would be able to choose the field and the time of attack, whilst they themselves would have no safe line of retreat left open. If there was hesitation in the Conservative camp now, what would there be six months hence, when the will of the country would have been clearly expressed? Of course, he did not allude to the vulgar taunts and violent language which had been used, and which might irritate, but would not influence. He did not envy the men who sought to embitter our political contests by charges of the grossest and most slanderous kind. But he spoke of the unmistakable way in which a brave and organized people were able to show the bent of their determination. Now was the time for noble Lords to act with honour to themselves and satisfaction to the country. If they did not do it now, they would have plenty of leisure to regret it by-and-bye when the great opportunity had passed for ever. He did not wish to minimize the enormous change they were asked to sanction. No doubt, a large number of new voters would be introduced, and then questions would be brought to the surface which affected the condition and the lives of the working classes. But the solution of such questions was the cause for which statesmen worked and nations existed; and no Government could be really strong which did not rest its basis upon the genuine support of the people. It was better that popular grievances should be discussed in Parliament than that they should be hawked about on banners. Their Lordships had no right to say that their countrymen would prove dangerous to that sense of security which was essential to the prosperity of the agricultural and manufacturing classes, and to the welfare of the country. He would say to noble Lords on that side—"Let the Conservative Party show that they can deal frankly with popular measures." The most useful task the Conservative Party could set before them was to moderate measures and to avoid ugly rushes; and the widening of the basis of the Constitution was, after all, a process which had been going on ever since the days of the Conqueror. It might be asked whether the new voters would be a danger to the State. That was a question which it was hard to answer; but there would be danger in giving agitators the chance of working upon the feelings of disappointed men. Above all, nothing should be done wantonly to irritate the feelings of the working classes; nothing could be more injurious than that any action of that House should have the effect of alienating the working from the upper classes. To-morrow night their Lordships would have an opportunity of doing one thing or the other. If they gave a second reading to the Bill they would express their approval of a measure conferring popular rights; if, on the other hand, they accepted the Resolution of the noble and learned Earl, they would, while not opposed to its principle, reject a measure conferring popular rights without even considering its important details. As he felt bound to vote against the noble and learned Earl's Resolution he could not do so silently. He must express his sincere regret that he could not follow his Leaders on this occasion. The ties of Party ought not to be lightly disregarded; but a time might come when even a strong adhesion to Party should give way to a sense of pure conviction; and he was satisfied that in voting against the postponement of the extension of the franchise to his countrymen he should be acting for the best, truest, and most permanent interests of his country, to which he owed his first and paramount duty.

THE EARL OF FIFE said, he felt too much the importance of this measure, which he feared had not received as cordial a reception as the country could have wished, not to rise to make a few remarks in its support. Before he en-

deavoured to apply himself to the arguments they had recently heard from noble Lords opposite against this Bill, he would like to remind them that, although described in the Amendment as a fundamental change in the Constitution, it was really the natural outcome of that wise and beneficent measure introduced by their late Leader, and which they never ceased to hear lauded as a masterpiece of Conservative statesmanship. They were, however, asked now to reject this measure, because it did not contain a redistribution scheme. Considering that the Bill only reached their Lordships' House in the second week of July, it seemed to him evident that had a redistribution scheme been tacked on to it, it would not have been heard of within those walls this year at all. But, of course, that was an object which no noble Lord had in view. They were enthusiastically assured that, had a Redistribution Bill been simultaneously introduced, the Opposition in "another place" would have vied with the Government in hurrying on the enfranchisement clauses, so as to reach and amicably discuss the redistribution scheme without any further loss of time than had already been consumed. Those Members whose Parliamentary career was to have been unfortunately interrupted would have resigned themselves heroically to their fate, and, like Curtius of old, have willingly sprung into the gulf of their political extinction. It was difficult to contemplate without a smile this beautiful vision of more than Roman patriotism. But, to descend to the lower level of arithmetic, it was simply impossible to believe that a Bill containing more pages than this one did lines, and each clause bristling with difficult and often personal questions, could, in these days of legislative congestion, have passed through Parliament in the same space of time as had been consumed by this Bill, or even in thrice that time. He could hardly conceive that anyone could seriously deny that every clause—he might say every line—of that Redistribution Bill, so eagerly asked for, would have been hotly contested for weeks and months—not only by English and Scottish Members, but by those from another quarter who had developed and perfected the new science of Parliamentary Obstruction. In connection with redistribution there were numerous and gigantic questions. He would only mention the representation of minorities, as an instance which must lead to protracted debates. Practically, Governments, like individuals, must bow to the necessities of time and space; and when the head of a responsible Government distinctly stated that he could not see his way to treat in one Session the two parts of a Reform Bill, it seemed to him that to oppose that procedure was to say that neither part should be dealt with all, or it was an attempt to convict the Prime Minister of disingenuousness. If one was to believe all the sinister reports one heard, one would have to conclude that the impossibility of passing two Bills united was the real cause for wishing them to be introduced together. They had heard a great deal about the argument that this Parliament was no longer young, and that, should a Dissolution inopportunely occur, the new House of Commons would be returned by the swollen constituencies, which had not been wheeled into line by a Redistribution or even a Boundary Bill. No one could deny that that would be a most objectionable occurrence, and he had always gathered that that was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government. He was utterly at a loss to understand why that should be a reason for declining to give a second reading to this Bill. No doubt noble Lords opposite held in small esteem the limited capacities of those who supported the present Government. His clouded political vision could not get beyond the conviction that, if such a catastrophe as a Dissolution was to be threatened, it would be within the power of the Party opposite to avert it, and, indeed, that it could only be brought about by themselves. Of course, if they allowed the wild spirits of their Party, who were teaching them so energetically the new articles of their political creed, to revive every fought-out contest and renew day by day every discussion, not one but two Sessions might pass without a redistribution scheme becoming law. But, in the absence of systematic resistance from the Party opposite, there could be no doubt that a Redistribution Bill would be passed next year. They themselves said that it was possible to pass the two Bills in one year. How could they doubt the ability of the Government to carry out so much more modest a programme? But he was told that the ob-

The Earl of Fife

ject was not to defeat the Franchise Bill—they all knew how zealous in that cause the Tory Party had always been—but solely to insure that the two parts of any Reform Bill should go together. Surely, if that were the only object of the Opposition, they had gone about a strange way to obtain it. Their evident course, one would think, should have been to support this Bill on the second reading, and reserve themselves the right in Committee of inserting such clauses as they might think necessary to delay the time at which this Bill should become operative. The most remarkable feature of the Amendment they had before them, and of the debates which had taken place generally upon the Franchise Bill, was that franchise had been the one thing neglected. Opponents had attacked the Government for not introducing another Bill, or had attacked the supposed contents of that other Bill. But few had fairly and candidly attacked the Bill face to face. Why was that? He thought it sprang mainly from two reasons. First, because they had had 17 years of the enfranchisement of the town labourer, and, in spite of the influx of 900,000 voters, the enlarged boroughs had sent up much the same class of Representatives as before; and, secondly, because, as was well shown in the House of Commons by Mr. Walter, some 39 of these boroughs were agricultural boroughs, and in them, at all events, they had had 17 years' experience of the very same agricultural labourers whom it was the object of the Bill to enfranchise everywhere. For those two reasons he ventured to think that the demand for the county franchise could not be logically or wisely opposed. That had been so well felt that it was now sought to defeat that Bill on a side issue—not as to what it contained, but as to what it did not contain. Those were manœuvres worthy neither of a good cause nor of a great Party, and they would meet with the failure which they deserved. Without troubling their Lordships with long quotations, he would remind them how Lord Beaconsfield had spoken as long ago as 1852—

"In the construction of that memorable law, the Reform Act of 1832, there was a very great deficiency, which consisted in a want of due consideration of the rights of the working classes to the franchise. . . . Under our old system, by the suffrages of the freemen, the political rights of the labourer were acknowledged by the Constitution. We virtually destroyed those rights in 1832."

The exclusion of the labourer from the pale of the Constitution in 1832 was always regretted by Mr. Disraeli; and he never ceased to glory in the fact that he had done something to restore them to the position which he said they occupied in the time of the Plantagenets. What had been wisely done for the urban must now be done for the rural labourer; and when they were told by the Amendment that it was a "fundamental change in the Constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom," they were led to think that, in drawing up a specious Amendment, noble Lords had allowed their desire to defeat this measure completely to overcome their memory and their logic. He quite expected that they would oppose the Redistribution Bill, and subject it to searching criticism; but that was only another reason for clearing the way by removing previously from discussion the simpler, plainer, more general question of the franchise. It dealt with large questions of electoral principles, applicable to all parts of the country alike, and it was a question on which the constituencies were practically agreed; while the redistribution question, depending essentially on details, local and personal, might naturally raise a host of totally different objections, and had, therefore, best be separately dealt with. Another argument, of which he utterly failed to see the application, was that the constituencies had not been directly consulted. At the last Election the question was placed before the country by Liberal candidates of every shade; and, even 10 years ago, in the Election of 1874, the majority of Liberals had declared themselves in favour of the assimilation of the borough and county franchise. Speaking for Scottish constituencies, one of which he was then returned for, he could bear witness to the fact that the question was very generally discussed; and he recollected himself having given one of his first votes in favour of what was then known as Mr. Trevelyan's Bill. In any case, it seemed to him a somewhat startling doctrine to lay down that every question of great importance was to be specially and separately submitted to the judgment of the constituencies. That was, he believed, the mode adopted in the Swiss Republic, and they all

knew that it was a favourite method with the Cæsarism of the Second Empire in France. It was, in short, the system of the *plébiscite* transferred to our shores. French Radicals held that Members of Parliament were delegates and not Representatives, and that they must follow and obey the *mandat impératif*. Then, as soon as anything touching the Constitution was brought forward, a new Chamber had to be elected, which they called a "Constituante." Was it maintained by the Conservative Party that the *mandat* of the present House of Commons did not include a Franchise Bill, and that the country must be asked at once to elect a "Constituante?" It would, indeed, be startling to find noble Lords opposite, in their anxiety to get rid of a moderate Liberal measure, which must inevitably pass, adopting one of the most dangerous Continental perversions of our Parliamentary system. No one could fail to look beyond the present discussion to the political situation in which the country would find itself should that Amendment be carried. The Franchise Bill was a measure which the House of Commons, by large and repeated majorities, had passed for the reform of its own Constitution—majorities before which paled the slender figures of former historical Divisions on this well-worn question. They all recognized the Constitutional theory that the House of Lords had the right to delay legislation when the voice of the other House was uncertain, or that of the country doubtful. But it was flying in the face of all evidence to maintain such now to be the case. He would not condescend to notice the argument that there was no loud clamour to justify the introduction of the Bill. If there was one thing which could strengthen our hope in the political future of the nation, it was the calm and Constitutional, though firm and unmistakable, manner in which the people had expressed their support of that measure. The days of physical menace had been rendered useless, and no one wished to exchange the peaceful demonstrations they were soon about to witness for wild and lawless disturbance. Still, it would go forth, disguise it as they might with ingeniously-contrived sentences which no one would read, that the House of Lords was opposed to the principle of Reform, and was prepared to resist the clearly-expressed wish of the nation. It was impossible to conceive a situation fraught with graver danger, or more calculated to discredit the position and legislation of that House, the numbers and aggressiveness of whose enemies was not likely to diminish. He hoped it was not presumptuous on his part, as a recent Member of that Assembly, to appeal to that House, whose long career had furnished many solid proofs of political wisdom, even now to cast aside all Party spirit and political prejudice, and to lend a helping hand to broaden the basis of that Representative system which their ancestors had patiently built up. [*Loud cheers.*]

Lord BALFOUR said, he could not understand the cheers with which the speech of the noble Earl beside him (the Earl of Jersey) had been received by noble Lords opposite, because he simply proposed to do indirectly what the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) proposed to do directly. The Government admitted that what was asked for by the Amendment was desirable; but they would not take the only precaution by which it could be secured. Nothing had been more distinctly announced than the determination of the Government not to postpone the coming into operation of the Bill until a Redistribution Bill had been passed. He could not think that the course which the noble Earl (the Earl of Jersey) recommended their Lordships to take was one worthy of adoption. If it resulted, as he (Lord Balfour) believed it would, in the failure of the Bill to pass, it would not mitigate the opposition which the decision of their Lordships' House was likely to excite, but would rather increase it; because, instead of being attacked, as he supposed they should be, for delaying the passing of the Reform Bill, they would be told they had done it in a dishonest way; that they had put into the Bill an Amendment so vital as to be a second reading question; and that, therefore, they had done in Committee what they were afraid to do in an honest way on the second reading. This would not be a satisfactory solution, because if this Bill passed and redistribution failed to pass next year, there would be a large body proclaimed by Parliament fit to be voters who would not exercise the franchise because redistribution was not passed. There were elements of much greater agitation in this course than in the course

proposed by the Amendment. The noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) did not oppose the principle of Reform. He accepted it, and all he said was that it must be accompanied by redistribution, or delayed until a Redistribution Bill had also been passed. He could not conceive a fairer position for them to take up than that. Nor did he see how it could be said that they were defying the will of the people, because the people had never been asked whether they would sanction an extension of the franchise without redistribution. If it was the case that the question was before the people at the last Election, it was, at least, on the understanding that it would be an entire scheme, and not a fragmentary scheme such as this. If anybody said that their Lordships were defying the will of the people, it said extremely little for their mental acuteness; and if they endeavoured to make the people believe it, and did not believe it themselves, it said still less for their political honesty. It might be that if the Amendment were carried the "ardent and sincere" supporters of the Government would get up a good swingeing agitation against the House of Lords, as was recommended in an evening newspaper, with the object of diverting attention from the failure of the foreign policy of the Government; but that would be no more than a trick. The question of adding 2,000,000 new voters was a question of sufficient importance to be referred, as a whole, to the constituencies. No great prominence was given to it at the last Election. Lord Hartington only said, in his address —"It is acknowledged that the system of popular representation is still incomplete." And it would be still incomplete if this Bill passed. Mr. Gladstone in his address only mentioned, in an enumeration of subjects—"A more equal distribution of the political franchise." If this Bill passed there would not be a very equal distribution. There was no precedent for the course now adopted by the Government. Reform Bills had been passed for England in one year, and for the rest of the Kingdom afterwards, and there was no reason why that precedent should not be followed now. The Government had chosen to do what was easy and delay what was difficult. A Franchise Bill gave something, while a Redistribution Bill would take something away; and unless they united the sweet and the bitter in one scheme, the bitter had very little chance indeed of being accepted. The utterances of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies had often been alluded to; but he could not forbear quoting one other passage that was most apposite to the question under discussion. In 1866, when in Opposition, Lord Stanley used these words—

"You cannot deal conveniently or satisfactorily with the question . . . . unless you know what is to be the nature and what is to be the extent of the constituencies you are about to create. . . . . We ought to take the question of the re-distribution of seats before we take the question of an extension of the franchise."—(3 *Hansard*, [183] 2059-61.)

The reply the Government now made to that was that they could not carry the scheme in one year in addition to the franchise, as a Redistribution Bill would take three times as much time as the Franchise Bill had taken. If that was so, it was extremely doubtful whether the Redistribution Bill would be carried next year, and then they would be face to face with the difficulty which all parties were anxious to avoid. If, however, a fair and complete scheme of redistribution had been produced on the authority of the Government, even if it had not passed through the House of Commons this Session, it would have committed the Government to carrying it; and much of the hostility which the present Bill had encountered would he thought, have been avoided. He would like to say one word with regard to Scotland. Scotland, by the confession of everybody, was entitled to an increase of Members. The Prime Minister, and again the noble Earl this evening, had told their Lordships that there would not probably be any Members taken away from Ireland. He congratulated the people of Ireland upon their good fortune; but he did not think it would be very satisfactory to the people of Scotland, because, while Ireland was over-represented, Scotland was under-represented, and England had no Members to spare, and they in the Northern part of the Island knew what was likely to happen, though they had a just case, if it conflicted with the interests of the larger country South of the Tweed. He did not attach much importance—nor, he believed, did the people of Scotland —to the suggestion that the total number of Members of the House of Com-

mons might be increased. Another great point made against the Amendment of his noble and learned Friend was that the Government had made a great concession. They had provided that the Bill should not come into operation until January, 1886. That, he thought, was no concession, asit was almost done beforehand by the efflux of time; but he valued it for this reason—that it was a public acknowledgment on the part of the Government that it would be an unfair and improper thing that these two schemes should be separated. What, however, would be the position of Parliament if the Bill were to pass on the faith of a promise that a Redistribution Bill would follow next year? Would it not be that they must accept the scheme of the Government—the whole scheme and nothing but the scheme — and that it would not be Parliament, but the Government, who would decide what should be the redistribution of seats. Assuming, however, for a moment that the present Bill passed, and the redistribution scheme failed, 2,000,000 of new electors would be put into the county constituencies, the result of which would be the utter destruction of the balance of power between the urban and the rural interests of the country. In England and Wales at the present time there were 297 borough Members, and 1,651,000 electors, or, in other words, every borough Member represented 5,500 electors. The present number of county Members was 187, and the county electors numbered 996,721—therefore each county Member represented about 5,100 electors, or nearly equal to the number represented by a borough Member. But how would the numbers stand if these 2,000,000 voters were enfranchised? The county electorate in England and Wales would be increased to 2,400,000, so that in that case a county Member would represent 12,834 electors; and was that what the Prime Minister would call an equal distribution of the electoral franchise? The constituencies of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire were about 18,000 electors. He had nothing to say against enfranchising the shipping population on the Clyde; but their interest was urban and not rural, and why should they be put into the counties of Lanark and Renfrew, and make these rural constituencies into urban ones? A distinguished Member of the other House, Mr. Goschen, speaking of the effect of that Bill, said that in 30 county constituencies returning 60 Members there would be an entire transfer of power from the agricultural to the urban class. Was that just to the agricultural labourer, whom the Government professed to take under their special protection? The distinction between the urban and rural voters would be obliterated; and after recent experience in connection with the Cattle Plague Bill, they could judge what justice they were likely to get for the rural districts of the country if the county Members were to be swamped by the urban electorate. Supposing the present Bill were passed, and supposing there was no redistribution of seats carried before the next General Election, he believed that the question of redistribution would be indefinitely postponed; and some of the more astute wire-pullers who managed those matters for the other side had deliberately made their calculations on that footing. Supposing they set those 2,000,000 new electors the task of redistributing the political power of the country, how did they think the Representatives would set about it? How could they ask those Representatives who were sent to a new Parliament to curtail the power of those who had just sent them there? In this matter they had not only to deal with the opinions of the Members of the Government opposite; but they had to look at the published opinions of other Members of the Government, some of whom were in favour of manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, and the payment of Members. This Bill would be used simply as a means to gain those ends, and for no other purpose. He called particular attention to a passage of a speech delivered in November at Bristol by the President of the Board of Trade, in which he said that their object should be to reduce the power and influence of the minority, and that they should give a fair representation to the majority, and that he was glad to find that the friends of whom he had been speaking were all agreed that, at all events, the present system of minority representation was altogether bad and reprehensible. "Let us unite," he added, "to abolish this stupid, silly, and unconstitutional device. When we

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have done that we can sit down and see whether any substitute is necessary." He feared that the urban voters to whom they were about to give this power might agree with Mr. Chamberlain in not taking any care for the representation of minorities. In these circumstances, could their Lordships be blamed for wishing to see the complete scheme of the Government before they bound themselves hand and foot, and handed themselves over to the domination of the Caucus? The only security they had was the assurance of the Government that a redistribution measure would be brought in next year. He joined with other noble Lords on his own side of the House in accepting those assurances, and who said that they believed that the Government fully intended to pass that Bill. It was a different thing, however, to bring in a Bill of such a kind and to pass it; and their Lordships had no security that even if the Bill were brought in the Government would be able in this matter to carry out those good resolutions. This security was not enough to induce him to assent to the passing of the Bill. If it was the case that they would be met by hostility, they would not in the slightest degree abate that hostility by passing the Bill on the present occasion. On the next occasion when their Lordships threatened to throw out a Bill those threats and menaces would be renewed, and the only result would be that the hostility would be changed into contempt. Their Lordships would not turn aside the hostility of their foes, and would incur the distrust and contempt of their friends, unless they adhered to what he believed to be their conscientious opinion. It was said that their Lordships had taken their stand on an unfortunate issue. The issue had not been of their seeking. They had been forced into it by the circumstances of the case aud by the manner in which the whole question had been dealt with by the Government. He denied that there would be a spontaneous agitation against their Lordships' House, not for defying the will of the people, but simply for asking that an opportunity should be given for the will of the people to be declared on a matter of vital importance to them. He should cheerfully vote for the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl, and maintained that if there was to be a quarrel it had not been of their seeking. If there was to be one, however, they would not forget the concluding part of the quotation made by the Prime Minister, and bear themselves bravely in that quarrel.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT said, it had been stated by the noble Lord opposite that it would be dangerous to lower the franchise further in Ireland. He (Viscount Powerscourt) maintained that the Irish people had already obtained the franchise to a sufficient extent in order to allow them to give full effect to anything which they desired. The English people hitherto had been pursuing a course which was in the direction of repressing Irish opinion; and if their Lordships did not extend the franchise to Ireland he feared they would only increase the hostility which existed among the people of that country by the continuance of the Union, while they would not do anything to diminish the power they possessed of using the franchise they already exercised. If they did not give to Ireland the franchise, they ought to be logical, and take the alternative step of disfranchising Ireland altogether and govern it as a Crown Colony. No one, however, would go the length of proposing such a step as that. He supported the second reading of the Bill.

VISCOUNT TORRINGTON said, the gravity of the question before the House must be his excuse for venturing to offer a few words of earnest remonstrance against the attempt of the Government to force through Parliament an incomplete measure of electoral reform, one which might hereafter be made instrumental in coercing the Legislature to pass a one-sided and disastrous Redistribution Bill. It was quite true that the Ministry had pledged themselves to introduce a Supplementary Bill; but there was no sort of guarantee that this all-important and indispensable complement of the Franchise Bill would be a just measure, dealt with by the Government in an impartial and statesmanlike spirit. In the opinion of all moderate men enfranchisement and redistribution should stand or fall together, and in divorcing them the Cabinet appeared to have had but one object in view—namely, Party advantage, the preponderance and perpetuation of Radical sway, for in the event of this disjointed measure being

passed the existing constituencies would be swamped, and the better educated and wealthier classes would be virtually disfranchised. It should be clearly understood, and could not be too forcibly or too frequently impressed on the public mind, that their Lordships' House was not opposed to a Franchise Bill. On the contrary, having accepted the principle, they were prepared to extend the suffrage, if coupled with securities for the rights of other people; but they declined to hand over to the new electorate the work of redistribution which determined the character of the Parliamentary Reform Bill. In order to guard themselves from being compelled to accept a bad Bill from the present Parliament, or a much worse one from the next, they must retain their control over the franchise, which, in his judgment, could only be done by throwing out this imperfect measure. Their Lordships would be abundantly justified in taking this bold but wise and Constitutional course, and in doing so would, he ventured to think, be giving effect to independent public opinion as distinguished from that spurious article which was made by their opponents to masquerade as such.

EARL STANHOPE said, the remarks of the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Powerscourt) in regard to the probable increase of agitation in Ireland for a dissolution of the Union if this Bill were not passed to include Ireland contained a very different argument from that held by the noble Earl who moved the second reading of the Bill. But as to the main principle of the Bill, he and those around him approved of the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourer. They were not afraid of the agricultural labourer; they thought him quite equal in many respects to the artizan, and quite as well qualified for the exercise of the franchise. This extension was the logical result of the Act of 1867. But the question of such extension of the franchise had not been put before the constituencies at the last General Election. In his famous Mid Lothian campaign, the Prime Minister, no doubt, made several references to the extension of the franchise in the counties; but though the Liberal candidates might have referred to the subject in their speeches, very few of them had alluded to the subject in their published election addresses. He had taken the trouble to inquire into this point. The Bill of 1867 added something under 1,000,000 electors to the Register. This Bill would add 2,000,000. He was glad to see that creation of fagot votes, by which both Parties established votes in the City of London and elsewhere in the country, was to be practically abolished. But how were the 2,000,000 new voters to be distributed? Everything turned on that. This opinion was supported by Mr. Bright, who said—

"I will undertake if you give me the distribution of seats to produce whatever results are required."

And Lord Hartington, in 1870, said—

"I think my hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) has done very well to bring these two subjects together under the view of the House. He has done well, because I believe that whenever the House does proceed to deal practically with this question it will insist, as it has done before, that the question shall not be dealt with partially, but shall be dealt with as a whole." —(3 *Hansard*, [238] 245.)

It was argued, why oppose the second reading of a Bill of which you approve? Why not amend it in Committee? Well, several noble Lords might be satisfied if they could fix a date before which the Bill should have no operative effect; but this the Government had already absolutely refused to accept. What happened on Mr. Albert Grey's Amendment? Mr. Gladstone, last month, said, in "another place"—

"Now, it is proposed that some enactment should be put into the Bill which takes note of the declaration of the Government as to redistribution. But we should object in the highest degree to the indefinite hanging up of the new constituencies, and we should be extremely glad, on the other hand, to meet the wishes we have heard expressed without injury to the public objects which we have in view."

It seemed to him very remarkable that the Government had not availed themselves of the Franchise Bill as a lever to push forward the Redistribution Bill. The Franchise Bill was a popular measure; the Redistribution Bill, by its very nature, must encounter opposition. If the two Bills had been pushed forward *pari passu*, he believed they would both have passed this Session. They had but a very faint outline of the Government plan of redistribution, not founded on the opinion of the Cabinet, but merely on the personal view of the Prime Minister. Mr. Gladstone, on the 20th of February, said—"I have no objection

to make a little sketch of my own on redistribution." The House would be placed in this very difficult position if it passed this Bill—it would either have to accept any scheme of redistribution next year, or there would be a General Election on the new constituencies without any redistribution at all. Then, with regard to Ireland, it was certainly a strange time to add 400,000 additional voters when a stringent Coercion Act was in operation; and he was informed that the number would be nearer 600,000 than 400,000. At the time of the Union, when Ireland received its 103 Members, the population was, 7,000,000; but it was now only 5,000,000. It might, therefore, well be considered whether the number might not now fairly be reduced. Even at present the Irish Members exercised too great a control over legislation. But they would come back with such numbers as to practically hold the balance of Parties. Scotland, it was said, was to have its Members increased from 60 to 70; but the population of Scotland was only 3,500,000, and London, which had a population of 4,500,000, only had 22 Members. The Prime Minister based some of his arguments on the distance of Scotland, which he contended was 350 miles distant in the nearest part from London; but the only explanation appeared to be that Scotch Members were such staunch supporters of his that he thought the more of them there were the better! The Bill before the House was a great Constitutional change. It was said by one of the present Cabinet Ministers to be as great a revolution as that effected in 1688. Full consideration should be given to the subject; indeed, it might be necessary to appoint a new Boundary Commission, since changes had taken place since the last Commission reported in 1868. We were always told how perfect was the Constitution of the United States; but the House was, perhaps, not aware how extremely difficult it was, and what checks existed in the United States against any change in the Constitution. Any alteration of the Constitution required a majority of two-thirds both in the Senate and House of Representatives, and a similar majority in each of the Legislatures of the 38 States of the Union, before it could come into effect. He would quote to their Lordships the words of an American gentleman, an author, who had lately written to him upon the subject:—

"If you will listen to a Republican citizen of a Republic, do not let your suffrage be any more universal. What we are going to do with our universal suffrage, which means a steady tendency towards the spending of the money of those who have by those who have not, becomes every day a more difficult question."

As he had said, he strongly believed that Her Majesty's Government would have found the introduction of a Redistribution Bill at the same time as the present Bill a much easier procedure than what they had now undertaken. In conclusion, he wished to express his full concurrence in, and hearty support of, the Resolution of his noble and learned Friend.

EARL COWPER said, he should vote for the second reading of the Bill, and against the Amendment. There was no doubt that when the Reform Bill of 1867, which gave household franchise to boroughs, was passed, the county franchise was left in a very unsettled state, and discontent naturally prevailed amongst the county populations. None of the noble Lords who had spoken had alleged that it was bad in the abstract to adopt household suffrage in the counties; but what was objected to was that by introducing such a number of electors as this Bill would create the present constituencies would be swamped. There might be some cause for such fear if the classes to be enfranchised all voted together. But it was a matter of experience that they did not, because of the influence exercised upon them by those socially above them. If, however, those who were called the upper classes did not succeed in retaining their hold and in leading and influencing those below them, there was no hope or chance of their being able to hold their own by any scheme of redistribution, or by any Minority Clause. He would not argue for any length of time the question of Reform. He considered it a foregone conclusion that the proposed reform must be effected; and he would turn to a point which was of more interest—namely, the consideration of the effect which their conduct with regard to this measure would have upon the present and future condition of the House. It was impossible for anybody to be for many years, as he had, a Mem-

ber of that Assembly without having its interests warmly at heart. It had been felt by many, no doubt, that the responsibility and anxiety of the Government must be very great; but he thought at this moment that the responsibility of the Leaders of the other Party in the House was very great also. The latter had the future of the House in their hands. In a recent debate on the promotion of the efficiency of their Lordships' House, they were told that the House was not what it ought to be, nor what it was in the time of their ancestors; but he thought that what had given the House a blow as much as anything else was the number of times they had thrown out measures, or passed such Amendments as to destroy them, and then, after a display of opposition for a very short time, had eaten their own words. All this had tended to damage their position in the country; and it was because he did not wish to be placed in such a position again that he invited their Lordships to pass this measure. They had had quite enough of standing up for the purpose of being knocked down. He earnestly hoped they would be saved this time from being placed in the dilemma of either having once more to give way or of taking their stand in an untenable position. He did not wish it to be supposed that their Lordships were always to give way when the other House differed from them. On the contrary, the chief hope which they had of regaining their position in the estimation of the public was that an opportunity would occur when they could resist some ill-advised, pernicious, but popular, measure passed by the other House in a moment of Party passion. Such an opportunity had not come then. The Bill was generally admitted to be a good one, and the country desired it. If there had been no agitation in support of it, it was because the country felt certain that it would pass. But the moment it was attempted to frustrate the measure, he believed they would see the force of the violent current of public opinion underlying this matter, and they would be sorry they attempted to stop it. The position which the Opposition had taken up to make their grand fight upon—on which so much depended as to the future power and position of the House—was a very complicated one, and one which it was extremely difficult for the people to understand. Indeed, it was almost impossible for them not to think it was really the measure itself which they were anxious to oppose, and that they were only hindering it in this particular way in order to strengthen their hands in doing so. With regard to the question of redistribution, all he could say was, that if the Government should be mad enough to attempt to manipulate the subject of redistribution in order to give to certain classes of political opinion more than their fair share of representation, the opportunity which their Lordships wanted would have come. They would have a good ground for fighting upon, and they would be supported by all influential people in resisting such iniquity. But supposing the worst to happen, and that an appeal were made to the country under the new franchise before the introduction of a redistribution scheme, would that be a great calamity for the Party to which noble Lords opposite belonged? Would this increase of the county voters make the county constituencies all change their political views in favour of Liberalism? It had not been proved that if, by any trickery on the part of the Government, an appeal were made to the transitory constituencies created by this Bill, the Party now in power would derive any very great advantage. The only conceivable reason for bringing forward the Amendment which had been proposed seemed to him to be a desire to force a Dissolution. If he was right in believing that that was the reason, he warned noble Lords that they were playing a game which might result not in success, but in failure. The only justification which noble Lords could have for pitting themselves against the House of Commons in a death struggle was their belief in their chance of success; but they should remember that this chance was very doubtful, and, in any case, that success could not be considered complete, because they would appeal to constituencies already condemned. The rejection of the Bill by their Lordships would be an excessively rash step, which might have very disastrous consequences.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, that what their Lordships had to consider was, what was best for the interests of the country; and, so long as they did that, they must not give too much consideration to what the consequences to themselves might be.

He proposed to deal with a portion of the Bill, which had not yet been dealt with. They had had nothing distinctly stated as to the effect of this measure on Ireland. He believed that there was no feeling against Reform on his side of the House, provided that a fair measure of redistribution formed part of the proposed scheme; and if a measure of redistribution was necessary for Great Britain, it was ten times more necessary that it should be introduced before a Franchise Bill for Ireland became law. In Great Britain it was proposed to add largely to the constituencies in the counties by granting household suffrage; and although there was grave danger, unless a fair measure of redistribution should be introduced before the Act should come into operation, that the large urban population which would be thrown into the county constituencies would have the effect of swamping the agricultural interests, yet the natural law-abiding tendencies inherent in the people of England were such that the enfranchisement of these classes, even though it would interfere with the just representation of the agricultural portion of the community, would not have the same terrible results as those which would be produced in Ireland by the enfranchisement of the disloyal, and the swamping of the loyal classes. In Ireland the Government proposed to add more than double the number of voters to the list of those who already enjoyed the franchise; and almost all this addition was derived, not, as in England, from classes representing various interests, but from one single class, who were bitterly opposed to the Union between the two countries, and were among the strongest supporters of Mr. Parnell. If a Franchise Bill were introduced for Great Britain which showed on the face of it that an addition was to be made of twice the number of those who at present had votes, and that by it the whole of the educated, propertied, and loyal classes were to be swamped by mere numbers, and thus deprived of political existence, did their Lordships think that such a proposition would be listened to for a moment? Yet that was exactly what this Bill proposed to do for Ireland; and the fact was that that country, never having adopted law-abiding habits, and not having made anything like the same progress in education that this country had done, had been, from time to time, left out from the full advantages with regard to the franchise which had been conceded to England, for the simple reason that it was not considered safe to legislate for her upon the same lines. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Trevelyan the other day declared that it was intended to give the franchise to every capable citizen. That was a most excellent proposition; but how were they to arrive at what a capable citizen was? The proof of capability which seemed to satisfy the Government consisted in the occupation of a mud cabin, consisting only of one room. They did not consider that education had anything to do with a man's being capable, because the new electors would be taken from a class 40 per cent of which could not read and write. They did not consider that it was necessary to prove capability by taking the slightest interest in, or having the slightest knowledge of, the politics relating to the Empire; because everyone who knew anything of the class proposed to be enfranchised in Ireland was aware that their sole political creed was a hatred of England, with a desire to obstruct the laws laid down for the government of Ireland. If anybody doubted this let him read Mr. Healy's article in *The Fortnightly Review* some few months back. See what Mr. Healy declared—

> "It is of little moment to us what policy is adopted for England or the Empire. The Whigs say one course is best and the Tories the opposite. To the Irish Nationalist concerned for his own country it is a toss up which side he supports. The Celtic husbandman, grubbing out his living on some stony hill-side, recks not of *haute politique*."

It was a curious fact, too, that they had the Government admitting, by the Prevention of Crime Act, that a certain section of the present voters in Ireland were not to be trusted as jurors to determine the guilt or innocence of a prisoner, yet they seemed to believe that even a lower class still were capable of exercising the most sacred trust that could be confided to a citizen. During all the agitation, the Government had had to rely on the loyalty and disinterestedness of the special jurors; and yet these very men, who came forward with great courage and determination to uphold the law—often at great personal danger to themselves—were for the future to have no voice in the selection of Representatives for their country. It had been stated,

on good authority, that on the present franchise Mr. Parnell would return after the next General Election with about 70 followers. That would leave something like 33 Members, whether Liberal or Conservative, to represent the Irish Loyalists, who admittedly numbered over 1,500,000, and might be something like a fair representation according to numbers, though it would not be at all a fair representation if property, education, or intelligence were considered; but this Bill, without redistribution, would bring about this result—that the 1,500,000 Loyalists, scattered, as they were, all through the constituencies of the country, having a majority in very few, indeed, even of the Ulster counties and boroughs, would probably be represented by not more than six or eight Members, while the remaining 3,500,000 would be represented by 95. Would it be possible, then, for the English Parliament to pass a fair measure of redistribution, or to withstand a demand, however mischievous, even that for separation, if backed up by 95 out of the 103 Irish Members? They were told by Mr. Gladstone that the loyal minority would be protected by the English and Scotch Members if their interests should be threatened. That, indeed, might be so, if there were no divisions of Parties in England. But it was ridiculous to say, so as long as Party government remained, and we had proof positive that the Government of Mr. Gladstone was not capable of withstanding the pressure of only 30 Members following the lead of Mr. Parnell. If this was not so, would they have had this plethora of Irish legislation—would they have had compacts, and Kilmainham Treaties, or such a measure as the Irish Land Act, when they knew from the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) that such a measure had never even been contemplated by Her Majesty's Government when they first came into Office? Was there any likelihood, then, that the Liberal Government, who had been so much inclined to listen to the voice of the charmer with only 30 Members at his back, would suddenly become so vigorously firm and utterly callous to the results as to withstand proposals made by the same insinuating person when backed up by a compact phalanx of 95? The noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), in speaking at Liverpool on September 6, 1883, of the landowners' position, said—

"That, unhappily, in the best of all possible worlds, abstract rights do not go for much when there is no voting power behind them."

If the noble Earl was correct, what hope was there that the loyal minority in Ireland could trust to the English and Scotch Members to defend their rights? As he had already stated, the Irish Loyalists were not a small body. On the lowest computation they were 1,500,000, and yet the Government to which the noble Earl belonged was prepared to deprive them of that voting power in the House of Commons which even by mere numbers they were entitled to, that afterwards the so-called Nationalists might deprive them of their abstract rights. Mr. Gladstone had stated that 50 years ago England stood before the whole civilized world as a culprit with regard to her government of Ireland, but that now the civilized world had altered its opinion. What would the civilized world think if it saw 90 or 95 out of the 103 Irish Members uniting in demanding concessions which England would have to refuse? The world would consider that the 95 represented 9-10ths of the Irish people, and would not be aware that by one-sided legislation they had condemned 1,500,000 of all that was best in the population of that country to political extinction. Then, what would occur if history repeated itself and another Prevention of Crime Act had to be passed? There was nothing in this Bill which was likely to prevent the recurrence of agitation. In fact, he should say very much the reverse, because the agitators openly told them that they were prepared to make use of the Bill for the purpose of further agitation for the dismemberment of the Empire. The Bill would destroy the possibility of governing Ireland in the future, and the outlook was far blacker with regard to the destinies of that country than it had ever been at any time in the past. But there was another, and to England a more important, question. How would it be possible to carry on the Government of this country with 95 Obstructionists acting unitedly against whatever Party might be in power? For these reasons, he should vote for the Amendment before the House. If they had a fair measure of redistribution for Great Britain and Ireland, giving to each country the representation it was entitled to from its population and property, and guarding

securely the rights of the minority to be represented, the matter would be very different. But as this Bill, on the face of it, was incomplete, and came before them with only a shadowy promise of redistribution; as it laid down no lines upon which the ridiculously small boroughs should be grouped, or the loyal minority in Ireland represented, he could not have any confidence that it would be rendered less dangerous, so far as Ireland was concerned, by any measure of redistribution which might be introduced by Mr. Gladstone. He understood that, at least, some 480,000 new electors in Ireland were to be added to the 224,000 who at present formed the constituencies. They knew that of the inhabited houses 447,205 were rated at or under £1. They knew that the electors of the future who occupied these houses outnumbered several times all the other electors put together, and were, unfortunately, uneducated, disloyal, and bitterly opposed to the interests of the Empire. The new electors, who had no political ideas of their own, would be led like sheep by anyone who happened to give vent to the vilest Socialistic doctrines; and they who had the true interests of Ireland at heart were asked to support this incomplete measure, which, as it at present stood, was bound to destroy every prospect of prosperity, to bring closer the question of separation and all the terrible miseries of desperate civil war, and to cut off, without a possibility of return, every hope they had ever indulged in for the future of their unfortunate land.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he had listened with great pleasure to the debate, and the speeches which he had heard had satisfied him that in that Assembly there was no opposition to Reform, that there was no unwillingness to widen in the large manner that was proposed the basis of the Constitution, and that their Lordships were prepared to embody and give effect to the popular will. He had so recently come among their Lordships that he had no experience of his own by which he could guide them; but he could assure their Lordships that long before he became a Member of that House he had made the subject a constitutional study, and had arrived at the conclusion that the House of Lords was one of the great safeguards of the Empire, and that when the honour, interests, and stability of England were at stake they were safe in their Lordships' hands. It was not for him to use any threats or the language of menace; but he wished to warn their Lordships against the dangerous course which they were now going to pursue. When questions of great public interest, involving matters of large national effect, standing outside the region and influence of Party, came before their Lordships' they were discussed with calmness, with dignity, with the desire to benefit the people, and with no other object. But there was another view, which presented one of the weaknesses of the House; and that was that it was one-sided, and so absolutely Conservative, that when they came to a political and Party question of that House with its 500 Members, more than 300 followed the Conservative banner, and could come to but one conclusion. He did not think he was exaggerating when he stated that the noble Marquess opposite held the issue in his hands. But what was the consequence of such action as that? He wished to call their Lordships' attention to a matter of history, from which they might gather instruction. In 1866 Mr. Gladstone proposed a moderate Reform Bill—he believed it was a £7 rental—accompanied at a later stage by a plan for redistribution. If that Bill had been permitted to pass it would have settled the question for a very long time. An Amendment was carried, which was considered fatal to the Bill. The Government withdrew the Bill, they resigned, and Lord Derby became Prime Minister. Immediately upon the rejection of the measure occurred the Hyde Park riots and large meetings throughout the country. One of the last meetings which took place—in January, 1867—was characterized by extreme violence. Mr. Disraeli thereupon proposed in the House of Commons his well-known 13 Resolutions on the subject of Reform. Household suffrage was not among them. These were followed by a Bill. Both the Resolutions and the Bill were withdrawn, and Mr. Disraeli subsequently brought in what was known as the Ten Minutes Bill. The noble Marquess seemed to doubt the appellation; but he should recollect that Sir John Pakington, in his explanation in the House of Commons, stated that the Bill had been resolved on in the last 10 minutes of a Cabinet Council. That was the Bill which ended in household suffrage, so that the moderate measure

of 1866 culminated in the household suffrage of 1867, which brought about the present Bill as its necessary sequence. If the Amendment now before the House was carried—and he did not doubt the power of the Opposition to carry it—let them look at the consequences of the step. He was not in the secrets of the Government, but he assumed it was improbable they would resign. Extreme men in the other House were all hoping and expecting that the Bill would be thrown out. That it would eventually be passed was quite certain; but the interval would be occupied in getting up an agitation less in support of the Bill than against their Lordships' House. The Bill would be reintroduced in a Winter Session, and would again be pressed upon their Lordships; and its rejection by the Opposition would be followed not by a resignation of the Ministry, but by a Dissolution of Parliament. It did not then matter one bit who became Prime Minister. If even it were the noble Marquess opposite he must come in to carry a more extended Bill than the one now before them. This was inevitable. All history told them that. But what would happen in the country? Did their Lordships want a repetition of the scenes of 1832? Another Bristol in flames, riot and disorder in the country, the Archbishop of Canterbury compelled to pass to and from his Palace at Lambeth to this House by water, and such popular manifestations as had raised a controversy respecting the site on which the Houses of Parliament might be prudently and safely erected? The noble Marquess, in speaking once of the House of Lords as he wished it to be in all the political structure of the country, said that he desired that their Lordships should be trustees to see that the will of the constituencies was carried out. The noble Marquess was not speaking of redistribution then, but of the Franchise Bill. Now the case was reversed. The Franchise Bill had passed the other House with overwhelming majorities. It was approved in principle. It was adopted in its principle by their Lordships. Redistribution was to come, and their Lordships, as trustees, ought to reflect the wishes of the constituencies. Would they do so by rejecting this Bill? The Amendment would destroy the Bill. The House of Lords would get credit for having thrown out the Bill in an unreasoning manner. Elsewhere there were extremists who were waiting in hope that the Amendment would be carried. They wished it—they expected it. Their Lordships were being led, or the noble Marquess was being driven, into an *impasse* from which there would be no retreat, and where there could be nothing left but unconditional surrender. It might not be to-day, nor this Session; but it would come. He appealed to their Lordships to avoid these difficulties by passing the Bill. Let them not play into the hands of professional agitators, and make their power greater than it was at present. Let them accept this Bill and wait for a just measure of redistribution from the hands of the Government.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: With one part of the speech of the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll) I cordially agree; I refer to the portion in which he extolled the Cross Benches and vindicated the character of the Cross Bench frame of mind. I do hope that, after the eloquent appeal of the noble Duke, the House will see the wisdom of granting, what has frequently been asked for, greater accommodation on the Cross Benches. The noble Duke has shown that the Cross Bench mind is large, liberal, and expansive; but the accommodation on the Cross Benches is exceedingly limited, and capable of no expansion. With the remainder of the speech of the noble Duke I do not agree at all. I cannot agree that this Bill, unaccompanied by redistribution, is free from danger; I think it is fraught with very great danger. I cannot agree that it is the duty of independent Peers to vote for the second reading of the Bill, unaccompanied with the certainty that the Bill cannot come into operation until a Redistribution Bill is passed. The proper course, in my own view—and I hold a very strong opinion about it—would be to read the Bill a second time, and to insure that the Bill should not be operative until a Redistribution Bill has been passed either by an Amendment in Committee, or by an Instruction to the Committee, or by refusing to go into Committee until the Redistribution Bill was before the House, and had been read a second time. None of these courses had been adopted; and, therefore, I do not feel justified in voting for the second reading of the Bill, however

much I approve of its principle. The Amendment of the noble and learned Earl embodies my views very nearly; but I believe that my Amendment expresses more clearly the views of the majority of the House. The objection to the noble and learned Earl's Amendment is that it is somewhat vague. I do not see how I, or anyone, is to know what he means by a well-considered scheme for the extension of the franchise. I have, therefore, placed on the Paper an Amendment, to the effect that the House agrees with the Bill in its main principles if it had only been accompanied by a Redistribution Bill. It may be very well understood in this House that such is the meaning of the noble and learned Earl's Amendment; but surely it is advisable, in a case of such great importance, to consider the feelings, and even the prejudices, of the country, and to avoid, as far as possible, any misunderstanding. It should be distinctly understood that the objection to passing a Franchise Bill alone is that its principles may be rendered null and void by a scheme of redistribution. What has been called the centrifugal theory seems to me eminently absurd. I cannot see on what principle men living at a great distance from the seat of Government should be given a larger share of representation than those who live near to it. If any exception were to be made, I should have thought it would have been in the opposite direction, and should go on the principle that people living near the great centres of intelligence and information were, if anything, more qualified to judge of the affairs of the nation than those who lived in the more remote districts. A good deal might be said about the exclusion of woman's suffrage from the Bill. If the principle of property involving duties, and duties carrying with them privileges, of representation going with taxation, is to be at all considered, there is a good deal to be said on the question whether property paying taxes and involving duties should be divested of the privilege of conferring a vote merely through the accident that it is held by a female, and not by a male. The Bill is a good Bill in its main provisions, which are household suffrage, the assimilation of the county to the borough franchise, the consequent admission of a very large number of citizens to the franchise, and the application of the Bill to Ireland. In all these points I cordially approve of the Bill. It is generally conceded that household suffrage is a fair basis of representation; and, no doubt, the assimilation of the county franchise to the borough franchise is an act of justice. It has been said that the Bill is not opportune; but it would be hard to find a time in the history of the country when the absence of foreign complications left the people so free to turn their attention to domestic concerns. Then it is said the people are not earnestly anxious for Reform. It is true that we have seen no violent agitation on the subject, and I am glad of it; for it is unwise to allow legislation to wait on agitation. We have had quite enough of that in Irish affairs; and it is far better that a sound Reform Bill should be passed before it is pressed imperatively upon Parliament by any violent agitation throughout the country. The condition of Ireland is brought forward as a strong reason for either postponing any extension of the franchise indefinitely, or for limiting the operations of the measure to Great Britain. I do not agree with either of those propositions. It appears to me most absurd that England, Scotland, and Wales, should wait because Ireland is in a disaffected state; and I have a very strong opinion that any Reform Bill should be applied to Ireland as well as to the rest of the United Kingdom. To refuse to place Ireland on the same footing as the rest of the United Kingdom would be to give Ireland what she has been in vain looking for—a real grievance. We have seen the disastrous effects of agitation in that country conducted without any solid basis whatever. What might we not apprehend from an agitation founded on a real and tangible grievance? And what are the consequences to be feared from equalizing the Irish franchise with that of Great Britain? The worst thing that would happen would be that the Party of which Mr. Parnell is the acknowledged head would be somewhat increased. Well, would that make so great a difference? In cases in which Parties are pretty nearly balanced in Parliament, it is obvious that Mr. Parnell and his Party can now control legislation. With an extended franchise, he will probably receive a slight accession of power, and that is all. As long as Ireland returns a certain number of Members to Parliament who are bent

on carrying their ends by illegitimate means, by making government difficult, if not impossible, by Obstruction and not by argument, the affairs of the country can only be carried on by one of two methods—either by private understandings, underhand negotiations, and secret Treaties, which are most immoral, or by such a combination of the Representatives of England, Scotland, and Wales, as would render them independent of the support of Mr. Parnell's followers. I cannot imagine it to be possible that Great Britain, with some 25,000,000 of inhabitants, would allow the destinies of the United Kingdom and of the British Empire to be entirely swayed by Ireland with about 5,000,000 of inhabitants. If they do, it is unnecessary for us to trouble ourselves about legislation; for it is certain that in that case the common sense, the manhood, and all the governing qualities of this country, would have departed. So I do not think that even if Mr. Parnell is reinforced to the full extent that is anticipated, any great harm can be done. But I do not myself believe that his Party would be permanently strengthened. The great evil in Ireland is that, practically speaking, only one class is represented in Parliament. To make society stable, all its various elements and different classes should be duly represented and fairly balanced. I believe that if not immediately, at any rate in the long run, the admission of labourers in Ireland to the enjoyment of the franchise would have a most beneficial effect. The Irish labourer is badly housed and badly educated, but he is not unintelligent; and I fail to see that giving him power to make his wants known through his Representatives in Parliament could be injurious to the State. The Irish labourer knows about as much of politics as the English labourer; and if you give the franchise to the latter, I do not see how you can fairly refuse it to the former. Moreover, the Irish labourers did not receive sufficient consideration in the recent legislation applied to Ireland, and they are consequently discontented, and discontent breeds sedition; would they not have a better chance of improving their social and material condition if admitted to the franchise than they have at present with all the voting power in the hands of a class opposed to them by nature? Then, it is said, it is exceedingly dangerous to increase the number of Members sent to Parliament who are in favour of repealing the Act of Union, or of a complete separation of Ireland from Great Britain. But how is it possible to avoid having Members returned holding those views, if those views are entertained by the majority of the people? Every argument that can be used against an extension of the franchise in Ireland would apply with equal force in favour of disfranchising the whole country. Under a representative form of Government, it is useless to object to the political opinions of the Representatives chosen of the people. It is lamentable that any persons should exist in Ireland holding that separation could possibly be beneficial to that country. But, after all, it is not really so much the nature of those political opinions themselves that is dangerous, as the manner in which the Representatives of the Irish nation endeavour to enforce them. I look upon the idea of separation as folly and madness, and I trust that by time, increasing education, and common sense, it may be eradicated, more especially if those who hold the opposite opinions receive that protection from the violence of their opponents which it is the first duty of any Government in Ireland to afford. But I maintain that to refuse the franchise to the Irish people, because they entertain views which we may think entirely wrong or mischievous, is wholly unconstitutional, and contrary to the first principles of popular representation. I can very well understand anyone advocating that persistent obstruction on the part of a Member should be followed by disfranchisement of the constituency which returned him; but to say that you would deny the suffrage to those who hold any particular set of opinions, however objectionable or erroneous you may consider them, is utterly at variance, not only with Liberal principles, but also with the principles of Parliamentary Government itself. With regard to the main provisions of this Bill, I entirely agree with them. The assimilation of the county to the borough franchise is, I believe, generally approved as an act of justice. Our Constitution will, I think, be strengthened, the stability of our institutions will be insured, by the admission of a large number of citizens to the franchise. Upon the broad basis of the people the Constitution rests, and by them alone can it be upheld. I have no

fear of the people; on the contrary, I welcome their admission to the franchise as an accession of strength to the State. The more intelligent citizens we admit to the franchise, enabling the wishes, the views, the prejudices, the needs of all classes and all interests throughout the country to find due expression in Parliament, the more secure will be the foundations of the Constitution, and also the fabric reared upon them. Now, it is because this Bill as it stands, without redistribution, would run exactly counter to those objects—because it must stifle public opinion—because it does not admit of the voice of the people being heard in a Constitutional manner in Parliament—that I object to it. A Bill for the extension of the franchise on this great scale, nearly doubling the number of voters, and containing no provision whatever that their votes shall become operative, nor any provision whatever that the votes of those already having the franchise shall not be entirely swamped and nullified, is a gross absurdity. It is like constructing a locomotive with nothing but the boiler and no machinery, and then kindling the fire. The result must be immobility for a time, and eventually explosion. No doubt we have the pledge of the Government that they will bring in a Redistribution Bill. I believe they are perfectly honest; but they are undertaking to do what it may be impossible for them to perform. That has been clearly shown by the noble and learned Earl who moved the Amendment. The Government do not give us any indication of what their redistribution scheme will be. The noble Earl who moved the second reading said the Prime Minister had given a sketch, and he would do the same, as possibly our memories were defective. But the sketch of the noble Earl was a mere sketch of a sketch—the shadow of a shade. It indicated nothing, unless it be that Ireland is to continue to return more than her fair share of Members, to which I entirely demur.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I did not say that the number of Members for Ireland would not be altered. I said the matter was one for fair consideration.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: I am glad to hear that; and I hope the consideration will end in giving Ireland the number of Representatives which is her just due, and no more. To give her more than she is justly entitled to is mere Quixotic nonsense, unfair to Great Britain and dangerous to the State. We are told that the importance of this question is such that it is impossible to wait any longer for its settlement. Surely that is no reason for precipitancy. That argument lies just the other way. The more important the matter, the greater its magnitude, the greater is the care required in handling it, the more necessary is it that we should not be in a hurry about it; and we ought to face any agitation rather than allow the measure to pass in an incomplete state. We are, I think, on the eve of making a gigantic organic change in the Constitution. No other people in the world, I believe, would regard the matter so carelessly, or deal with it so rashly. Take the example of the great English-speaking Republic across the ocean. Look at the extraordinary care with which the Constitution there is safeguarded against ill-considered, incomplete, or sudden change. If such a scheme as this were before Congress—if a scheme in any way altering the representation of the people, or involving any change whatever in the Constitution, were before Congress—it would be necessary that it should be passed by two-thirds of both Houses as an Amendment to the Constitution, and the Amendment would then have to be submitted to the Legislatures of every State in the Union, or to a Convention of the people of each State, and approved of by a two-thirds majority of them. The nearest equivalent to that with us would be this—the frame of this Bill would first have to be passed by two-thirds of the other House, then by two-thirds of this House; then it would be submitted to a *plébiscite* in every county, and if passed and accepted by two-thirds of the counties of England it could be passed through Parliament. My Lords, there is no justification for saying that this House is necessarily delaying the measure. It is better that every man, for whose benefit this Bill is intended, should wait rather than that we should pass it in a form so incomplete that it would be absolutely impossible to tell how it might work. My Lords, what on earth is the value of a vote? The vote is of no use unless it is of potential value in returning

a Member to Parliament. You cannot eat it. You cannot clothe yourself with it, even in this hot weather. You cannot sell it—at least, you ought not to be able to do so—and under this Bill, without redistribution, it is quite possible that thousands and thousands of votes would be of no use whatever as far as the representation of particular opinions in Parliament is concerned. The vote by itself is of no use at all, and can be of no good to anyone unless it can be used in returning a Member to Parliament. One Cabinet Minister avowed that he had been unable to look at it as good or bad in itself. It was nothing in itself. Mr. Chamberlain said also that he could not conceive a Redistribution Bill so bad that it could make the extension of the franchise bad. I do not believe that. I believe that, however large an extension of the franchise may be, every bit of good might be taken out of it, and it might be rendered useless by a bad Redistribution Bill. My Lords, how are we to judge? How can we possibly judge of this Bill as it stands now, seeing that some of the most important points must be discussed in connection with the Redistribution Bill? Unfortunately, a Reform Bill has become an impossibility to us. A Reform Bill should contain some means of adjustment. It is a great blot on our system that the electorate should have to be amended or extended from time to time by means of Reform Bills. An honest Bill ought to do something to protect the rights of minorities from being completely swamped. It ought to strike the balance between the rights of property and the rights of mere numbers; and surely, my Lords, if we could do nothing else, we should provide that the rights of majorities shall be properly guarded. By this Bill, I do not see whether anything whatever is to be done to protect minorities. I am of opinion myself that minorities should be represented, and that property should be considered as well as mere numbers. I hold that the main feature in our system is that individuals, human beings, should be represented in Parliament, and that the policy of legislation in this country shall in the main be governed by the wishes and will of the majority of the people. That is exactly what appears to me to be rendered quite impossible under the present Bill. Under it we shall have large county constituencies having no stronger representation in Parliament than some small borough of 10,000 inhabitants. Mr. Gladstone himself admitted that the counties are not fairly represented. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) said the same thing, and agreed with Mr. Gladstone that the counties, owing to their very strength, must be assured that a proper Redistribution Bill will be brought in and passed. How are the counties to do this? What Constitutional means have they of asserting their rights? They would be overruled in Parliament, and it appears to me that the only possible way in which voters in counties could institute an agitation is by violence out-of-doors. My Lords, we have heard a great deal of the fatal consequences which will happen to this House. Well, my Lords, if we pass this Bill we shall have thousands of voters under it who will not be able to use it, to whom it will be of no value, and to whom the only effect would be to force on a reluctant majority in Parliament the necessity of doing them justice. That does appear to me to be an extraordinary Bill to advocate. I cannot conceive how any statesman can desire that anything so unconstitutional, so foreign to our habits and circumstances, should pass through Parliament. I approve entirely of the admission of these large numbers. I approve entirely of many points of the Bill; but what I claim for these large numbers that we propose to admit is that they should be granted something more than a mere sterile vote. I claim that they should have a right to make their voice heard in Parliament. I claim for them that they should not be entirely swamped by the votes of boroughs. I think it is our duty not to allow any measure to pass through this House that does not secure that those to whom we give votes shall have votes of some real value to them, in the way of enabling them to express their opinions in Parliament. These are the reasons why, while I entirely agree with the main principle of the Bill, I entirely disagree with passing the Bill in its present state. Not that I object to anything whatever in it; but that I see that if it is passed without a Redistribution Bill, the only effect will be that the privileges and advantages which I hope to see accorded to my fellow-countrymen will be taken from

them. We have no assurance that a Bill for remedying these evils will be passed into law.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH said, the only result of the debate, so far as he was concerned, was to strengthen his determination to vote for the Bill. He had listened with great interest and great profit to the many speeches that had been delivered that evening, and to none more so than to the speech delivered by the noble and learned Earl who had proposed the Amendment (Earl Cairns). The Motion of the noble and learned Earl said that—

"While prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise,"

he did not think it right to assent to the second reading of the Bill. He (the Duke of Marlborough), however, had not heard, in the speech of the noble and learned Earl, anything as to what he would consider to be "a well-considered and complete scheme" for the extension of the franchise. However great were the difficulties which a new Member must experience who ventured to address their Lordships in an important debate, he thought he was not wrong in saying that the action of the Opposition on an occasion like the present was without parallel to one who had not the experience of some of their Lordships. And the more so on the present occasion, not only on account of the great issues involved in this debate, but because it was impossible to speak out clearly and with emphasis, without apparently, though unintentionally, making a direct attack on the views of a very important body in that House, and more especially on the policy of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), who held what they knew to be a large and homogeneous following. No one could admire more than he (the Duke of Marlborough) did the great abilities of the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition; and yet no one could feel more firmly convinced than he did on that occasion that the policy which the noble Marquess had advocated to their Lordships was one which was fraught with all the peril of a manœuvre in the face of an enemy, without any of the corresponding advantages that might ensue from victory. He could not believe that they were in possession of the ultimate views of the noble Marquess, for it was impossible that so staunch a Leader of Conservative principles, so experienced a tactician in Parliamentary warfare, should court so manifest a defeat without the walls of that House, unless he was aiming at some position of the enemy which he hoped successfully to assail. They could hardly suppose that the noble Marquess, however great the intellectual ascendency which he undoubtedly possessed over his followers, would venture to lead them on the forlorn hope of forcing an appeal to the electorate on this side issue of a Franchise Bill, in order that, on that unpropitious field of battle, he might review before the constituencies the whole, and especially the foreign, policy of Her Majesty's Government. Surely, he must be aware that, whatever the faults and failings of Her Majesty's Government — and he (the Duke of Marlborough) did not endorse all their policy—they would be completely lost sight of in the question which would be practically alone before the country by the action of their Lordships' Chamber. The peculiar feature of the present occasion was the unusual solidity of the Conservative ranks. They had not been accustomed to see this burying of the political hatchet of late years, since the noble Marquess succeeded to the magnificent political inheritance of the late Lord Beaconsfield. They had lately read in the papers of the Conservative Caucus that met in judgment to consider this measure. Some noble Lords who attended that meeting did not, it appeared, agree with the opinions expressed at that meeting; but they were overruled, and it was determined to throw out this measure as soon as it reached this House. He was not prepared to say whether that was respectful to that House; but he was surprised that the noble Marquess should be so little alive to what would naturally be the opinion of an outsider, of one who was not within the charmed circle of his own surroundings. Such a method of dealing with a measure might, no doubt, not have been surprising in former days; but he believed, from a Party point of view, the Motion of the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) was in every way an unfortunate one. In reading over the debates which took place in that House on the Conservative Reform Bill of 1866 and 1867, he was struck with the fact

that the speeches delivered on those occasions gave expression to three fears—First, the venal and corrupt character of the lower classes; second, the uncertain temper of those classes, and the fear that the rights of property would be destroyed; and, third, that no settlement of the question would be satisfactory that was not based upon household suffrage. Now, however, those arguments were abandoned, and the only ones adduced on the Bill were that it was inopportune, and that it ought to have been accompanied by a measure of redistribution. As to the latter point, their Lordships must admit that there was force in the contention of the Government that no such Bill could have been passed this Session; and, beyond that, he questioned very much how far it was wise for that House to prescribe to the other the limits of its constitution and suffrage. With regard to the former contention, he would ask what their Lordships wanted in the way of expressing the opinions of the country? It was said there had been no agitation in favour of the Bill; but, on the other hand, as far as they could judge by reading the papers, and by the public expression of opinion, there was a great deal of feeling in favour of this Bill. There had been no meeting of agricultural labourers or farmers at which any Resolution was passed in opposition to the Bill; and there had been no representative assembly in any industrial centre that had denounced the Bill. Therefore, in every way, it seemed to him that the general expression of public opinion was in favour of the Bill. Was it necessary that they should have Clerkenwell explosions in order to prove the reality of the demand for this measure? It had been also said that the present Parliament was not elected to reform the franchise. But nothing was more distinctly brought before the constituencies at the last General Election. There were two aspects in which the question might appeal to their Lordships. The first was, Was the measure before the House one generally desired by the people, and one which would be advantageous to the people? That it was so was admitted by the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl. The second aspect was, Was the Bill Constitutional in its character? As to the argument insisted upon, that this measure, not being accompanied by a redistribution scheme, was unconstitutional, it was not tenable. It might have been advisable in 1866 that both sides of the question of Reform should be before Parliament together; but, in those days, there was one franchise in the county and another in the borough; while to-day the problem was simpler, because the franchise was more uniform. The Bill was a perfectly natural development of the Conservative Reform Bill, and he could see nothing in it in the nature of a radical change. It was a most Conservative measure, and the way had been prepared for it by the Education Act and the Corrupt Practices Act. If they were to accept the principle that household suffrage must be some day acceded to, he did not think it could be acceded to under more favourable circumstances. He felt very strongly that the present stage was one of very great importance to the future both of that House and of the country; and holding, as he did, that the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl in no way controverted that position, he hoped their Lordships would read the Bill a second time, and go on to consider it in Committee. He could not think it would be for the advantage of either the country or the House that they should refuse to consider a measure which interfered with no legitimate interests at present existing, and which had occupied the whole of the effective time of the Lower Chamber throughout the Session. If, after two afternoons' debate, they were to throw out the Bill, he thought they would be considerably to blame; and he, therefore, would vote for the second reading of the Bill. He did not think that any inconvenience would result, even although an Election took place under the extended franchise before redistribution had been dealt with.

EARL CADOGAN said, that, whatever might have been the misapprehensions which had been fostered with regard to the action of the House of Lords on the question, it could not be denied that the speeches delivered in the course of the present discussion had tended to make perfectly clear the issue now before the House and the country. It was not on the principle of the Bill that they were divided; and he, therefore declined to enter into a discussion of its details and principles. The noble Earl opposite (the

Earl of Kimberley), in the able and conciliatory speech with which he moved the second reading of the Bill, had felt it his duty, no doubt, to indicate to the House the main principles on which the Bill was framed; but it was evident that he had also entirely comprehended the position presented to the House, and felt that it was not a question of the equalization of the franchise in counties and boroughs upon which the opinion of the House would be asked. Although sitting on the Front Opposition Benches, he (Earl Cadogan) claimed a perfectly free right of action in a matter of so much importance. If he declined to enter into a discussion of the principles and details of the Bill, it was not because he wished in any way to shirk an expression of opinion; but he might say that, as far it went, he thought it moderate in principles and Conservative in its tone. With regard to the main object, he had always felt that the assimilation of the franchise was, if not a corollary, a natural sequence to the reduction of the suffrage in boroughs, and that had been the opinion of the Conservative Party as much as of the Liberal Party. This feeling pervaded the Conservative Party both inside and outside that House; and throughout the discussions upon it in the other House the Members of the Opposition showed no unwillingness to concede the principle of the equalization of the franchise in counties and boroughs. That being so, he did not believe that it would be easy to make political capital out of a misstatement so gross as that the Conservative Party were opposed to the equalization of the borough and county franchise. But how were they to estimate the effect of a Bill which, whilst it extended the franchise to 2,000,000 in the counties, retained the anomaly of allowing small boroughs, and of allowing voters in the boroughs, to also vote in the counties? There was a difficulty in discussing a measure of this sort in the absence of any knowledge of the intention of the Government in regard to redistribution; and he was surprised to hear it said that, if the Bill passed without redistribution, no evil effects would ensue. There was no instance in the Parliamentary history of the country of any large addition being made to the electorate without arrangements being also made for a fair apportionment of political power. When Lord Chatham advocated Reform in 1770, he did so with a view to abolishing the corruption in the rotten boroughs; and, in Wilkes's scheme in 1776, it was proposed to give additional Members to the Metropolis and the large counties, and to disfranchise rotten boroughs. Subsequent reforms also, down to 1860, were, in the main, schemes for the redistribution of political power. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby), speaking on the question some years ago, said that the redistribution of seats ought to be taken first, for the greatest anomaly was the unequal distribution of electoral power. And Mr. Bright had stated that he could give every man a vote, and yet frame a redistribution scheme which would make the redistribution far worse than it was before. And other great statesmen supported the view that additions to the franchise ought to be accompanied by redistribution. It was said that the Government would introduce a scheme of redistribution without delay; but he thought that it had been satisfactorily proved that, however good the intentions of the Government were, noble Lords opposite would not be prepared to deny that it might be entirely out of their power to insure the carrying of the measure which they might introduce. Of the character of that measure the House had no knowledge. The Prime Minister had, it was true, when introducing the Bill, proclaimed his views on the subject; but he was careful to say that was his own personal opinion, and was not binding on any of his Colleagues. To-night, their Lordships had a repetition of these personal redistribution schemes. He confessed he was not much enlightened by the information which had been given them by the noble Earl opposite on the subject; but this much was clear—that, as far as any complete and well-matured scheme was concerned, Her Majesty's Government had come to no decision whatever. They were, therefore, asked to say what they would recommend the Government to do. In case their Lordships saw fit to accept the Amendment, and Her Majesty's Government declined to go on with the present measure, he would suggest that there were still some means open to them of passing a complete scheme during the present Parliament. He would apply this test to the sincerity

of Her Majesty's Government. If this Bill were not thrown out, and Her Majesty's Government were really disposed to pass a measure of Reform, let them introduce the same Bill next year, accompanied by a measure of redistribution. In that case, there could be no earthly reason why both Bills should not pass before the end of next Session. He believed the Prime Minister was correct in saying that a Redistribution Bill would meet with considerable opposition, and require much discussion; but the enfranchising scheme would have the advantage of having passed through the House of Commons, and of having, so far as he could judge, met with the approval of their Lordships' House. If the Government were sincere, and would introduce a scheme of enfranchisement and redistribution next year, he did not see why the two should not come into operation in 1886; for it would be always possible to pass a Bill for registration which would enable the new voters to exercise their privileges by that time. Therefore, he claimed that there need not be even any delay if the House adopted the Amendment of his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns). Of course they would be told that they were standing in the way of the franchise; but, as his noble and learned Friend had pointed out, the Government themselves had wasted four years since coming into Office—time during which they had never thought of redeeming the pledges they said they gave in 1880. To try to pass an enfranchising Bill without an accompanying redistribution scheme was likely to cause considerable delay; because a Redistribution Bill was, in a great measure, a disfranchising Bill, and, therefore, the inducement to Members to pass it was not the same. As to the course proposed by "a Cross-Bench mind," and supported by his noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Jersey), that they should pass the second reading of this Bill, and afterwards introduce a clause insuring that in no case was the Bill to come into operation until the Redistribution Bill was passed, he had not been able to gather anything from the Government as to the suggestion. But, as far as they were able to form an opinion from the utterances of the Prime Minister, that was a course to which Her Majesty's Government would most certainly object. The Prime Minister would certainly not agree to an indefinite postponement; because, as he had said, it would place the power of passing the Reform Bill in the hands of the House of Lords. But what would be the position of their Lordships' House if, after passing a Bill for enfranchisement, they inserted a clause that the new voters were not to exercise their right until a Redistribution Bill was passed? They would have 2,000,000 voters whose right to vote was acknowledged, and who would not be allowed to exercise that right, owing to a clause introduced by their Lordships' House. He certainly thought that the position of their Lordships in the face of the country would be more perilous and more indefensible than if they took the more straightforward course of adopting the Amendment now before the House. If they went to the country on the principles embodied in the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) they, he believed, would receive the support of the constituencies. At any rate, there would be a plain and definite issue before the country. He denied that, in opposing the second reading of the Bill, they were opposing the wishes of the country; while in the subject of Dissolution, he held that no Government could be sure, after five years of Office, and with the experience of the two last General Elections, of any longer possessing a mandate from the country, and after the bye-elections of the past few months he did not think that the Government could feel any confidence that they were supported by the constituencies. With regard to what had fallen from the noble Earl opposite (Earl Cowper), it would be to the welfare, interest, and position of that House if, when the question arose between it and the country, their Lordships asserted themselves as an authority in the State. He yielded to no one in his affection for their Lordships' House; but when, as the price of maintaining their status and preserving their authority, they were expected to do that which they believed it to be their duty not to do, to give way where they thought they ought to resist, he, for one, should no longer value the honour of sitting in the House, and he should not regret if the country either modified the Second Chamber, or swept it away altogether. Some years ago the right rev. Prelate

(the Bishop of Peterborough), at whose restoration to health they all rejoiced, warned the House against being made a Registration Court for the decisions of the House of Commons; but, after listening to that eloquent speech, the House decided against the views of the right rev. Prelate. The year after, at the General Election of 1868, the country decided upon the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the majority of this House bowed to that decision. In like manner, on this question, it would yield to the constitutionally expressed wishes of the constituencies. Those who supported the Amendment were prepared to appeal to the opinion of the country on the question as soon as the Government would allow them to do so; and when the time came they would abide by that opinion, and would not fear the result.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that the course of the debate had been remarkable for the unanimity with which the principle of the Bill had been accepted. Without a word of criticism, it had been accepted on both sides of the House. Another peculiarity of the Bill was seen in the fact that, throughout the debate, the principle of the Bill had been very little discussed at all, and the discussion which had taken place was virtually outside the four corners of the measure. Still, the question was, whether they would or would not assent to the principles of the Bill? It was said that the Bill was incomplete and not sufficiently considered; but, looking at the long discussion in the House of Commons, and the debate that evening, he could not admit that argument was justifiable. It had been discussed for 23 days in the House of Commons, and it certainly was complete as far as regarded the franchise—as complete as any Bill that was ever submitted to Parliament. The Amendment meant the rejection of the Bill. It was not without precedent that a Reform Bill had been met by a Resolution. Seventeen years ago the noble Earl (Earl Grey) moved a Resolution which, although it did not negative the second reading of the Bill, described it as an incomplete and unsatisfactory measure; and an able authority said of the Resolution—

"I doubt very much whether any Amendment of this sort was ever before presented to Parliament on the second reading of a Bill. I have always understood that, on the second reading of a Bill, two kinds of Amendments might be proposed. One kind was an Amendment that the second reading should be postponed to a distant day, with a view of defeating the Bill altogether. The other kind of Amendment is when there is an objection to any particular provision or principle of a Bill."—(3 *Hansard*, [188] 1995-6.)

Those words were the words of the noble and learned Earl who moved the Amendment on the present occasion (Earl Cairns). Under which category did he class this Amendment? Did it object to any principle of the Bill? Why, the whole gist of his speech, and of others on the same side, was in favour of the principles and provisions of the Bill. The noble and learned Earl would not say he desired to postpone the second reading, with the view of defeating the Bill altogether. The Amendment moved, therefore, did not come within either of the qualifications the noble and learned Earl had laid down; and, therefore, it was unprecedented. The Amendment consisted of two parts. The first part stated that the Bill was incomplete without a redistribution scheme. If, however, their Lordships rejected the Bill on that ground, did they not run the risk of having their motives misinterpreted, at any rate, by the country? Would it not be said that they had taken that opportunity of rejecting the principle of the Bill without considering it? It had been stated that no Franchise Bill had been introduced before without a redistribution scheme being coupled with it. He should like to appeal to the experience they had had of the two Reform Bills which had been presented to Parliament by Conservative Governments in the course of the last 25 years. Were those Bills conspicuous by large measures of redistribution? The redistribution scheme of 1859 affected only 15 seats. Was that a complete scheme compared with the large number which the Bill proposed to enfranchise? Then, what was the character of the Bill of 1867? That was a Bill of the greatest importance, so far as the franchise was concerned; but the number of seats which it was, in its original form, designed to redistribute was only 30. Was that a complete scheme of redistribution? In those two Bills the redistribution was a mere sham. Did their Lordships think, for a moment, that a scheme of redis-

tribution, at all commensurate with the immense importance of the Franchise Bill now before their Lordships, could have been introduced in connection with the Franchise Bill, with the smallest chance of passing through the present Session of Parliament? He admitted that, if there had been a chance of common agreement between Parties, that might have been possible; but there was no indication of any agreement between Parties on this subject. He had never before heard it suggested that the best way to expedite the passage of a vessel on a safe and easy voyage was to overload it with cargo; and, in the same way, the experience he had had of political life did not lead him to suppose that a Bill would be expedited in its passage through Parliament by adding a vast amount of debateable matter to it; and hence Her Majesty's Government, therefore, had determined not to overload the Franchise Bill with redistribution. No one admitted more freely than the Government that the Bill, without a measure of redistribution, was not a complete Bill. The noble Earl who spoke last but two (the Earl of Dunraven) objected to the Bill, because, while it created a large number of new voters, it would not give them sufficient power. On the other hand, the speeches made by noble Lords opposite that night against the Bill had an exactly opposite tendency, maintaining that while they gave a large number of electors power, they did not place a proper check and limitation on that power by a measure of redistribution. The Government fully admitted the necessity of a measure of redistribution; all that they denied was the possibility of passing both a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill in the same Session. The Government had given a sketch—they did not pretend that it was a finished picture—of their views on the subject of redistribution; and, as far as that sketch went, it appeared to him that the lines on which it proceeded were eminently satisfactory. He agreed heartily with what fell from his noble Friend behind him (the Duke of Argyll) as to the inadvisability of introducing such a novelty as electoral districts. He thought that, while correcting existing anomalies, they should respect, as far as possible, the peculiarities of different constituencies, and especially to maintain the ancient distinction between town and county constituencies. The noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns) had spoken of the great inconvenience that would result if a Dissolution took place between the period when the new voters were enfranchised and the time when the Redistribution Bill might be passed; he gave several specific instances of constituencies in which the voters would be enormously increased by the present Bill; and he told them that the Parliament returned under such circumstances would be no Parliament, in the regular Constitutional sense of the word, but merely a Convention Parliament. He would ask the noble and learned Earl how he reconciled that statement with the course taken by the Conservative Government in 1867, when in many boroughs the constituencies were increased by four, and even five, times their number of voters, and yet no addition was made to their Representatives. Did that make the Parliament returned in 1868 a Convention Parliament? The principle of the present Bill had not been challenged. The differential franchises were doomed in 1859, when a Conservative Government introduced a Bill assimilating the county and borough franchise; they were doubly doomed 17 years ago, when another Conservative Government gave the boroughs household suffrage. If that was the case, and if both sides were agreed that the present measure as it stood was incomplete, requiring to be supplemented, where was the difference between them? The Government said it would have been impossible to introduce and carry a complete scheme of Reform in one Session, and that they proposed to carry a complete scheme in two Sessions. Noble Lords opposite, on the other hand, said that they would not pass a Franchise Bill until the Redistribution was actually before the House. He asked them did they really doubt that the country desired that Bill? The House of Commons had passed it by successive and powerful majorities; and they had no doubt that the Reform Bill at the last General Election was one of the important tenets of the Liberal creed. It might be said that there was no agitation in favour of the Bill. Why was that? Because it was thought that the agreement in the principles of the Bill was so unanimous that its passage might

almost be considered to have been accepted as a foregone conclusion. He asked their Lordships, therefore, was it wise to wait for agitation; was it not better to anticipate the wishes of the people than to wait until they expressed themselves in a disorderly and unruly manner? Did their Lordships not receive a lesson in 1866 and in 1867? There were no mass meetings, no agitation in 1866. The Liberal Government brought in a Reform Bill, but it was defeated; and in the following year, after certain events had occurred which he need not describe to the House, the Conservative Government introduced a Reform Bill far wider in its scope than that of their Predecessors. At the present time, therefore, it was fitting that they should learn experience from the last occasion. He asked their Lordships to consider carefully the grounds upon which they objected to the passing of the Bill. He did not for an instant deny the Constitutional right of their Lordships' House to reject or amend the Bill. He did not believe for a moment that if, in their opinion, it was for the public good that it should be done, they would not be prepared to do so; but, at the same time, it seemed to him that politics was a practical and not a theoretical science. They were discussing a question of political expediency, and not of abstract law; and the question their Lordships had to decide that evening was whether they were choosing the wisest or fittest opportunity of exercising this right which they claimed. It was said it would be impossible to amend the Bill in Committee. Upon that he would not express an opinion; but upon this point he would express an opinion—that the course they were pursuing that night was one that would throw out the second reading of the Bill which the nation was anxiously waiting for, and they might depend upon it that the nation at large would not be very nice in making a distinction as to the motives that impelled their Lordships to this act. They would judge by the results, and they would see that their Lordships had refused to discuss the Bill itself; they would see that their Lordships had rejected its principles—["No, no!"]—they would see that. He was not, for a moment, saying that for himself; but they might depend upon it that it would be said in every meeting from Land's End to John o' Groat's, that the Lords took the opportunity of rejecting a Bill with which they had no real sympathy. He was quite as jealous of the honour and dignity of the House as any of their Lordships could be; but if they took up the position he had indicated, he, for one, ventured to state, with all submission, that it was a position from which they would inevitably recede, and he feared that they would hereafter find it difficult to yield with their influence absolutely unimpaired. He would regret that; and he therefore earnestly urged upon their Lordships to pause and reflect, both on account of the grounds upon which they were about to give their votes, and also on the consequences which would result, before they followed the noble and learned Earl into the Lobby. He would take a higher ground than that; and he would urge their Lordships to pass a Bill which he believed the nation most anxiously desired, which he believed was for the welfare of the country at large, and which would conduce to the stability of their representative institutions.

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*The Earl of Carnarvon.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Further debate adjourned till *To-morrow.*

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to alter and amend the law as to marriage with a deceased wife's sister—Was *presented* by The Lord HOUGHTON; read 1ª (No. 177.)

House adjourned at Twelve o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 7th July, 1884.

MINUTES—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—ARMY ESTIMATES, Votes 8 to 14.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Prisons (Ireland) (Cost of Conveyance of Prisoners) * [275]; Savings Banks Acts Amendment * [277]; Naval and Greenwich Hospital Pensions * [276].

Second Reading — Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Amendment [265]; Cruelty to Animals Acts Amendment (No. 2) [270].

Select Committee nominated—Church Patronage * [17]; Church Patronage (No. 2) * [251].

Committee—Colonial Prisoners Removal [257] —R.P.; Strensall Common (*re-comm.*) * [266] —R.P.; County Courts (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [258]—R.P.

Considered as amended—Re-committed — Committee (on re-comm.) — Report—Considered— Third Reading—Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment [231], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Local Government Provisional Order (Salt Works and Cement) * [216].

Third Reading—Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) [124]; Elections (Hours of Poll) [261], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Merchant Shipping [1].

QUESTIONS.

BOARD OF TRADE (MARINE DEPARTMENT)—THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. C. M. PALMER asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is prepared to say when he will nominate the Members of the proposed Royal Commission on Merchant Shipping and on the Administration of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade; and, whether he will postpone further legislation until the Commission has made its Report?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The proposed Commission on Merchant Shipping and on the Administration of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade is not likely to meet till after the Parliamentary Recess. The nomination is a matter requiring great care and deliberation; and I am unable to say when I shall find it possible to complete my recommendation for submission to Her Majesty. As regards further legislation, I can only say that, the Merchant Shipping Bill having been withdrawn, there is no other proposal affecting the subject before the House; but I cannot anticipate the future course of the Government in reference to this matter.

MR. C. M. PALMER asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would lay the names on the Table before the end of the Session, so that the House would be able to express an opinion on them? He also wished to know whether the Reference would be of a broad and comprehensive character, so as to include an inquiry into all questions connected with the Mercantile Marine, Seamen, and Merchant Shipping Department of the Board of Trade?

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON expressed the hope that the right hon. Gentleman would give an assurance that the names of those who were to be placed on the Commission would be laid before Parliament before the Prorogation.

MR. MAC IVER asked if the right hon. Gentleman would take care that the Members of the Commission would be practical men of unbiassed minds, and unconnected in any way with the Board of Trade; and, whether he would take care that the Commission should inquire into the law and practice of marine insurance, the administration of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, the condition of the seamen, and the number of wrecks and casualties?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, in regard to the Question of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. C. M. Palmer), he had already stated what would be the nature of the Reference to the Commission, and he had nothing further to add. As to the Questions of the other hon. Members, in regard to the position of the Members of the Commission, he had to say he should endeavour to make such appointments to the Commission as would command the confidence of the public for the knowledge and impartiality of its Members. Beyond that it was impossible to give any assurance.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked what opportunity would be given to those against whom the right hon. Gentleman had made charges of replying to those charges in case the Merchant Shipping Act was withdrawn?

MR. C. M. PALMER pointed out that the right hon. Gentleman had not answered his Question as to when the Members of the Commission would be appointed?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he had already told the hon. Member he could not give him any assurance. As to the Question of the right hon. Baronet opposite, he might say there was a Question of a similar kind standing in the name of the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver); and probably in answering that Question he should sufficiently reply to the right hon. Baronet.

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — BELFAST WORKHOUSE — THE CHAPLAIN'S REPORT.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the Belfast Workhouse Chaplain's Report, as contained in the newspaper accounts of the proceedings of the Belfast Board of Guardians of the 24th June 1884, in which the Belfast Workhouse Schools were described as being "in a most horrible and filthy condition," and that blankets and other valuable bedding of the schools had been wantonly destroyed by a number of schoolboys who had been unwarrantably locked up for many hours in one of the wings of the school buildings; is it a fact that the schoolmasters admitted their incapacity to govern these schools; is it true that they were continued in office notwithstanding; is the schoolmaster, Mr. Spratt, the same person who broke Charles Wainwright's arm on 9th November 1883; is the schoolmaster, Mr. Madden, who recently prosecuted a Catholic pupil for insubordination, and who since refused to prosecute a Protestant pupil (because of his religion) on a similar charge (although ordered to do so by the workhouse master), the same person who was charged with cursing the Pope in the public streets, and fined by the late J. C. O'Donnell, R.M. for said offence; and, will he inquire whether either of these teachers should be continued in office?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is a fact that reports have been made showing that the Belfast Workhouse School is not in a satisfactory condition. Complaints have been made as to the rooms having been found in a filthy condition, and as to bedding having been maliciously destroyed by the boys. I believe there is no evidence to show that the schoolmasters ever admitted their incapacity to govern the schools. They are still in office; but some days ago the Local Government Board communicated to the Guardians their opinion that they should take into consideration the propriety of making a complete change in the staff of masters. A special committee of the Guardians has been appointed to consider and report on their recommendation. This committee will meet to-day. With regard to the specific complaints against the teachers, mentioned in the Question, it appears that Mr. Spratt is the person who was alleged to have broken a boy's arm last November; but the Local Government Board Inspector reports that the matter was fully investigated by the Guardians, who found the occurrence was purely accidental. As regards Mr. Madden, there are no grounds for the statement that he prosecuted a Roman Catholic boy. He declined to prosecute a Protestant boy for assault, because it was very trivial, and he did not wish to bring a boy into Court for so slight an offence. He was fined, as stated in the Question, four years ago.

INDIA—INCREASE OF THE ARMY IN INDIA.

MR. A. GRANT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is any truth in the report that the Indian Government contemplate an important increase in the Army in India; and, whether the Secretary of State for India has signified his approval of that step?

MR. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, no communication had been received at the India Office from the Government of India from which it could be inferred that they contemplated making any increase in the Army in India.

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)— MR. T. J. BOWERS.

MR. HEALY asked, If it is the fact that Thomas J. Bowers, of the Board of Works Office, Dublin, enjoys a practical immunity from official work; that he acts as agent to the National Assurance Company, and as secretary to the Brunswick Building Society; and that a screen in the window of his house in Great Brunswick Street announces that he likewise carries on the profession of "Auctioneer, House, and Land Agent;" is he also secretary to the Grand Orange Lodge; under what circumstances was he able to attend sheriffs' sales as representative of the Emergency or Property Defence Associations; is it the case that he served on a Green Street special jury last year, contrary to the rule that Government employées are exempt; why the Board took no steps to have him struck off the jury list; will the Government insist that he shall either resign his numerous outside avocations or his

post on the Board of Works; and, what notice has been taken of the breach of official regulations?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, that the person referred to was a messenger in the Office of the Board of Works, and he appeared to have earned a good character for regularity and attention to his duties. He was the agent for the National Assurance Company and secretary to the Building Society, the last of which duties required him to attend one meeting every three or four weeks. The agency of the Assurance Company was almost entirely confined to the delivery of circulars, and all these duties were performed after his official hours. The notice in the window belonged to a lodger in the house, and not himself. He was not secretary to the Grand Orange Lodge. He had not lately attended any Sheriff's sale.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—DONEGAL WORKHOUSE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is he aware that the suggestion lately made by him as a settlement of the Donegal Workhouse question, namely, to appoint a Catholic assistant teacher has not been acted on, and that the guardians evincing such opposition to the appointment of even one Catholic official have recently elected a Presbyterian chaplain for the single child of that denomination in the workhouse; has the Local Government Board sanctioned that appointment; and, will the Chief Secretary, through the Local Government Board, appoint, by sealed order, a Catholic assistant teacher; and, in view of the feeling that exists against the conduct of the guardians, appoint vice-guardians in their stead, who will carry on the poor law system of the union?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have received Reports which show that there is every reason to hope that this matter is in a fair way of being promptly settled, either by the appointment by the Board of Guardians of a Catholic assistant teacher, or by some other arrangement which will give satisfaction to the persons concerned. I understand that it is the case that the Guardians recently proposed to appoint a Presbyterian chaplain to the workhouse; but the Local Government Board declined to approve such an appointment, as they did not consider it necessary.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask if it is not the fact that these Guardians have refused to entertain this recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman lately?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that in consequence of representations which had been made, the Local Government Board had their attention directed to the subject of these appointments, and it was hoped that arrangements would soon be made which would satisfy everybody.

SCOTLAND—THE CROFTERS AND COTTARS OF THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS—CASES OF EVICTION FOR GIVING EVIDENCE BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If he has perused the Letter of the Secretary of the Highland Land Law Reform Association, dated the 10th of June, forwarding for his information cases in which notice of eviction had been served upon certain tenants in Skye and in South Uist, as they allege, because they or their relatives had given evidence, or were appointed to give evidence, before the Royal Commission, or because they were members of the above named Association; if his special attention has been called to the cases of Angus M'Clean, John M'Clean, and also to the case of Donald Colquhoun, of Tohrmary, in which the allegation of his landlord, Mr. Allan, that he was in arrears, was disproved by the production of his rent book; and, if he will order an investigation into these cases, and lay the result upon the Table of the House?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have read the letter referred to, and made inquiry into the three cases mentioned. I am informed that Angus M'Lean was nearly three years in arrear with his rent. The rent was £6, and the arrears upwards of £17. I have not been able to find that a summons of removing was served upon any person named John M'Lean. I find that Donald Colquhoun was in arrear of his rent, and that during the eight years in which he had been a tenant on Mr. Allan's estate the rent had been paid with great irregularity. I understand that he did not give evidence before the Royal Commission.

MR. MACFARLANE inquired who was the authority on whom the Lord Advocate relied in saying the man was in arrear? He further asked whether one of these men had not forwarded his rent-book to the Commissioners, and had satisfied them that he was not in arrear?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that if the hon. Gentleman would inform him of the passage in the Report to which he referred, he would cause further inquiry to be made.

MR. MACFARLANE said, the reference to this case was to be found on page 440 of the Reports of the Commissioners.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS inquired whether the Lord Advocate would, in future, make an independent inquiry in such cases, instead of going to the persons whose conduct was called in question?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he was not aware there had been any impeachment of the conduct of any persons.

DR. CAMERON asked whether the Lord Advocate would make special inquiry whether the arrears alleged to exist in one of the cases were taken over from the preceding tenant under the system denounced by the Royal Commission?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he would inquire into the matter, and give information upon a subsequent date.

ARMY—EXAMINATIONS FOR PROMOTION.

MAJOR CURZON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether an officer who failed to pass his examination for promotion in January 1884 will, if he passes the new simplified examination, be allowed to resume his former position in his regiment above those junior to him who did pass the examination in January 1884, and have been promoted over him?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, it was better to defer a decision in such a case until it arose. There was only one regiment in which the case referred to could occur; but it was better to wait until it occurred, and not decide on a hypothetical question.

EGYPT (REORGANIZATION)—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd, as acting Minister of the Interior, took any practical steps, as desired by the inhabitants of Alexandria and Damietta, to improve the sanitary condition of those cities; whether, during his administration in Egypt, he ever submitted any, and, if so, what scheme to the British or Egyptian authorities for the purpose of dealing summarily, or otherwise, with prisoners waiting for trial; whether the Egyptian Government opposed or interfered with the reforms effected in the prisons at Cairo by Dr. Crookshank; and, whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd, when conferring with the National Assembly, opposed free discussion, and invariably vetoed the decisions of the majority when contrary to his own views?

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD said, that, before the noble Lord answered the Question, he should wish to ask whether it was not the case that Mr. Clifford Lloyd did submit a complete sanitary scheme, which gave satisfaction to the inhabitants of Alexandria and of Damietta, but which was suppressed by Nubar Pasha?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Mr. Clifford Lloyd was not Acting Minister of the Interior, but Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior. In that capacity he made certain recommendations in relation to sanitary reforms in Alexandria, which were adopted by the Minister of the Interior. Her Majesty's Government have no knowledge of any scheme submitted by Mr. Clifford Lloyd for dealing summarily, or otherwise, with prisoners waiting for trial; but he released a certain number without trial. Her Majesty's Government are not aware that the Egyptian Government opposed or interfered with Dr. Crookshank's proceedings in relation to prison reform in Cairo. Her Majesty's Government have no information confirming the statements in the fourth paragraph of the hon. Member's Question.

MR. GOURLEY asked whether the noble Lord would make inquiry into the course pursued by Mr. Clifford Lloyd when conferring with the National Assembly?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think that Mr. Clifford Lloyd's conduct could well be made a subject of inquiry by the Foreign Office, especially as he is no longer in an official position in Egypt.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked whether the Government would inquire whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd did submit a scheme for sanitary improvement, which was suppressed by Nubar Pasha?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I said that he made certain recommendations, which were adopted by the Minister of the Interior; but whether they were carried out or not I cannot say.

MR. GORST: Is not Mr. Clifford Lloyd receiving pay from the Egyptian Government as being in its service?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Question is not upon the Paper.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—BAWNBOY UNION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it true that in the whole Bawnboy Union, which comprises the Petty Sessions Districts of Ballinamore, Ballyconnell, Bawnboy, and Swanlinbar, there is not one Roman Catholic magistrate; did the Board of Guardians of the Bawnboy Union, some two months since, recommend five gentlemen to the Lord Chancellor as fit and proper persons for the Commission of the Peace; and, what steps, if any, have been taken by the Lord Chancellor towards appointing these or other Roman Catholics in the Bawnboy Union?

MR. TREVELYAN: There are no Roman Catholic magistrates in the Union mentioned in the Question. The Lord Chancellor informs me that he received a communication, as stated, from the Guardians of the Union, and immediately informed them, in reply, that until they had received replies from the Lord Lieutenant of the County he could not take any action in the matter. The Lord Chancellor has not since heard from the Guardians on the subject.

MR. HARRINGTON was understood to ask what action the Lord Chancellor would take in case the Lord Lieutenant of the County did not appoint these gentlemen?

MR. TREVELYAN replied, that he should think the first action the Lord Chancellor would take would be to ask why he had not done so.

THE COASTGUARD (IRELAND)—THE COASTGUARDSMEN AT DALKEY, CO. DUBLIN.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether Henry Carter, a member of the Coast Brigade, stationed at Sandycove Tower, near Dalkey, county Dublin, is in the habit of doing gardening and other work for gentlemen resident in the neighbourhood; whether, for this purpose, he leaves the Tower at nine or ten o'clock in the morning, and does not return until five or six in the evening; whether members of the Coastguard Service, stationed at Dalkey, do whitewashing, painting, &c. for persons who may employ them, and take contracts for doing such work; and, whether it is compatible, with the regulations of the service, that members of the Coast Brigade or Coastguard should occupy their time in working for private employers, and thereby interfere with the regular market for civil industry and trade?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, Sandycove Tower is in charge of a detachment of the Coast Brigade, Royal Artillery, and any Question concerning the conduct of the men stationed there will, no doubt, be answered by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War. As regards the Coastguardsmen at Dalkey, careful local inquiry has been made in consequence of the hon. Member's Question. The result is that nothing can be heard of at all corresponding to the allegations in question, except that quite recently the men have in their own time lent a hand to prepare for the local Regatta, in helping to rig and paint a flagstaff, and also the band-stand. Both of these items of work have been done by request, not as a bargain, nor with any understanding as to payment. I can find no trace of any whitewashing.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—CONSTABLE FITZGERALD.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been directed to a conviction for assault obtained at the Ennis Petty Sessions of June 20th last, against a Constable Fitzgerald, stationed on duty at Clare Castle, county Clare; if it was proved that Fitzgerald wan-

tonly assaulted Mr. Denis Moylan by striking him on the head with a stick, and was accordingly fined by the magistrates; if it was stated on oath that, upon the day the assault was committed (it being on Sunday), Fitzgerald had journeyed through several neighbouring villages, entering public houses regularly for the purpose of partaking of intoxicants; and if, upon his return to Clare Castle, in contravention to the Closing of Public Houses on Sunday (Ireland) Act, he went with others to a public house to drink; if there are any regulations in force in the Royal Irish Constabulary by means of which a policeman proved to have violated the Licensing Law, may be punished; and, if, in view of Fitzgerald's double offence, it is proposed to retain him in the force?

MR. TREVELYAN: Constable Fitzgerald was fined 10*s.* 6*d.* for an assault, which the Chairman of the Bench, in passing sentence, described as "a very slight one." He was twice summoned for the same alleged offence; and on the first occasion the magistrates disagreed as to whether any assault at all had been committed. On the day of the occurrence the constable drove with his sister and one of his comrades to the villages of Newmarket and Quinn, and, on their return to Clare Castle, entered a public-house where his sister was lodging. It was not sworn that the constable drank at the public-house at Clare Castle; and as the other villages were five miles distant, there was no violation of the Licensing Laws. The constable is retained in the Force. Having regard to the trivial nature of the assault, the Inspector General considered him sufficiently punished by the fine; but cautioned him severely as to his future conduct.

EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—DEBTS OF THE FELLAHEEN.

MR. VILLIERS STUART asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that, while the interest on the public debt of Egypt is at the rate of four or five per cent. that on the village debts is at forty to fifty; whether payment of these exorbitant rates of interest is enforced by the mixed tribunals under British protection; whether the benefit to the fellaheen from any practicable reduction of the interest on the public debt will bear more than an insignificant proportion to their liabilities, unless relief is also given in the case of that due to Foreign usurers; whether these liabilities were incurred by the peasantry through no fault of their own, but partly through over taxation in the late reign, partly through exacting the full amount of taxes in the autumn of 1882, notwithstanding the serious losses entailed upon the peasantry by the Arabi revolt; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will keep these facts in view, and exert their influence at the Conference to obtain such modification of the law of the mixed tribunals in financial causes as may give relief in the case of debts due to Foreign usurers as well as in the case of the public debt?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The rate of interest on Egyptian Stock at present prices is more than 5 per cent, and there can be no doubt that the rate on village debts largely exceeds that amount. The payment of these debts is liable to be enforced by the Mixed Tribunals, which, however, are not specially under British protection more than under that of any other of the 14 Powers, who were parties to their creation. It would, I think, be difficult to enter into the matters alluded to in the third and fourth paragraphs of my hon. Friend's Question within the limits usually assigned to an answer. The subject will not, I conceive, be brought before the Conference; but it has been fully considered by the International Commission which recently sat, with a view to the revision of the Codes administered by the Mixed Courts. That Commission proposed certain changes in the law which will, it is believed, benefit the debtor class.

THE HEALTH EXHIBITION—FACTORY ACTS, &c.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the serious machinery accident on Wednesday last at the Health Exhibition; whether the manufacturing part of the Exhibition has been inspected by the Factory and Workshop Inspectors; and, whether the Law as to the hours of labour in factories are observed at the Health Exhibition?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The accident seems to have been due to the man's own carelessness. Whatever may

be the legal position of Exhibitions of this kind, they are always inspected by the Factory and Workshop Inspectors; and I understand from those gentlemen that the machinery at the Health Exhibition is very well secured. With regard to the hours of labour at the Exhibition there is no foundation for the suggestion that those employed there are overworked?

THE CITY LIVERY COMPANIES—LEGISLATION.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he proposes, at an early date, to give effect, by the necessary legislation, to the Report of the Royal Commission on the City Livery Companies?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, the expression "at an early date" was somewhat ambiguous. The intentions of the Government were dependent upon many circumstances, some of which were not yet determined. Therefore he could not answer the Question very definitely; but he would say that the Government were not only willing, but anxious, to deal with the subject.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—BALTINGLASS UNION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the result of the inquiry into charges alleged against Mr. Dagg and George Driver, the Returning Officer and Poor Rate Collector, at the late election of guardians for Baltinglass Union, which he stated, on a former occasion, would be held on 7th May last?

MR. TREVELYAN: The inquiry was held as I stated, and its result was communicated to the complainant, Mr. Kenna, on the 17th of May last. The complainant was afforded ample opportunity at the inquiry of proving the validity of the objections raised by him to the Return made by the Returning Officer. The conclusion arrived at by the Local Government Board was that the candidate returned had a majority of valid votes; and although there were some errors of judgment on the part of the Returning Officer, they did not affect the result of the election, and it did not appear that he had acted otherwise than in good faith, or that his conduct, or that of the collector referred to, was deserving of censure on that occasion.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—RATHDRUM UNION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the result of the investigation which he stated, in reply to a Question on the 8th May last, was being held by the Local Government Board, in regard to the election of a Poor Law Guardian for the Altidon Electoral Division of the Rathdrum Union?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board inform me that the explanation of the Returning Officer in this case showed that he had acted properly. A copy of the explanation was sent to the complainant on the 14th of May last.

ARMY (INDIA)—FURLOUGH PAY.

COLONEL MILNE-HOME asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Officers of the Indian Military Service, who came home on furlough between 1868 and 1871 draw their pay, when on furlough, at an exchange of 2*s.* for the rupee, whereas officers who remained at their posts till after 1871, and who, taking advantage of General Order of 19th June 1868, elected on their taking leave to abide by the new rules of exchange, are permitted to draw only at the current rate of exchange for the year, thereby losing this year nearly twenty per cent; and, if it is proposed to take any steps to give these officers redress in respect of such loss?

MR. J. K. CROSS: It is the case that those officers of the Indian Army who elected the new furlough rules of 1868 before July 1, 1871, when a change was made in the condition of the rules, are permitted to continue under the benefits of the conditions in force when they elected. Those who elected the rules of 1868, after July 1, 1871—that is, after the conditions were changed—abide by the rules in force when they elected. The election was optional to officers on taking furlough; and those doing so after July 1, 1871, had the option of continuing under the earlier rules of 1854, or of accepting the modified conditions of the rules of 1868. But they had not the option of electing a particular rule which had been formally

abrogated. There is no intention of making any change in this respect.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE STAFFORDSHIRE YEOMANRY.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that he has been handed a Letter from a retired Officer in the Indian Army, stating that at a regimental dinner given by the Officers of the Staffordshire Yeomanry at Lichfield last year, the Bishop, Dean, and one of the Canons of Lichfield were pelted with oranges, and obliged to retire from the room under the escort of the Colonel, and that at the Yeomanry Ball, during the previous year's training, one of the Officers introduced several women of the town, and that, in consequence, a number of respectable town and country gentry left the room; and, if so, whether, in view of such accusations, he will order the investigation into the conduct of the regiment during training to embrace the specific allegations made by the Officer in question?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The letter referred to in the hon. Member's Question was forwarded to me by the hon. Member himself a few days ago. I have made inquiries as to the allegations contained in the letter, and I find that there is no foundation whatever for them. As to the first part of the Question, the Bishop of Lichfield has personally informed Lord Morley that he has never attended a dinner given by the officers of the Staffordshire Yeomanry. The Dean has written a letter to one of the senior officers of the regiment which I cannot do better than read to the House—

"I hasten to answer your inquiry. It is utterly untrue that I have ever been insulted at any Yeomanry dinner that I have attended, whether at Lichfield or elsewhere. I, as Dean of Lichfield, was present at a dinner given last year by the officers of the Staffordshire Yeomanry at Lichfield. But it is absolutely false that either on that or any other occasion I was pelted with oranges and obliged to leave the room under an escort. On the contrary, I have always been received with marked kindness and respect on such occasions."

As to the second part of the Question, I am informed that there has been no Yeomanry ball at Lichfield for a great many years. I am sure that the House will support me when I say that I cannot too strongly express my opinion on the conduct of the writer of this letter, who, I am sorry to learn, is a retired officer of the Indian Army. He has recklessly brought these grave charges against the officers of a distinguished regiment on hearsay evidence, apparently without taking any steps to verify the reports which reached him. Under the circumstances, I see no cause for extending the inquiry to previous transactions. The Report of the Court of Inquiry appointed to investigate the recent occurrence at Lichfield has been received, and has been under the consideration of the Military Authorities. The necessary orders will be immediately issued upon it; but until they have been communicated to the General Officer Commanding the District, and the officer commanding the regiment, it would not be proper that they should be made public.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—SUICIDE OF THOMAS KENNEDY, AN APPROVER.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true, as reported, that a person stated to have become an approver in a capital case in Ireland has committed suicide by hanging himself in his cell in prison; whether the man had been visited in his cell by any of the prosecuting agents of the Government; and, if so, by whom, and with what object; and, whether any light can be cast on the motive of the suicide?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is a fact that a man named Thomas Kennedy, who had become an approver, and made a confession that he had taken part in a murder, committed suicide as stated. He had been visited by a policeman, and by Mr. Bolton, the Crown Solicitor, who has charge of the prosecution. This was done only at his own request, when he desired to make a statement as to the offence with which he and others were charged. No light can be thrown on the motive of the suicide, except the condition of mind in which a man would be who has owned to have been guilty of murder.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF MR. JOHN NELSON.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If Mr. John Nelson, of 6, South Anne Street Dublin, was, on the 13th ult. fined by Mr. Woodlock,

Divisional Magistrate, Dublin, on a summons charging him with

"Causing an obstruction on the public thoroughfare in South Anne Street, by allowing a horse and van to remain thereon,"

although it was the fact that the van was in front of Mr. Nelson's business premises, in a quiet back street, at 9 a.m., and was being loaded with goods for delivery; whether the fine was legal; and, what means of redress are open to Mr. Nelson?

MR. TREVELYAN: In the absence of my hon. and learned Friend he has asked me to answer this Question. Mr. Nelson was fined for obstructing the public thoroughfare. The van which was the subject of the complaint was one of three which were drawn up in the street at the same time. It was not opposite Mr. Nelson's premises, but opposite those of another person, who has frequently complained as to the obstruction caused in this manner. The van was standing for over an hour when it was not being loaded. The street is not a quiet back street, but an important thoroughfare. The summons was taken out under Section 6 of 5 *Viet.* c. 24; and I see no reason to doubt that the fine was legal.

WESTERN PACIFIC—THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES AND NEW GUINEA, &c.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have entered into any provisional arrangement with the Australian Colonies with reference either to New Guinea, or to the islands of the Western Pacific generally?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The House may remember that in July of last year the Secretary of State, in a despatch addressed to the Administrator of Queensland, said that in order to place Her Majesty's Government in a position to consider proposals for any decided action in the Australasian Archipelago it was necessary that the Australian Colonies should combine together effectively and provide the cost of carrying out any policy which it might be decided to adopt. Well, a Conference of the Colonies subsequently assembled, and passed some very clear and decided Resolutions, which, however, have not yet been adopted or ratified by all the Colonies who were represented at the Conference. Lord Derby, therefore, seeing that time was passing away, sent, in the May of this year, a Circular Despatch to all the Australian Colonies and New Zealand, of which the following is an extract:—

"As, therefore, in the absence of any joint action by the Colonies, Her Majesty's Government are not in a position to deal with those questions of policy to which I have referred, and some further delay seems unavoidable, it may be desirable that your Government should consider with the Government of the other Australasian Colonies whether there may not be advantage in making provision for the intervening period in the manner suggested by me in paragraph 7 of my despatch of July 11 last to Sir A. H. Palmer. As I then stated, Her Majesty's Government are confident that no Foreign Power contemplates interference with New Guinea; but in the absence of any controlling authority, it is always possible that the subjects of a Foreign Power might require the protection or intervention of their Government; and British subjects, also, by coming into collision with the Natives, or by setting up claims to land, might cause complications which would give much trouble hereafter. Her Majesty's Government are disposed to think that there should be a High Commissioner, or at least a Deputy Commissioner, with large powers of independent action, stationed on or near the Eastern coasts of New Guinea, and that he should be furnished with a steamship independent of Her Majesty's Naval Squadron, and with a staff sufficient to enable him to exercise protection in the name of the Queen over those shores. The cost of this arrangement cannot be accurately estimated, as I have previously stated; but if one or more Colonies will secure to Her Majesty's Government the payment of a sum of (say) £15,000 during the year ending 1st June, 1885, they will be prepared to take immediate steps for establishing the High Commissioner's jurisdiction, and will render to the contributing Governments an account of the expenditure incurred."

Within the last few days we have received replies by which we are informed that the Australian Colonies agree to our proposals, and consent to find the contribution of £15,000 a-year. We shall, therefore, without delay name an additional Commissioner or Commissioners, and proceed to carry out the arrangements suggested, and can at more leisure consider the bearings of the larger questions.

MR. GORST: Would the hon. Gentleman lay on the Table of the House the despatch in question?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, it would be laid on the Table in the course of a week or a fortnight.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Under what Act or Acts will this Commissioner have jurisdiction?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Under the same Acts as the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific.

INDIA—THE CHOLERA—THE SALT TAX.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, considering the alarm throughout Europe at the spread of Asiatic cholera, and in view of the fact that there is so often a deficiency of salt found in the blood of persons dying from this disease, and that vast numbers of the Natives of India are not able to procure a sufficiency of salt, Her Majesty's Government will at once abolish the Salt Tax in India?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I have no reason to believe that want of salt has any connection with cholera in India. It is not the case that vast numbers of the Natives are unable to procure sufficient salt. Extension of railway communication and recent reductions in the tax have made salt more plentiful and cheaper than it previously was. Thus, in the North-West Provinces, the part of India most remote from the sources of salt supply, the mean price of salt in the autumn of 1873 was 15 lbs. the rupee, or a little over 1½*d.* per lb. In the autumn of 1883 it was 22 lbs. the rupee, or rather over 1*d.* per lb., a decrease of about one-third. The net revenue from salt is now about £5,750,000 sterling, and there is no probability that the surplus will be sufficient to justify the surrender of this large sum.

MR. CROPPER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the case that, since 1882, the Excise regulations respecting the salt monopoly have been made more strict in the Madras Presidency; whether the number of Natives sentenced to fine or imprisonment for offences against these Laws exceeded 9,000 in the year 1882-3; and, if a large proportion of these sentences were passed on men who had obtained salt by mixing the earth of their grounds with water; whether it is the case that the late reduction in the Salt Duty in Madras amounted to twenty per cent., and that already the demand has so much increased that the Salt Revenue has risen to within 4 per cent of its former amount; and, whether the Government intend to give the native population the inestimable boon of further reductions in the Salt Duties?

MR. J. K. CROSS: (1.) In 1882 the Madras Salt Laws were amended, and made in some respects more strict; (2.) the number of persons convicted in 1882-3 of offences against the Salt Laws was 8,399. The number is less than that of 1879-80 before the amendment of the Salt Laws, when the convictions were 9,678. A large proportion of the convictions were for the illicit manufacture of salt from salt earth. (3.) The salt tax in Madras was reduced 20 per cent in March, 1882. Comparing the years 1880-1 and 1882-3 the loss of Revenue caused by this reduction is 9 per cent. (4.) Considering the present state of the finances of India there is no immediate probability of a further reduction in the Salt Tax, which has in the greater part of India been lowered by 33 per cent to 39 per cent within the last seven years.

CHEAP TRAINS ACT, 1883—RAILWAY PASSENGER DUTY.

MR. WHITWORTH asked the President of the Board of Trade, On what principle the urban exemption from Passenger Duty is refused to the Metropolitan Railway between Finchley Road Station and Kilburn (otherwise Brondesbury) Station, considering that from Kilburn to various parts of London there are 710 omnibus journeys every day?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The Cheap Trains Act, 1883, provides that the lower rate of Passenger Duty shall be payable on the fares charged between any two or more stations, when the Board of Trade are satisfied and certified that such stations are within an area which have a continuous urban as distinguished from a rural and surburban character. Between Finchley Road Station and Brondesbury Station, the Metropolitan Railway passes for some distance through a rural or surburban district, and the Board of Trade are consequently unable to grant the certificate required by the Statute.

AFRICA (SOUTH-WEST COAST)—ANGRA PEQUENA.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will state what is the extent

of the territory in regard to which the claim of Germany to a Protectorate over Angra Pequena will be admitted by Her Majesty's Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Question cannot be answered pending the negotiations for a settlement, which are still proceeding.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION — THE REPORT—EXAMINATION PAPERS.

MR. JERNINGHAM asked the Secretary to the Treasury Why the Report of the Civil Service Commissioners just published does not contain, as usual, the specimen papers given to candidates at examinations for the Civil Service?

MR. COURTNEY: In order to reduce the bulk of the Appendix to the Annual Report of the Civil Service Commissioners, the specimens of examination papers will in this and future years be published and offered for sale in a separate volume. That for 1884 will be on sale very shortly.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — APPOINTMENT OF MR. MARTIN LANGTON, CO. WICKLOW.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why the promise given in the House on several occasions that, in cases in which the Lord Lieutenant of a county declined without reasonable grounds to recommend a Catholic for appointment to the Commission of the Peace, the Lord Chancellor would not be slow to exercise his inherent power of appointing to that office, has not been held to apply in the case of Mr. Martin Langton, recommended by the principal Catholic inhabitants of Bray, county Wicklow; whether he is aware that Mr. Langton recently acted as secretary to an important meeting, held at Bray, at which a Resolution was passed, strongly condemning the action of Lord Meath and the Wicklow magistracy in censuring Government for dismissing Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace; whether he is aware that Mr. Langton, in common with the great majority of the people of Bray, successfully opposed Lord Meath in regard to certain conditions sought to be imposed upon them in connection with the new Town Hall; and, whether he will advise the Lord Lieutenant to suggest to the Lord Chancellor a reconsideration of the requisition submitted to him in this case? and, if not, whether he will lay the Papers and Correspondence upon the Table of the House?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have already stated, in reply to a former Question, that, in the Lord Chancellor's opinion, the Lord Lieutenant of the County did not act unreasonably in declining to recommend Mr. Langton for the Commission of the Peace, and that the Lord Chancellor had declined to place him in the Commission. What has happened in this case is, therefore, not at variance with my statement to which the hon. Member refers. It is entirely for the Lord Chancellor to consider and determine in each case whether the Lord Lieutenant of the County is unreasonable or otherwise; and I do not intend to advise the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to suggest to the Lord Chancellor a reconsideration of Mr. Langton's case. I cannot lay on the Table any Correspondence between the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Meath in reference thereto. I am advised that such Correspondence is of a highly confidential character. With regard to the meetings mentioned in the Question, I am able to state that they had no effect whatever on the Lord Chancellor's mind in coming to the conclusion which he did.

THE GENERAL REGISTER OF SASINES, EDINBURGH.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of the Memorial from the engrossing clerks in the office of the General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh, to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, dated 12th May last, and of the answer of the Lords of the Treasury thereto?

MR. COURTNEY: I do not think this is a matter of sufficient public importance to justify the presentation of the Correspondence in question, and I, therefore, feel some difficulty in doing so; but I will show it to the hon. Gentleman if he will confer with me.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — DR. HANCOCK, CLERK OF THE CROWN AND HANEPER.

MR. TOMLINSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ire-

land, Whether there is any truth in the report that Dr. Hancock, Clerk of the Crown and Haneper in Ireland, is about to retire; how long has he held that office and when was he appointed; and, if he retires, what pension will he be entitled to?

MR. TREVELYAN: Owing to seriously impaired health, Dr. Hancock has recently sent in to the Lord Chancellor his resignation, which the Lord Chancellor has not yet acted on. Dr. Hancock was appointed to his present office in May, 1882, and the short period of his service does not entitle him to any pension in respect of that office.

IRELAND—BANKRUPTCY OF MR. GEORGE BOLTON.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the amount of Mr. George Bolton's bankruptcy, has he effected any arrangement with his creditors, and are the Government supplying him with funds to carry on his private suits against *United Ireland;* and, as the Government guaranteed that they would insist that Mr. Bolton should, as far as possible meet his obligations, have any steps been taken to impound his salary?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government have called upon Mr. Bolton to take steps to prevent the recurrence of complaints respecting his affairs; and Mr. Bolton has filed a petition in the Bankruptcy Court, which is at present pending. Mr. Bolton states his liabilities to be about £90,000, principally secured on real estate. The matter being before the Court, the Government cannot take any action or express any opinion with respect to it. The Government are not supplying Mr. Bolton with funds for the purpose of carrying on his private suits against *United Ireland.*

MR. HEALY: If the Government are not supplying Mr. Bolton with funds, how is it possible that he is able to pay large sums almost daily to counsel?

[No reply was given.]

MR. HEALY said, he would place the Question upon the Paper.

ARMY—CAMBRIDGE COTTAGES, WOOLWICH.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that the married soldiers' quarters in the Cambridge Cottages at Woolwich are overcrowded; and, if so, whether any steps will be taken to remedy this evil?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I find, on inquiry, that some of the married quarters referred to are overcrowded, and I have given orders that extra accommodation shall be afforded.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACT—THE CHOLERA.

MR. GRAY asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in view of the existence of cholera in France, this Country is "threatened with a formidable epidemic disease" within the meaning of the Public Health Act; and, whether it is the intention of the Local Government Board to immediately make regulations under the Public Health Act—

"For the promotion of cleansing, ventilation, and disinfection, and the guarding against the spread of disease?"

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: The President of the Local Government Board has asked me to answer this Question. At present we do not consider that this country is, for the purpose of the Public Health Act, 1875, threatened with a formidable epidemic disease. Orders made under Section 130 of that Act are now in force, and they will avail for dealing with any case of cholera that may chance to be brought into English ports. The Sanitary Authorities already possess very large powers for securing the cleansing, ventilation, and disinfection of premises, and for dealing with ordinary infectious disease; and it is, of course, very desirable that the authorities should use these powers to the utmost; but at the present moment it does not seem necessary to put in force the exceptional provisions of Section 134.

MR. GRAY: Has the Local Government Board formed any estimate of the time that will necessarily elapse in the event of a visitation of cholera between the issuing of orders for these regulations and the putting of them into operation by the Sanitary Authorities?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: Yes; all these considerations have been thought over.

MR. GRAY: Would it take a month or two months?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL was understood to say that he preferred to withhold his opinion on this point.

In reply to Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST,

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, the attention of the Board had been directed to a telegram stating that a steamer from Lisbon to Cardiff was reported to have two cases of cholera on board. They had telegraphed to the Local Authorities pointing out that this was one of the cases in which the special regulations were applicable, and asking them to apply them. The regulations would prevent anyone landing from the vessel without the permission of the authorities.

MR. GRAY said, that if the country was unfortunately visited with cholera, he would ask again for the information which the hon. Gentleman now said was confidential. He would ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as President of the Irish Local Government Board, Whether, in view of the existence of cholera in France, Ireland is "threatened with a formidable epidemic disease" within the meaning of the Public Health Act; whether it is the intention of the Local Government Board to make regulations under the Public Health Act—

"For the promotion of cleansing, ventilation, and disinfection, and guarding against the spread of disease;"

and, whether the Board will promptly notify to the Irish sanitary authorities how they intend to exercise in each case the powers conferred upon them by the third section of the Epidemic and other Diseases Prevention Act, 1883, so that the sanitary authorities may have timely notice of their responsibilities in the event of an outbreak of cholera unfortunately occurring in that Country?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board do not think that at present Ireland is threatened with cholera in such a manner as to render it necessary to issue special regulations under the 149th Section of the Public Health Act for the prevention of the spread of infectious disease—namely, by arrangements for the speedy interment of the dead, house-to-house visitation, &c. The Board will take care to give timely notice to the Sanitary Authorities, on whom it will devolve to carry out the provisions of that enactment, should it become necessary to make an order under the 3rd section of the Act of last year to which the hon. Member refers.

EGYPT—CORPORAL PUNISHMENT—THE COURBASH.

MR. GRAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he would have any objection to placing in some position in the House that would be accessible to Members, a specimen of the courbash, or ordinary whip, now in use in Egypt, so as to afford Members an opportunity of inspecting it, in the same manner as they were enabled to inspect the official cat-o'-nine-tails during the discussion of the Army Discipline Bill?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think any good purpose would be served by complying with the suggestion of the hon. Member, and I hope he will not press it. A very clear distinction, which I am sure he will see, exists between what is now proposed, and what was done in the Army Discipline Act. In that case the Army Discipline Bill was under discussion in the House, and there was a large number of persons in favour of the retention of the instrument mentioned; but as regards the courbash, there is no Bill relating to it before the House. It has been abolished in Egypt, and nobody is anxious to see it restored.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF FEMALE TELEGRAPH LEARNERS.

MR. GRAY asked the Postmaster General, in reference to his undertaking that in future all vacancies in the position of female telegraph learners in Dublin would be filled by open competitive examination, Whether the programme of such examination is now obtainable?

MR. FAWCETT: There are no vacancies at present in the Female Telegraph Staff, Dublin. Due notice will be given when the first competitive examination will be held. The time will depend upon the number of vacancies. The subjects of examination will be the same as those prescribed for similar situations in London, and if the hon. Member wishes to see these regulations I will send him a copy.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is

the intention of the Government to restore Mr. Clifford Lloyd to his former position in Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: Mr. Clifford Lloyd, R.M., was acting in the temporary office of Special Resident Magistrate when he was granted leave of absence and accepted service in Egypt. The office of Special Resident Magistrate has since been discontinued, though the hon. Member is aware that certain similar arrangements are still in existence. Mr. Clifford Lloyd's leave expires in September next. I am not aware of anything to preclude him from resuming duty in Ireland then.

MR. HARRINGTON: Does Mr. Clifford Lloyd propose to introduce the courbash into Ireland?

[No reply was given.]

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that, throughout the progress of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's endeavours to effect salutary and merciful reforms in the Egyptian system of prison administration, he had the constant support of Sir Evelyn Baring, notwithstanding the—

"Painful differences of opinion between Mr. Clifford Lloyd and high European and Egyptian officials,"

mentioned by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and, whether any successor has yet been appointed in the room of Mr. Clifford Lloyd; and, if so, whether he has received instructions to carry on Mr. Clifford Lloyd's suspended reforms from the point at which they have been temporarily interrupted?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Mr. Clifford Lloyd received the general support of Sir Evelyn Baring as regards the substance of the reforms in the administration of the prisons. No successor has, as yet, been appointed to Mr. Clifford Lloyd.

THE MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

MR. MAC IVER asked the President of the Board of Trade, What opportunity will be afforded, in case the House should agree to the withdrawal of the Merchant Shipping Bill, for a reply to be made to the charges which were brought against the shipowners to whom he referred in his speech on the Second Reading of the Bill; and, whether that speech has since been officially published, and is now being circulated; and, at whose expense, and with what object?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In reply to the hon. Member, I must disclaim his statement that I have brought charges against the shipowners to whom I referred in my speech on the second reading of the Bill. On that occasion I stated facts to illustrate my contention that over-insurance largely prevails; but, in the present state of the law, shipowners who over-insure are not guilty of any offence. In further answer to the Question, I have to say, first, that if any of the persons referred to wish to dispute the accuracy of the facts stated, the columns of the Press are, of course, open to them, and, as a matter of fact, several persons have written to the papers criticizing my statements. I am glad to say that I have been able in every case to produce evidence confirming my original statement; and that, with one trifling exception, which has no bearing on the general argument, I have not found occasion to withdraw or modify a single fact or figure stated to the House. In the second place, I have to point out that I shall lay before the Royal Commission which is to be appointed to inquire into the subject all the facts stated in my speech, and many others of a similar kind; and that shipowners who are inclined to question these statements will, of course, have an opportunity of producing their evidence in opposition. The hon. Gentleman asks me whether my speech has been officially published, and is now being circulated? It has not been officially published; but, as I have already stated to the House, I have supplied copies of the Parliamentary Report to shipowners and others who have applied to me for it, and are interested in the subject. The hon. Gentleman inquires at whose expense, and with what object, the speech has been circulated. The object is the information of the public on a matter of national importance; and as regards the expense, I have hitherto assumed the entire responsibility myself, but I shall be very happy to receive a contribution in aid from the hon. Member.

MR. MAC IVER said, that after what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, he would give Notice that on the

Motion that the Speaker should leave the Chair he would ask the leave of the House to adjourn the debate in order to discuss a question of urgent public importance—namely, the preservation of life and property at sea.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, inasmuch as he has decided to withdraw the Merchant Shipping Bill, and is still of opinion that the present state of the Law occasions a preventable loss of life, he will take care that competent officials of the Board of Trade carry out to the letter their duties, with a view to preventing unseaworthy or overladen ships leaving our ports?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In reply to the Question of the hon. Baronet, I have to say that the officials of the Board of Trade will continue to carry out their arduous duties to the best of their abilities; but I have already given my reasons, in the debate upon the second reading of the Merchant Shipping Bill, for thinking that it is impossible for them to exercise such a supervision as would effectually prevent unseaworthy or overladen ships from leaving our ports.

OPEN SPACES (METROPOLIS).

MR. BRYCE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, having regard to the great need which exists in the thickly peopled part of London lying immediately to the east of the City and north of the Tower of London for an open space available to the inhabitants for recreation, he will consider the propriety of opening to the public the piece of ground which lies between the moat of the Tower and the streets, and is now not used for any purpose of the War Office?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I will communicate with the authorities of the Tower, and see whether it is possible to do anything in the direction indicated in the hon. Gentleman's Question.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—COVENT GARDEN AND THE CHELSEA EMBANKMENT.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether his attention has been called to the terrible smells in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden Market; whether, having regard to the great prevalence of small pox in the Metropolis, and of a possible visitation of cholera, he will insist upon some vigorous steps being taken to cleanse this filthy and dangerous quarter; whether his attention has also been called to the smells from the sewers running parallel with the Thames, on the Chelsea Embankment, between Shelley House and New Battersea Bridge; and, whether, in this case also, he will insist on proper sanitary precautions being taken?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I beg to inform the hon. Baronet that Covent Garden and the neighbouring streets are not under the control of the Metropolitan Board of Works; but I have communicated with the Clerk of the Strand District Board, and urgently requested that attention may be paid to the matter. As regards the latter part of the Question, I was not aware that there was any smell from the sewers on the Chelsea Embankment; but I have given directions for the matter to be looked into, and all necessary remedial measures to be taken at once.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (PROTECTION OF MINORS) BILL.

MR. A. BROWN (for Mr. S. SMITH) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Government intend to proceed with the Criminal Law Amendment (Protection of Minors) Bill, which has recently passed the House of Lords?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am anxious to go on with the Bill.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—LORD ST. LEONARDS.

MR. CARBUTT asked, Whether it was not the fact that the existing law for the protection of minors was sufficient if properly administered; and if the Home Secretary thought the sentence of seven weeks' imprisonment upon Lord St. Leonards was sufficient punishment for having committed an assault upon a servant?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have often said that I have no authority over the magistrates, nor over the Recorder of the City of London. Whatever my opinion may be, I could not make the sentence greater.

MR. CARBUTT: I wish to know whether it is not a fact that the noble Lord had been imprisoned during the whole of the last seven weeks?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: How should I know?

MR. CARBUTT: Then I beg to give Notice that I will ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, Whether the noble Lord ought to have been imprisoned for seven weeks; and whether he had served the full time for which he was sentenced?

BOARD OF TRADE (CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS).

MR. MAC IVER asked the President of the Board of Trade, If, before the proposed Royal Commission is appointed, it is intended to give the House an opportunity of considering whether there is any sufficient warrant, either by statute or Order in Council, for the continued existence of the Board of Trade as at present constituted; whether the ex-officio appointment originally held by the Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, as well as the other appointments originally held by gentlemen specially connected with the trade of Ireland, have been filled up, and by whom, or if Ireland is without representation at the Board of Trade; and, if the proposed Royal Commission will inquire into the constitution and functions of the Board of Trade generally, including the exercise of patronage by the Department, or if it is intended that the inquiry shall be confined to the Marine Department alone?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In reply to the third Question of the hon. Member, I have to refer him to the answer made by me to the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. C. M. Palmer) on June 23, when I said that the inquiries of the proposed Royal Commission would include the administration of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade. In reply to his second Question, I have to refer him to previous statements, to the effect that the *ex officio* members of the Board of Trade have never been summoned during the present century. The list of such members includes all Privy Councillors in Ireland holding office in that country; but as the Committee never meets, the representation is purely formal. No quorum is required by the Order in Council; and, therefore, the act of one member of the Board—namely, the President—is sufficient; and the business of the Office is conducted, as in other Offices, by a single Minister of State, aided by a Parliamentary Secretary and a permanent Staff. There is nothing to prevent the President from being of either nationality; and, as a matter of fact, one of my Predecessors in recent years was an Irishman. As regards the first Question, I may remind the hon. Member that he had a Motion on the subject on the Paper, which I came down to the House to answer; but the subject did not attract a sufficient number of Members to make a House. I am unable, on behalf of the Government, to offer the hon. Member any facilities for the discussion of his Motion.

MR. MAC IVER asked whether the House was not "Counted out" at the instigation of an hon. Member opposite (Mr. Lee)?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Most certainly not at my instigation; there is not the slightest foundation for that allegation.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS (ATHENRY)—MR. P. W. LAMBERT.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to a new election ordered for the electoral division of Athenry, in the union of Loughrea, Whether Mr. P. W. Lambert, of Castle Ellen, a landlord residing in the electoral division, did on the 26th ult. visit the house of a voter named Kennedy, in the townland of Park, during Kennedy's absence, and said to his wife, "I want you to vote for O'Connor. Don't you know I can often injure you if I like;" whether the same Mr. Lambert on the following day, in the town of Athenry, said to a voter named Healy, "if you don't vote for O'Connor you will be sorry," the said voter being a tenant on his own or his father's property; whether Mr. Lambert has been for some time and is at present under police protection; and, whether he canvassed the tenants in several townlands without any police protection; and, if so, whether it will be now withdrawn?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that Mr. P. W. Lambert, described in the Question as a landlord residing in

the electoral division of Athenry, is not a landlord, and does not reside in that division; and, furthermore, that he did not use the words alleged, or any words resembling them, either to Mrs. Kennedy or to Mr. Healy. Mr. Lambert is not at present under police protection. He is, on rare occasions, given protection, when it is considered necessary. He did not ask for, or receive, protection when canvassing votes, or while the Poor Law elections were proceeding.

ARMY PAY DEPARTMENT—STAFF PAYMASTERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the War Department, with reference to a proposal to grant the rank of Lieutenant Colonel to Staff Paymasters of five years' standing, Whether, as a matter of fact, Staff Paymasters have not always held the rank of Major?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: As a matter of fact, Staff Paymasters have held the honorary rank of Major since the formation of the Army Pay Department in 1878. Perhaps I may be allowed to add that, by the courtesy of the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), my attention was privately called to a very slight error on this subject in my reply of the 12th ultimo to the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley), when I said that the rank of major had recently been conferred on Staff Paymasters. I should have said that the rank was conferred on the formation of the Pay Department in 1878. But as there is not now, and never has been, any intention of conferring the honorary rank of lieutenant colonel on Staff Paymasters, and as the date on which the rank of major had been first assigned to them was not material to the understanding of my reply, it seemed to me unnecessary to take up the time of the House by an explanation of what appears to me so trifling a mistake.

LAW AND POLICE—DYNAMITERS IN PARIS.

MR. TATTON EGERTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to "An Interview with a Leading Dynamiter in Paris," published on 1st July in *The Evening News*, and especially to the last paragraph; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government are taking, in concert with the French Government, to watch known conspirators and dynamiters, and prevent the threats indicated in that paragraph from being carried out?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think the House will see that this is a Question which I ought not to answer. My sole object, in which I only partially succeed, is to keep the measures of the police as secret as possible. To state those measures in this House would only defeat the object they have in view.

MR. HEALY: I would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether it is not the fact that there is a regular manufactory of false news by penny-a-liners in Paris?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; I am inclined to admit that.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—RULE 14—SCHOOL SITES.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would consider the propriety of so far modifying Rule 14 of the National Commissioners of Education in Ireland as to permit of the second half of the cost of a school site under that rule being advanced by the Board of Works on receiving proper guarantees for its repayment?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that two-thirds of the money was advanced for the purchase of these sites; and it was a question for the Treasury as to whether the other one-third would be advanced. If the Secretary to the Treasury were questioned on the matter, he, no doubt, would ask the advice of the Irish Government.

COLONEL NOLAN: What advice would the Irish Government give?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he could not state off-hand what advice the Irish Government would give on a matter involving such a large expenditure of money.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF BRYAN KILMARTIN, A CONVICT.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If a Memorial has been re-

ceived by him praying for a free pardon for Bryan Kilmartin, of Arran; if the grounds on which the free pardon has been prayed for are, that a declaration properly attested was made by a dying man in America, to the effect that he was the real culprit, and that Kilmartin was innocent; if all necessary names accompanied this declaration; and, if steps have been taken by him to ascertain the truth of this declaration?

MR. TREVELYAN: A Memorial has been received as stated, and it is now the subject of inquiry and consideration.

EGYPT—CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government is in possession of any reliable evidence as to whether corporal punishment is employed by the Mudirs and other Egyptian *employés* in the collection of the revenue; and, if there be no such evidence, whether, in view of the statements of Mr. Clifford Lloyd with regard to the arbitrary acts of the Mudirs, he will cause such inquiry to be made; and, if it should be proved that corporal punishment is employed in the collection of the revenue, he will take measures to prevent this occurring in future, so long as order and tranquillity are maintained in Egypt by British troops?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am informed that there is no evidence in the possession of Her Majesty's Government which would sustain the accusation supposed in the first portion of the Question. With regard to the second portion, I have to say that inquiries will be made on the subject; and in regard to the third portion, if the effect of that inquiry should be to establish the accusation, measures will be taken to prevent the thing occurring in future.

MR. BOURKE: Has Mr. Clifford Lloyd been asked on what grounds he made the statement in which the Prime Minister says there is practically no truth?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not able to answer that Question without Notice.

MR. BOURKE: Have the Government any objection to agree to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the matter?

MR. GLADSTONE: That is a Question that I should have thought had better be put after Notice; but my first impression is adverse to the course suggested.

MR. BOURKE: I beg to give Notice that I shall ask the Prime Minister the Question to-morrow.

PARLIAMENT — HOUSE OF LORDS — LEGISLATIVE ACTION—CREATION OF PEERS.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will advise Her Majesty to create such a number of Peers as will render it more difficult than it is at present for that House to throw out measures introduced into this House by Liberal Ministries, and passed by this House by large majorities; and, whether he will submit to the appreciation of this House and the Country a measure which will insure that in future important Bills, which have received the assent of the Representatives of the people, will become Law without unnecessary delay? He wished also to ask, whether it was not in the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman that in 1832 the House of Lords altered their intention of throwing out a second time the Reform Bill brought in by the Ministry of the day as soon as the possibility of a large creation of Liberal Peers was made necessary?

MR. GLADSTONE: The remarkable events of 1832 are matters of history, on which I have no exclusive information. Certainly, the hon. Member can put his own construction upon them, just as any other Member of this House can. With regard to the first part of the Question, I do not think that anything has occurred which would justify Her Majesty's Government in answering any inquiries involving the supposition of their advising Her Majesty to create a great number of Peers with the view of influencing the decisions of the House of Lords. In respect to the second part of the Question, the same answer will apply. We have no measures which we are prepared to submit to the House for the purpose of securing the passage "elsewhere" of Bills which have passed through this House; but I may say, Sir, upon that point, that I do think the first duty of the House of Commons, with regard to giving greater efficiency for the conduct of Public Business, is to consider what measures may be requisite to promote its own efficiency, and instead of taking the beam out of the eye of the House of Lords, to take the mote out of its own.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Should it be necessary, I will repeat the first part of the Question at the end of the week.

PUBLIC HEALTH—STATE OF THE THAMES.

MR. D. GRANT asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether his attention has been directed to the present state of the Thames in the vicinity of East Greenwich, which is described as closely resembling an open sewer and dangerous to public health; and, whether any steps are being taken to deal with this state of things; and, if so, of what nature?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: In reply to the hon. Member, I beg to inform him that the usual instructions were given some time back for the use of deodorising agents at the outfalls when necessary; and attention having been recently called to the fact that, owing to the long continuance of dry weather and consequent reduction to a minimum in the flow of upland water, the smell of sewage has become perceptible in the Thames in the neighbourhood of the outfalls, special instructions have been given, and the Board's engineer has full authority to take all necessary steps.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—CO. DONEGAL.

MR. SEXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been drawn to the circumstances of the series of evictions (some executed and others now proceeding) at the suit of Wybrants Olphant, a landlord in the county Donegal; whether, in numerous cases, families have been evicted for non-payment of one year's rent with costs; whether, in one case, the year's rent due was £1 2*s*., while the costs added to this debt by the proceedings of the landlord were £3 17*s*. 4*d*., and, in other cases, the costs bore a similar proportion to the rent; whether these tenants had applied to the Land Commission to have fair rents fixed, but their cases had not been reached up to the date of the evictions, and the evictions took place in consequence of non-payment of the old rents, the justice of which was the question pending before the Land Court; and, whether the Government, in cases where tenants have applied to the Land Courts to have fair rents fixed, will devise some means to protect said tenants against eviction while their cases are pending in the Land Courts?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, in answer to this Question, relating as it does to an Irish subject, I derive my information on it from the Irish Office. Evictions have taken place on the estate which is mentioned in the Question, and most of the persons evicted were evicted in consequence of owing two years' rent. The ejectments previously, in April last, were chiefly for sums from £2 4*s*. to £6. There was one case at £1, and another at £1 2*s*.; while in other cases the sums were considerably larger, one being £10 and one £50. With regard to the costs mentioned by the hon. Member, they did not vary in the exact proportion stated in the Question. They ranged from £2 10*s*. to £3 18*s*., and it certainly did happen that where the rent was £1 2*s*. the costs were £2 15*s*. A number of tenants on the estate applied in January last to have a fair rent fixed, and those cases were pending before the Donegal Sub-Commission. The Land Commissioners understoood that evidence has been taken; but that the lands have not yet been visited for inspection by the Sub-Commissioners. The Land Commission have no knowledge that any of the persons evicted were amongst those whose cases were pending before the Court of Sub-Commissioners, and further time to ascertain the facts of these cases will have to be taken, inasmuch as the district is very remote. It is a distance of 15 miles from the nearest telegraph station, and worse still, the telegraph communication is at present interrupted. In answer to the further Question of the hon. Member, I may say that the Land Commissioners have taken notice, very properly, that under the 13th section of the Irish Land Act, where proceedings shall have been taken to evict a holding for non-payment of rent whilst an application for settlement is pending, that the Court has power to suspend those proceedings for eviction until a judicial rent is fixed.

NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES—MR. CORRY CONNELLAN.

MR. HEALY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been

called to the fact that Mr. Corry Connellan has been since 1868 in receipt of a pension of £436 11*s.* 4*d.* per annum; whether this is the official who fled the Country; will he obtain an explanation of the fact that Mr. Connellan's name has been dropped out of this year's Estimates, and ensure its reinsertion if the pension is to be continued; and, can he say where Mr. Connellan now is, and to whom is the money paid?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he had been asked by the Prime Minister to answer the Question. There was no doubt as to the allegations in the first two paragraphs of the Question. He did not know where Mr. Connellan now was; but the pension was paid through the Bank of Ireland. As regarded the alterations in this year's Estimates, he had already explained to the hon. Member privately the reason for dropping out Mr. Connellan's name. It was wholly apart from any question as to the man's character, and was done with a view to the more compendious publication of the Estimate volume. It was open to the hon. Member to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum mentioned.

MR. HEALY: If the Government have no idea of where Corry Connellan is, and if they pay him only through the Bank of Ireland, what is to prevent this pension from being paid on to the end of time?

MR. COURTNEY said, the strictest measures were taken with regard to the life certificates in this case.

MR. HEALY gave Notice that he would move the reduction of the Estimates by the sum of £436 11*s.* 4*d.*, paid by Her Majesty's Government for the last 15 years to a man who fled from the country for an unnatural offence.

EGYPT—SUAKIN RAILWAY.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can now, without detriment to the public interests, state the objects for which considerable quantities of Railway material have been despatched to Suakin; and, whether, in the event of any Railway being constructed from Suakin in the direction of the Nile, Her Majesty's Government will take into consideration the question of its ultimate use for the purposes of commerce with Central Africa?

MR. GLADSTONE: As to the first portion of the Question, I have to say that stores of the description which have been sent to the Port of Suakin were sent there in order to bring that port into a state adequate to receive the stores of any other expedition which it might be desirable to send there. With regard to the latter portion of the Question, I think it would be premature to answer a question as to the commercial uses of any railway from Suakin until a decision shall have been taken, or circumstances have become ripe for taking a decision, upon the subject.

PARLIAMENT — SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE—MAKING A HOUSE ON WEDNESDAYS.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been called to the difficulty in making a House on Wednesdays; and if he has considered whether that difficulty may be, in part, due to the Rule which prevents Members who have once entered the House from leaving it until a House has been made; and, if it would be possible to alter the practice, and leave the House open, as on other days?

MR. GLADSTONE: What I believe to be the case is, that there is no difference in the Rule prevailing on Wednesday in regard to the obligation incumbent on Members entering the House from the Rule applying on other days; but on other days, when the House meets at a quarter to 4, it works differently, because a House must be made before 4 o'clock. In regard to the Rule on Wednesday, which I am informed is felt to some extent at other Morning Sittings, I am not in a position to give an answer, because I do not find there is any clear and distinct opinions prevailing among the authorities of the House or among Members in regard to a change of Rules. If it was clear the convenience would be promoted by such a change it would, of course, be well worth considering.

MR. MACFARLANE: May I ask you, Mr. Speaker, on a point of Order, under what Standing Order or other Rule of the House is an hon. Member who comes in at 12 on Wednesdays precluded from going out again until a quorum is made?

MR. SPEAKER: It is under no Standing Order that the doors are closed; but under the long-established practice of the House. The hon. Member is not correct in saying that no hon. Member is permitted to leave the House; because if any Member applies to the Speaker, the Speaker will give him leave to leave the House though the doors are closed.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE SHIPPING TRADE.

MR. GOURLEY asked, Whether hundreds of ships and thousands of workmen are not at present without employment in the shipbuilding ports of the United Kingdom, owing to the depression in the shipping trade; and, whether the Government will appoint a Royal Commission or a Select Committee to inquire into the cause?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am aware there is a great deal of depression in the shipping trade at the present time; but I do not think it is necessary or expedient to have any special inquiry into the cause, because the cause is perfectly well understood—namely, the great overproduction of ships that has taken place during the last few years. I may mention, in proof of this, some rather extraordinary figures. The tonnage of new ships built in 1881 exceeded 500,000 tons; in 1882 it exceeded 600,000 tons; and last year it was 748,000 tons.

MR. GOURLEY asked whether the shipping industry was not in a state of prosperity in France, whilst it was depressed in this country?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No; I believe that is not the case.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the order of Business. He was, unfortunately, not able to be present on Friday at the time the Motion was made by the Home Secretary, and Tuesdays were given to the Government without our having any information in regard to the various Bills before the House. Perhaps he will be able to tell us now, in the first place, what Business besides Supply will be taken to-night, and what to-morrow? Then we should like him to give us some information in regard to the Bills the Government intend to proceed with, and those they intend to abandon.

MR. GLADSTONE: In regard to to-morrow, we propose to go forward with the debate on the London Government Bill. With regard to Thursday, according to an arrangement already made, that day will be taken for Supply on the Civil Service Estimates. I cannot yet say what will be done next Monday. In regard to the Bills as to which the right hon. Gentleman asked our intentions, there is a considerable number of those Bills, and they are of considerable interest and importance. I am not able to make a complete statement at the present moment; and, in fact, until after to-morrow I do not think that we can see our way to make a complete statement with regard to Public Business; but I will do my best to be in a condition on Thursday to make as complete a statement as possible with regard to the material Bills which are likely to give rise to any serious discussion.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Is anything besides Supply to be taken to-night?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think the Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill will be taken if there should be time; but it is intended to turn the evening fully to account for the Army Estimates.

MR. GORST: Will the right hon. Gentleman make such provision that the Business of Supply shall take precedence of questions of secondary importance, so that the scandal of last Session, when Supply was driven off to the close of the Session, may not be repeated?

MR. GLADSTONE: That is a question which the hon. and learned Member may fairly raise on Thursday, if he be dissatisfied after hearing my statement.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Will the Medical Act Amendment Bill be taken to-night?

MR. GLADSTONE: No. I ought to say, however, though only to provide against an unlikely contingency, that, in the event of the Army Estimates being got through at an early hour, we shall be glad to go forward with the Universities (Scotland) Bill.

EGYPT (THE CONFERENCE.)

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: May I ask the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer whether any time is fixed for the next meeting of the Conference?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): No, Sir. The financial experts are still considering the financial proposals; but though they are proceeding vigorously with their work, it is not yet sufficiently complete to be laid before the Conference.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Can the right hon. Gentleman say if the Conference is likely to sit again on this side of Christmas?

[No reply was given.]

SUPPLY.

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £343,000, Army Reserve Force.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he wished to make a few remarks upon the present position of the Army, the present condition of recruiting, and the present condition of the Reserves. He was bound to say, in the first place, that they were placed in a very difficult position, and he was extremely sorry at that moment not to see the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War in his place.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, the noble Marquess would be in his place in a moment.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was glad to hear it, and, therefore, until the arrival of the noble Marquess he would defer the more important observations he wished to bring before the Committee, and would proceed with some other remarks. It would be in the recollection of the Committee that the Army Estimates were introduced on the 17th of March, and they were then promised by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War that if the first Vote were granted, at something like 2 o'clock in the morning, they should have a full and ample opportunity for discussing the statement of the noble Marquess. But he was sorry to say that three and a-half months had now gone by, and until the present moment no opportunity had been afforded to the Committee for the discussion of the very important matters dealt with in the noble Marques's speech. It was quite true that on the night of the introduction of the Army Estimates his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Leitrim (Colonel Tottenham) brought forward some statements in connection with the Motion he had down on the Paper on going into Committee of Supply; but, unfortunately, the Motion could not be put to a Division, seeing that another Motion had been negatived before the question raised by his hon. and gallant Friend could be brought forward. It was at this particular moment in the history of the country that he thought a full and fair discussion of the condition of the Army and Navy ought to take place in the House of Commons. He recollected that the noble Marquess, in answer to the speech of his hon. and gallant Friend, said he could not go into many of the minor and technical details; but he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) hoped that before the debate closed that night the Committee might hear something from the noble Marquess with regard to the statements which had been made by his hon. and gallant Friend. There was one portion of the statement of his hon. and gallant Friend which had reference to the condition of two regiments which had been sent out to the Mediterranean. He understood the noble Marquess to admit that the statements in reference to those two regiments was fairly correct. The statement of his hon. and gallant Friend was that there were two regiments composed of 1,895 rank and file; 900 of whom had had less than two years' service, and 770 less than one year's service; 515 had never fired a shot, and 520 were under 20 years of age. There was one other statement made by his hon. and gallant Friend in reference to which the noble Marquess asked his hon. and gallant Friend what the regiment was. The statement was that the 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade at the Curragh had an establishment of 539 non-commissioned officers and men, being 19 over its present establishment; and yet upon the 1st of October, 1883, it had only 12 men who were fit for guard or garrison duty. The noble Marquess had naturally no opportunity of stating at that moment whether the statement was correct or

not; but his hon. and gallant Friend went on to give several other instances, all of which went to show that there were not sufficient men who were able to perform their duty—that was to say, who were fit to do duty with the regiments of the Army at home. And now he wished it to be understood that it was in regard to the Army at home that he intended to direct his observations that evening, and not to the Army in India. The noble Marquess knew perfectly well that it was the Army at home they had more or less been always discussing, and not the Army in India. The Army in India, except that it was short in its numbers by 4,134 men, at that moment was, he did not deny it, an efficient Army. One of the greatest mistakes which, in his humble judgment, the noble Marquess was always making was in endeavouring to show that his (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) great object, and the object of those who agreed with him, was merely to decry the short-service system. That was not the case; and all he would say on that point was that they had not approved of the short-service system, and for this one reason—that the short-service system had never had a fair trial, and had never been properly or legitimately carried out. He had endeavoured, as far as he was able, to suggest amendments in the system in the direction he thought it was wise to improve it; and he, and those who agreed with him, had this consolation and satisfaction—for it was a satisfaction—that the recommendations which he and his Friends had constantly urged upon the noble Marquess and others sitting on the Treasury Bench had, to a certain extent, and some of them to a large extent, been carried out. They had pointed out rightly, fairly, and justly that the backbone of the British Army was the non-commissioned officer; that anything which permitted the non-commissioned officer to leave the Service and go into the Reserves after a short service—a system which had been carried out for so many years—was a signal mistake, and would, in the end, be absolutely disastrous to the Army. What had been done in consequence of the complaints which had been made? Non-commissioned officers were now allowed to re-engage and go in for a pension; and he thought that a wiser course had never been taken. Another point which he had mentioned the other night, and which he would mention again that night, was, that it was a very hard case indeed for a non-commissioned officer who had served faithfully for 17 or 18 years, and then committed some trifling offence, for which he had been reduced to the ranks, that he should lose all chance of obtaining a pension, and be compelled to leave the Service, instead of continuing as a private, and trying to retrieve his character and regain his stripes, or, at any rate, render himself entitled to a pension at the end of 21 years. He and his Friends had also said that the time for India was a great deal too short; and what had been done with regard to the time for Indian service, and in regard to all services? It had been raised from six years to eight years; and, in cases of emergency, it could be increased to nine years. That, he thought, was a step in the right direction, although he would like to see it go further, and extended to 10 years for troops to serve, he would not say abroad, but who enlisted to serve abroad, so that they would have a clear eight years' service from every man after he had learnt his duty, and the country would have a right to believe and feel sure that men in such a position would be able to discharge their duty thoroughly and efficiently. At home the authorities themselves had considered it wiser and more prudent to extend the service by one year, and the service was now for seven years, instead of six years as formerly. The noble Marquess had tried, in the case of the Guards, enlistment for three years; and no doubt if he could get a sufficient number of men for the Army to go out to India and serve on foreign stations it might be wise to enlist all the Infantry for three years on one condition—namely, that such men should not go abroad, and not leave the country. But then, of course, there naturally arose the very difficult question—namely, the question how they were to provide a sufficient Army for foreign service? The noble Marquess had given them no inkling as to how that difficulty was to be met, and it was the great difficulty with which they had to contend. He should like to read to the Committee some remarks which were made on the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend the

Member for Leitrim (Colonel Tottenham) by his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley). He said—

"It mattered not what Government was in Office—whether the Head of the Government was in favour of a spirited foreign policy, or was pledged to peace and to avoid blood-guiltiness and the extension of the Empire—the burdens of and the strain upon our Army increased year by year."

He went on to say—

"They had at the present time Egypt upon their hands, and it was possible that they might have to provide for the permanent occupation of the Soudan. In those circumstances, the state of the British Army was of the utmost importance; and when they were told by everyone competent to judge—by every officer of the Army, from the highest to the lowest—that that Army was not in an efficient state, he did not think that the House was bound to be satisfied with the simple official denial, which was not supported by facts or figures."—(3 *Hansard*, [286] 94.)

He thought there was a great deal in what the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had said; and he ventured to hope the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War would give them some facts and figures with regard to the condition of the Army at home, because it must be remembered that, with the exception of the Army in the Colonies, they were paying the enormous sum of £16,000,000, more or less, for their Army at home. The Army in India they did not pay for, and, therefore, that might be taken out of the calculation altogether. Certainly, £16,000,000 was an enormous sum, especially when they considered what number of men they would be able to put into line at the present moment. He should very much like to know whether, if the noble Marquess desired, at 24 hours' notice, to throw 10,000 men upon any given point upon the coast of this country, he would be able to do so? He would like to have an answer from the noble Marquess; and he thought it would be startling to the country to find that it was not even in a better position than that. It was a very difficult thing, particularly when the Press was not entirely favourable to any discussion upon the Army, and when the Press took up the case of the theorists against those practical soldiers, whose only and sole object was to do their duty, to ascertain whether they had got the appliances and the means wherewith to be able to do that duty. He was prepared to assert that in no Service in the world had they got better regimental officers than they had in the English Army; and yet he found, from one end of the Army to the other, that there was but one opinion—that the Army at home was not in the condition it ought to be in. He would defy the noble Marquess, as Secretary of State for War, to get up and say that that was not the general and, he might almost say, the universal opinion of the officers of the Army. They did not take up that position because they wished to quarrel with their bread and butter. They did not say that the men were not men they could deal with; but it was the peculiarity of the case with which they had to deal that there was not one of them, if he was asked what the condition of his regiment was at home, who would be able to tell them that, if that regiment was called upon to-morrow, it was fit to undertake active service. There might be one or two exceptions; but, as a general rule, that was the case, and no one knew it better, or ought to know it better, than the noble Marquess. He had no wish to offend the noble Marquess; but he would remind him that in days gone by there were great discussions in that House as to who was to be the Head of the Army, and the House of Commons decided that the Secretary of State for War, whoever he might happen to be, ought to be the Head of the Army. He was the responsible man—not the Commander-in-Chief and the other officials, and not the Military Authorities, but the Secretary of State for War. Unfortunately, the Secretary of State for War was aided, in a great degree, by civilians, whose great object—he would not say whose entire object—was to keep the expenditure down; and it was on account of the expenditure that the fighting part of the Army had been starved, and starved, too, in that one great point—the effective and efficient First Line they ought to be able to place in the field. He ventured to hope, and he stated so last year, that the noble Marquess would, if he had not already done so—and he hoped the noble Marquess would be able to say that he had done so—make a personal examination into this matter. Hearsay evidence was all very well; but hearsay evidence was not the evidence they ought to have in that House. What

they ought to hear, on the authority of the noble Marquess, was this—"I have been down myself and examined these regiments, which I was told were in such an inefficient state; and I have satisfied myself they are sufficiently fit to take their place in the field, and fit to be sent to any place which the necessities of the case may call upon them to go." Could the noble Marquess say that? Could he get up in his place and say that he had gone down himself to Aldershot, to Portsmouth and Dover, the Curragh, and elsewhere, and ascertained that the regiments were efficient, and fit to do the duty they might be called upon to perform? The statement of the noble Marquess, in introducing the Army Estimates, was made so long ago that it must be very wearisome to the Committee to go back to what occurred three and a-half months ago. He should like, however, to place before the Committee the statement which the noble Marquess had made, and he confessed he did not altogether agree with it. He should like the Committee to hear the two statements, and also the reply of the noble Marquess to the figures he would have to produce. In the statement the noble Marquess made on this subject, referring to the Infantry of the Line, he placed the numbers on the 1st of January at 43,745 men of the Line at home; but of this number 18,404 were under one year's service. That was not all; they were mainly men not fit for active service, and they contained a large number of untrained recruits of less than six months' service. He proposed to take issue with the noble Marquess on that subject; because, in the latter part of the noble Marques's statement, he told the House that there were nearly 10,000 men who had been recruited, and who were under 19 years of age. If the noble Marquess had named a younger age than that he would have been much nearer the mark. Last year it was questioned whether some of these men were not older than it was said they were. He had taken the trouble to make a personal inquiry, and he had seen the baptismal register of one of these youthful soldiers, which he had picked out from a number of others, and would read to the Committee in order to show the age at which some of these recruits were enlisted. The register was dated the 13th of April, 1868, and gave the name Samuel, a boy—he would not give the other name. This boy enlisted on the 17th of September, 1883. Having been born in April, 1868, and enlisted in September, 1883, he was very little more than 15 years of age at the time of his enlistment. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was not one of those who decried young soldiers. He never had done so; but what he said was that they could not make young soldiers do the duty of men who had got to their full strength and to their full muscle. They were told by the noble Marquess, with a sneer, that it was young soldiers who fought at Tamasi and El Teb. If those battles had been lost, they would have heard a great deal about their having been lost by young soldiers; but that was not the question. It was not in a first action, when they were landed at a particular place and taken up to fight at once, that these young soldiers failed; but if it had been necessary to march them on to the Nile, to Berber, 250 miles, of which more than 100 were across the Desert, it would then have been seen whether they were able to do the work. That was the real question—whether they would continue to do the work of a campaign, or whether, after their first battle, and their first exhaustion, they would not die, or otherwise become unfit for service? The noble Marquess went on to say that there were 15,375 short-service men at home who had passed over one year's service. There were 4,000 long-service men, and 5,377 had re-engaged. The noble Marquess added that in regard to the Army serving abroad a very different state of things was shown; and what he thought he had a right to complain of was that the critics of the Army in the House of Commons and in the country seemed to ignore altogether the condition of the Army abroad. He did not think the noble Marquess was justified in making that statement; and he would appeal to those who had heard the debates whether it was not to the Army at home that the criticisms had nearly always been confined, and that they had not been extended to any extent to the Army abroad. What they had said was this—and it was what they said now—that to keep up that Army abroad they drew the life-blood out of the Army at home. They took every effective and efficient man and

sent him abroad; and they did that to such an extent that at the present moment he believed they were not able to send out the proper reliefs to India. For the month of June they were 9,980 men short; and if he were to take the absolute number of men short in the Infantry and Artillery, leaving out the Cavalry, it would be found that they were 10,650 men short. The noble Marquess went on to refer to the Infantry of the Line in India; but he would not follow the noble Marquess into that matter. He did not dispute for a moment—and he had never disputed—the fact that they had, for the most part, in India men who were fit and able to do the work. The noble Marquess, however, seemed to forget that the House of Commons had decided that no man should be sent to India who was less than 20 years of age. Whether the rule was always carried out he would not pretend to say; but this much he did know—that it made a vast difference whether a lad was 17, or 20, or 21, in regard to the work he was able to do. He did not think he need trouble the Committee with the latter part of what the noble Marquess had stated; but as a contrast to the statement of the noble Marquess he wished to say to the Committee that they had now 67 battalions at home. The number of men in those battalions ought to be 42,600, and there were seven battalions of Guards, whose numbers ought to be 5,600, making altogether 48,200. Of course, they had not got that number of men; but supposing that they had—and he would ask the noble Marquess whether he could deny his facts, or assert that he had exaggerated them in the least degree?—they must take away 17,000 men, recruits and others, who had not learnt their drill, and had not gone through musketry instruction, whom it would be utterly impossible to send or place in line. If they took away those 17,000 from the 48,200, they would have 31,200 men left; but from that number would have to be deducted 4,556, being the number of men who were short in the Line. He believed this was only a moderate estimate, and he took it from a most useful book—*The Monthly Return for the British Army* for the month of June—according to which they were 4,556 men short in the Line and in the Guards. That would leave 26,644, all the men the noble Marquess could possibly put into Line. The noble Marquess would, doubtless, say that they had a Reserve. He was not going to deny that they had a Reserve; but what he did mean to say was this—that if they called out the Reserve to fill up the vacancies in each regiment to enable them to be placed in the First Line, they would be taking those they ought to rely upon for filling up the regiments after the first brunt of an action had been borne. Who were they going to send out from the country, and where were they going to get the men? The number of men they had in the Reserve of Infantry was 32,000. He took that number from the monthly Return—32,026—and of Guards, 1,859. If, in addition, they took the Militia Reserve at 27,000, he thought they would be making a handsome allowance. But the noble Marquess had never, for one moment, gone into the question of how many of these men were fit to be called out, and how many would respond to the call, if called out, or would pass the medical inspection. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had been told that 10, and some even went so high as 20, per cent would be found absolutely and entirely unfit to take their place in the Line, and who could never be able to be called upon for active service. His own opinion was that if the Reserve was to be of any use it should only contain men who were fit to be called out—men who had gone through their proper musketry instruction and exercise, and were seen on parade every year. If it was true that they were going to have a new weapon in the Army, it was highly essential that these men should be called out and taught what they had to do with it. Would the noble Marquess get up and tell the Committee that the Reserve, if allocated to different regiments, had got their clothing, their accoutrements, and everything else in readiness for them; or would they be in the position in which they had been placed before—that when the embarkation was about to take place men would be sent down from different parts of the Kingdom, without clothing or accoutrements, to join regiments, knowing nothing of their officers, and waiting to be formed into companies on their voyage out? Yet it was upon the efficiency of these men that the future existence of this great Empire was to depend. Surely, then, it

was a serious consideration whether they had only got 26,644 men whom, in the case of an emergency, they could put into Line in an efficient condition besides the Reserve. He thought the country ought to consider the present position they were in. Let them look at Ireland. Was the noble Marquess prepared to take away the Army, or any portion of the Army, now in Ireland? He thought the answer of the noble Marquess would be "Certainly not." In Ireland there were something like 19,000 Infantry. Of course, many of them were young soldiers, who were probably not fit to go abroad; but there they were. Taking it roughly, there might be 9,000 or 10,000 men who might be fit to be sent abroad; but of the others who remained, could they send one man? His own opinion was that they dared not take them away, and leave nothing but young soldiers in Ireland. Then, again, let them look at the state of Zululand and the whole of South Africa—were the affairs there in such a condition that they might not be expected to send more troops to South Africa? Then, again, let them look at India and Afghanistan, and the advance of Russia. Could any Secretary of State, who had the interests of the country at heart, afford to overlook the condition of matters there, and not feel that instead of denuding those countries of troops he might be called upon at any moment to add to their strength? As to Egypt, could the noble Marquess say for a moment that there was the slightest probability, at any rate for some considerable time, of his being able to take a single man away from the regiments now serving in Egypt? He would not go back to what the noble Marquess had formerly stated. That was not the time, and it would be out of place to do so. But he would ask the noble Marquess whether, knowing what he now knew, he did not think it far more probable that more troops would be required there? Indeed, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) believed that two regiments had been placed under orders that day to go either to Malta or direct to Egypt. Therefore, the noble Marquess knew that he might be called upon at any moment to send more soldiers to Egypt; and every man they took from the Home regiments—every man they sent out—left harder duties and more work to be performed at home. If the noble Marquess would question any man—he did not care who that man was—who was filling any responsible position at the War Office, or in the Army, he would be told that it would be utterly impossible to carry on the duties at home if they were to keep even the Army they already had in Egypt for any length of time in that country. If they continued to keep the troops in Egypt they would need 20,000 men more to discharge the duties of the Empire; and even if the troops returned from Egypt, 10,000 more men would be required under the present system of short service. He believed that had been laid down as a principle even by Lord Wolseley, who stated that it was the very least number that could possibly be sufficient for carrying on the work of the Empire, and for placing them in that position of comparative security which a great country like this ought to enjoy. He had thought it right to make this statement, because they generally had from the noble Marquess, and others who were officially connected with the Government, very pleasing accounts, which people, both inside and outside the House, were inclined to believe. Personally, he was far from being contented with the present state of things; and he believed that if the country really thought or knew what the present condition of the Army at home was there was no sacrifice they would not make in order that the Army might be placed in a complete and perfect position to defend the British Empire from all comers throughout the world. He had read in *The Times* that morning an article upon the condition of the Army, which was called *Discontent in the Army*. It was a very curious fact that *The Times* and *The Standard*, and other newspapers, while condemning the statements that were made in that House, and while condemning the statements made by officers who had come round to the same mode of thinking, were constantly making the very same statements themselves, when they could make them, as if they were making them upon their own account. *The Times* of that day stated that one of the great sources of discontent in the Army was the mode in which the men were treated in regard to rations. He was now turning away from the question of numbers to the conditions of recruiting, which certainly ought to be such as

to make the Army more popular than it was; but the stoppages, and the fact that the men did not get the full amount of pay they were entitled to expect, were great drawbacks in the recruiting service. There could be no doubt about it that if they would feed the man better and pay everything they had promised him, as he understood their promises when he went into the Service, he would make a better and more efficient soldier. They all knew that the way to an Englishman's heart was through something else; and certainly if they wanted to make him happy and contented they must increase the present rations, which were certainly not sufficient for a growing man. A soldier got 1 lb. of bread and, what purported to be, ¾ lb. of meat daily; but when they took away the bone, and made other allowances, it did not amount to more than ½ lb. He was led, when he enlisted, to believed that he would be provided with groceries and vegetables for nothing, seeing that they were invited to join by notices, in which they were told that they were to be given free rations and food free of charge. A man, instead of getting free rations, had to pay about 4*d.* a-day for groceries, vegetables, and other necessaries of life. The stoppages, including wear and tear of clothing, often amounted to 7*d.* per day; and the consequence was that the man got into debt from the very commencement of his service. If these stoppages were got rid of, and the man was kept at the depôt under good, kind, and considerate officers until he had been properly drilled by good non-commissioned officers, and then sent to the battalion with which he would have to serve, they would hear much less of complaint than they now did. Under the present system, the recruit was hurried and hustled through his drill; was then sent to the battalion at home; when he arrived there he did not know whether he was to stay or to join the battalion abroad. He began to find that he had very hard work to perform; he was placed under stoppages for one thing or another; he did not know his officers, or to which battalion he was going to belong, and yet people were surprised to find that he was discontented. He continued to serve on; perhaps he was sent out to India; and at the end of his time he told everybody, as all these men did, that he had been taken in, and that he had not received the terms which were promised to him at the time he was enlisted. Whilst he was upon this point, he hoped the Committee would allow him to draw their attention to one other matter in regard to *The Times'* statement that morning. He found in the article to which he had referred one of the most curious passages which he had ever read in any newspaper—namely, a doubt expressed whether the soldier should be required to live in barracks, or whether he might not live where he pleased, and only come into barracks when his duty required him, or called upon him, to do so. If such a state of things existed, he should like to know what would happen either in London or elsewhere, seeing that a regiment was liable to be turned out at night and ordered to march anywhere? If such a necessity arose, where would they find the men? This curious article was certainly not written by anyone who had the discipline of the Army at heart, nor did the men complain of any restrictions they had to suffer in that way. What they did complain of was, that they were refused all the rights they were promised at the time of their enlistment. They alleged that they were unfairly treated; that they were punished severely for trifling offences; and that many were not punished and dealt with severely when they deserved it, and had really committed something in the nature of a great crime. He thought the men would be perfectly satisfied with the present conditions of their service, provided they had a free kit, and a free mess, and if these charges in the shape of stoppages were not laid upon their shoulders. There was another point in regard to which the writer in *The Times* was quite right—namely, that some relaxation should be made in the matter of sentry duty. There was nothing more irksome and tiresome than too much sentry duty. When a man was unable to get more than two nights consecutively in bed, it was a very hard case indeed upon him, when he was engaged in a time of peace, in soldiering in this country. There was another thing the men complained of, and complained of most bitterly and justly—namely, that they had to do all the work of the regiment before they were properly drilled, and that they were then accused of not

knowing their duty. How could a man know his duty? How could he be under military discipline, or be fit to take his place in the front, until he had gone through all the preparatory stages, which stages should really be preparatory stages? He ought not to be called upon to perform other duties until he had completely learnt his first and preliminary business. Then came the point—and the noble Marquess knew it well—that they had not men enough to do the duty unless they placed these boys absolutely upon duty before they had learnt the business they came into the Army to learn. These were the questions which were agitating the soldiers' minds. There was another question—namely, that they did not know how soon the Warrants might not be changed, and when, after having enlisted for a certain time, and upon a particular understanding, they might not be called upon to do something else by some new Warrant that might be issued. Let them adhere to the terms upon which they enlisted a man, and endeavour to keep the men as long as they could, giving them every facility for staying in the Army, and making the terms as elastic as possible. They made the best soldiers by giving indulgent terms; and the more elastic they made the terms, the more likely they would be to induce long-service men to remain and to go out to India, than by any other means. He would not go into the question of discipline in order to compare the discipline of one branch of the Service with that of another. There was one thing, however, which he desired to say—namely, that a man on joining a Cavalry regiment knew that he was to remain in that regiment. The result was that he knew his officers, and he knew his brother soldiers, and he was conscious that he would not be sent away from the regiment against his will. It was only by volunteering that he could be taken out of that regiment; and that circumstance tended to maintain that *esprit de corps* which, although it had been so much decried lately, really made a regiment efficient, and was one of the great objects which men who desired to see the Army efficient should have at heart. That regiment which attained the highest *esprit de corps* was generally the best regiment in the Service. Unfortunately, in many instances, the only object of a man who joined the Army was to get out of the Service as quickly as he possibly could; and until that idea was dissipated from his mind, and he knew that the regiment was his home, and that everything was being done for him to make him happy and comfortable, things would go on very much in the same way. He was glad that the noble Marquess had not attempted to meddle with the Cavalry regiments. If the noble Marquess were to attempt to meddle with these regiments, and did anything that might tend to do away with the *esprit de corps* which now existed among them, it would be the very worst thing that could happen to the finest Cavalry in the world. His own opinion, and he believed the country would be very glad to do it, was that they ought to spend more money upon the Cavalry. They ought to increase the Cavalry, and to follow, as they were fond of following, the example of foreign countries—especially the German example. In Germany, although they had a very large Reserve, and although the men turned out so admirably and well, they never allowed their Cavalry or their Horse Artillery to fall short. The Horse Artillery and the Cavalry were always kept up to their full strength; because everyone knew that if a man had not been upon a horse for two, three, or four years, to bring him back from the Reserve and place him on a horse to go into active service was one of the most mischievous things they could do. If they would increase their Cavalry, and increase their Indian Cavalry regiments, by one troop more than they had at present, and keep the force up to its full strength, they would have the finest and best-disciplined Cavalry in the world. He had felt it his duty to trouble the Committee with these remarks. He had not gone into minor or technical details connected with enlistment or anything of that kind. He had passed them all by. They wanted to get as many men as they possibly could; but it was of no use having men unless they were fit to go upon active service. The noble Marquess knew, and knew perfectly well, that the younger men were not fit to go upon service, and that there was a good deal to be done before they could be fit to go on service. The noble Marquess knew that before that could be done satisfactorily the Army must be increased. No doubt the suggestion

would be unpopular with a number of hon. Members who sat below the Gangway on the other side of the House; but he believed the most unpopular thing, and the worst thing that could happen to the noble Marquess, or to any man in his position, would be for some great and terrible disaster to occur, which God grant might never happen. But if it were to come—and surely it would come—what would be the result if they were obliged to engage with any European nation, unless they were better prepared? It was in order that they might be better prepared—and the noble Marquess was the one man responsible for their being better prepared — that he had ventured to make these remarks. He would not go into the question of the Commissariat, although it was a question that ought to be looked into. They ought to have at least one Army Corps up to its full strength, with every appliance that could be procured for it, with its Generals who were to command, and everything perfect, so that it should be complete in every respect, and ready to move at a moment's notice.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he wished to say one or two words with respect to a point which had been mentioned by his hon. and gallant Friend, who had attributed a good deal of the discontent in the Army to the work the men had to perform upon guard and fatigue duty. He was afraid that could not be avoided, so long as the present system continued of fixing so low a minimum strength to the Home battalions—namely, 520 men. If they were kept up to 520 it would be bad enough; but, as a matter of fact, they were not, because they had to deduct from them the drafts which were constantly being made, and a battalion rarely numbered more than 350 or 400 men. That was a reform that was entirely within the power of the noble Marquess to carry out. He did not think that the drafts required during the year should be taken from any battalion which was not in excess of its establishment of 520 or 600, as the case might be. By keeping up the battalion to its full strength of 520 men, all the difference would be made between its comfort and discomfort. The second point of his hon. and gallant Friend, in which he concurred, had reference to the stoppages for groceries. He did not think the noble Marquess could confer a greater boon upon the Army than by abolishing the stoppages for groceries, and, by so doing, preserve the actuality of a man's service with the promises made to him on his enlistment. He believed it would enable the noble Marquess to get rid of the deferred pay, which was also the cause of trouble, because, by giving deferred pay, they gave a positive inducement to men to leave the Army and go away. At present it acted as a great hindrance to re-enlistment, because there were a very few men who were able to resist the temptation of putting their hands upon £18 or £32. They, therefore, preferred their discharge to entering into a re-engagement. If they were given 4*d.* a-day, in the shape of extra pay, with entirely free rations, the noble Marquess might very easily do away with deferred pay altogether. He would confine himself to these two points, because he believed there were many other Members, who wished to address the Committee, who were better qualified than himself to discuss the question. He allowed that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had endeavoured, quite as much as any of his Predecessors, to meet the views which had been expressed in that House by those who were best acquainted with the Service; and he hoped the noble Marquess would be able to do even still more towards securing the efficiency of the Army and the comfort and contentment of the men.

CAPTAIN MAXWELL-HERON congratulated the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War upon the very lucid statement he had made in introducing the Army Estimates. No doubt, the natural outcome of the new military administration was that there should be grievances to remedy and inequalities to redress. A good many grievances had been brought under the notice of the House; but there was only one which he desired to touch upon that night, and it had reference to the purchase captains. The purchase captains had spent a large sum of money in acquiring an improved position with a prospective view to promotion.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that the hon. and gallant Member was now dealing with a subject that was not at present before the Committee.

CAPTAIN MAXWELL-HERON said, he had understood that they were to discuss the whole question of the condition of the Army upon the present Vote.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that was a misapprehension.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER remarked, that his hon. and gallant Friend would have an opportunity of discussing the question he had referred to upon another Vote.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the arrangement came to on the last occasion was that an opportunity would be afforded upon the present Vote of discussing questions relating to the organization of the Army, the recruiting, and the *personnel* of the Army; but it would not be regular to go into questions relating to purchase until they came to the Non-Effective Votes.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, the remarks which had been made by the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) with regard to rations opened a much wider question than the hon. and gallant Member was aware of. If the Government undertook to give every soldier a complete ration every day, it could be done without difficulty when the regiment was in barracks. But it was necessary also to provide for occasions when the troops were sent away on an emergency. Troops were sent abroad at a very few hours' notice to a part of a country where there was no Commissariat and no Government establishment; and in that case the men were provided with a grievance, unless the equivalent of rations was supplied, seeing that they would have to provide themselves. Unless, therefore, a system of stoppages was resorted to, they would be in a complete difficulty. A part of the arrangement was to provide the men with food as a condition of service; and if they did not provide it they were entitled to the value of it, or a grievance at once arose. It was, therefore, thought much better to provide the soldier with the bulk of his provisions—for instance, bread and meat, and leave extras, such as vegetables and groceries and other things, to be charged against him when provided. There might, however, be times when the Government would find it altogether impossible to provide these things; and, therefore, caution was necessary on their part. His object in rising had been to draw the attention of the noble Marquess to what appeared to him to be an error in the preparation of the Estimates, including deferred pay as part of the Effective Services. On page 18 regimental pay and deferred pay were put down for this year at £4,500,000, being an increase of £85,000; but, in his opinion, the deferred pay, which was included in that Estimate, ought to be entered in the non-effective account, seeing that it was not available until the soldier had left the Service. When he left the Army and became non-effective, he got his deferred pay. The men who received deferred pay did not come under Vote A, and the Estimates for Effective Services were only for men who were included in Vote A. Therefore, he thought the account for deferred pay ought to be placed in the Vote for Non-Effective Services, because it was really a Non-Effective Vote. He should like to call the attention of the Committee to the way in which this Vote had increased within the last three years. It would be found that in the last three years both the regimental pay and the deferred pay had increased.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. and gallant Member that he is referring to Vote 1, which has already been passed.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman that he had informed the Committee the last time the Estimates were under discussion that, although it was quite true that Vote 1 had been passed, there would be an opportunity of discussing the Vote when they came to the Vote for the Reserves.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that was a mistake.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON would ask, then, upon what points the discussion was to take place? They were certainly told they would have an opportunity of discussing the question; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in the most definite terms, at 12 o'clock at night, that a full opportunity would be afforded. He wanted to know, then, upon what Vote the discussion would take place? He had waited patiently, because he had been distinctly informed that this was the opportunity the Committee would have.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and gallant Gentleman has put a question to

me; but I think there has been some confusion between the statement made by other Members of the House and myself. Speaking from the Chair, I never gave any intimation that all the questions raised by the Army Estimates could be discussed upon this Vote. No doubt, certain questions which could have been discussed upon Vote 1 were agreed to be held over until this Vote; and there was a general understanding, both in regard to the Navy and Army Estimates, that, provided Vote 1 were agreed to on the first night, certain questions which hon. Members desired to discuss could be raised on a subsequent Vote. But what I would now point out to the hon. and gallant Gentleman is, that upon Vote 8 he cannot discuss matters which have already been passed in Vote 1.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, that, no doubt, the right hon. Gentleman was correct, and he would not dispute his ruling; but next year he would take the opportunity when, at past 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning, the Secretary of State for War asked the Committee to vote £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 of money without discussion, to leave over £4,000 or £5,000 from the Vote, in order that the Vote might be kept open, so as to enable a discussion to take place. After the ruling of the Chairman he would, in reference to the remarks he desired to make, wait until he could obtain another opportunity.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE protested against any Vote of public money for Cavalry Reserves as a useless expenditure. Everyone who had served in a Cavalry regiment, as he had, knew that a Cavalry soldier, after he had left the regiment for eight or 12 months, was perfectly useless for any military purpose; and it would be necessary for him to have served continually for two or three years before he could be rendered a fit and competent soldier. When it was desired to send out a number of soldiers to Egypt a short time ago, a number of men were looked up from the Reserves who certainly were not fit for military service in the sense they ought to have been. He therefore objected to this part of the Vote, on the ground that they were voting money upon no good ground whatever. The Army Estimates were sufficiently large as they were. They amounted to £16,000,000; and he thought that any proper economy that could be effected should be adopted by the Government.

SIR FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM said, he thought the main cause of the failure of recruiting was due to the dissatisfaction which was felt and expressed by the Reserve men at the result of their military service. Of course, he knew that there were other reasons, and probably among them was the extreme dislike felt by both officers and men to the new battalion system; but he thought the main cause was the dissatisfaction felt by the Reserve men at the result of their previous services. He had talked to many of them at various times, and their general statement was couched in these terms—"We were happy and contented while in the Army. We were well enough treated, and had nothing to complain of as long as we were in the Army; but the result was unsatisfactory to our future prospects. We had been leading an idle life for seven or eight years, and when we joined the Reserve we felt ourselves incapable of doing that good day's work which an employer requires. We found that we had lost our aptitude for work, and we felt ourselves quite stranded." He was talking to some of the old soldiers of his own regiment some time ago, and the views they expressed were somewhat similar—namely, that they were well enough treated in the Army, and that they had nothing to regret; that they had seen the world, and had been to India; but that they had made a mistake. They said, in effect—"When I and Jack were working in a carpenter's shop we were both getting 15*s.* a-week. Jack stuck to the shop, and I went into the Army. At the end of my period of service I go to the same shop for employment. I find that Jack is now getting 30*s.* a-week, and I am not worth 15*s.*" He thought that was the great cause of discontent which the men felt at the result of their service. The question was, what was the remedy? It was clear that the Reserve was absolutely necessary under the short-service system; but he thought the Government might do something for the men in the way of providing industrial employment for them in the Army itself. There was in every regiment a certain number of men of various trades, and many others who would like to learn a trade if they

had an opportunity. He noticed in the Estimates a sum of £10,000 for the reconstruction of huts at Aldershot, £10,000 for the reconstruction of huts at the Curragh, and similar items for Shorncliffe and elsewhere. Now, he believed that all these military works might be undertaken by military labour, with great advantage both to the soldier and to the Service. He noticed that a large sum was required at Aldershot for trenching Cove Common, and at other places for repairs and drainage and other purposes; but there were a great many agriculturists in the different regiments who were perfectly competent to perform any agricultural labour that was necessary. Looking through the Army Estimates, he found that some £600,000 or £700,000 were expended annually in the repair and building of fortifications and other works, and in the repair of barracks. It seemed to him that all this work ought to be undertaken by military labour; and he believed there was intelligence enough among the class of men enlisted in the Army at the present day to fit them for any sort of work that might be imposed upon them; and the intelligence of the men would be rightly developed if they were associated with others who understood the nature of the work they would be called upon to do. Of course, it would be said that under a system of this sort the drill would go to the bad; but he did not concur in that view at all. He did not believe in the necessity for constant drill. If a drill took place for two hours in the forenoon, and one hour in the afternoon, and an hour for theoretical instruction on, perhaps, two days in the week, that would be quite sufficient to keep the trained soldier in a perfectly efficient military state; and a certain portion of time in the forenoon and afternoon of the remaining four days a-week might be devoted to other purposes. If that were done, he believed the men would be able to go back to their old work, thoroughly competent to earn a livelihood. In his opinion, the great reason of the failure of the recruiting system was the want of such a system of industrial employment. He should like to see all the artizans in a regiment collected into one or two companies, and as many men as liked might be allowed to go into them with a view of learning a trade that would be useful to them in their future life. Anyone who had served in a campaign knew the extreme value of the Royal Engineers, and that their services were estimated far more highly than those of men of the ordinary rank and file. He did not see why they should not put all men who wished to learn a trade into a selected company, under special officers and non-commissioned officers with extra pay, and form them into an Engineering Company. In that way, he thought, they would get rid of the dissatisfaction now felt by the soldier at the result of his service. Of course, the recruit would pass one year in learning his drill, and then for the remaining six or seven years he would be learning to labour for his own good, for his future good, and for the good of the Army. Failing such a system as that, he thought there was only one other remedy for the present state of things, and that was that the primary term of enlistment should be reduced to one year and a-half. He took that period of time, because he thought it was quite sufficient for an ordinary soldier to be thoroughly trained. In two years in a Cavalry regiment they were able to teach a man everything they wanted to teach him. Of course, a Cavalry soldier had a good deal more to learn. It was obvious that it would take a longer time to teach a man to ride than it would be to teach him to walk straight. At the end of a year and a-half, if a man did not choose to be re-engaged, he might go back without detriment to his civil employment; and in that time he would not have lost his aptitude for his ordinary labour and work. He would, however, give him a chance of going into the Service, or of enlisting for six years longer, with the right of discharge at the end of six years without a pension, but with the right of re-engagement; and if, at the end of another six years, he thought fit to be discharged, then at the close of 14 years' service he would retire with a pension. Personally, he had no belief in the value of old soldiers of over 14 years' service. A man who had been knocking about the world, in hot climates, for 14 years, was generally unfit for a modern campaign. He thought he was right in his idea that the discontent in the Reserve was the main cause of the failure of recruiting; because he noted that in the Cavalry

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regiments the establishment of all the regiments was full, and, in fact, overfull. As a matter of fact, although the Cavalry did not exactly pretend to teach a trade, they did teach a trade, and kept the men up to the full hard work of it for seven or eight years' service. In the Cavalry the men were taught the care and management of horses, and were, therefore, generally sufficiently instructed to enable them to earn an honest livelihood when they left the Service. He had always supported the short service system, if it was properly managed, which he did not think it was at present, and also a system of Reserves. At the same time, he believed that the system of Reserves, although suitable for the Infantry, was totally unsuited to the Cavalry. There was a distinct difference between Cavalry Reserve men and Infantry Reserve men. An Infantry man who went into the Reserve kept his limbs, his arms and legs, in daily use; and if he were called upon to rejoin a regiment, he was pretty well fit to take his place in the ranks. But in regard to the Cavalry the case was very different. Most of the men, on leaving Cavalry regiments, were employed about the stables; but they became carters and drivers, and seldom got on the back of a horse. Men after leaving the Service grew older and stiffer; and after being in the Reserve for some time they became totally unfit to be put back again all at once into the ranks of their regiments for active service. He would ask hon. Members to read the accounts of what occurred in the Egyptian Campaign. They would see how men were hustled out of a ship and put on horseback at once. Could Reserve men be fit for such work after being absent from the saddle for four or five years? The Germans, from whom they had copied a great deal, had altogether given up the idea of a Reserve for the Cavalry. Their system was to have regiments of five squadrons, four of which went to the war, while the fifth formed the depôt. The weakly men and the weakly horses were drafted into the fifth squadron, which in turn supplied the four squadrons which were sent into the field with men, as vacancies occurred. The result of this was that the German Cavalry regiments were able to be placed in the field without any necessity for resorting to drafts from the second line, as was our case in the Egyptian Campaign. He believed that five squadrons were absolutely necessary for the efficiency of a Cavalry regiment—namely, four in the field, and one to fall back upon. There were various reasons why four squadrons were necessary for the field; and one was that their drill book was constructed on the principle of having four squadrons. Therefore, he would earnestly ask the Secretary of State for War to add a fifth squadron to every regiment of Cavalry, so as to have four squadrons in their full strength fit for the field at once. It had been found that the principle of augmentation did not answer. Regiments placed on the augmented strength, and supposed by the nation to be fit for war, were not really fit until they had been on that strength for two years, because it took that time to train the augmentation recruits. Modern wars were short and sudden; and it was perfectly useless to rely upon men who were not thoroughly trained, besides which, by augmenting the strength of a regiment, in the way now resorted to, they would only succeed in obtaining a certain number of regiments of augmented strength, none of which were fit for service for want of a fifth squadron. He was quite aware that the proposal he made would, if carried out, cost a good deal of money; but he believed that the nation was willing to pay for anything that was absolutely necessary to preserve the efficiency of the Army and the honour of the nation. If, however, it came to such a question, he would prefer to see a smaller number of regiments, if each regiment were good and of effective strength. The Secretary of State for War or the House must fix the number of men a horses they chose to maintain. He only argued that the men and horses, whatever their number might be, should be so trained and organized as to be efficient and fit for the service of the country.

MR. RYLANDS said, the hon. and gallant Member for South Hants (Sir Frederick Fitz-Wygram) had made a very interesting speech; but while he (Mr. Rylands) was not in favour of very long service, he thought that the present term of enlistment was too short; and he was therefore surprised at the suggestion of the hon. and gallant Member that it should be still further reduced. He had been a Member of the House for a very

considerable number of years, and he had never been present at a discussion of the Army Estimates without hearing on all sides complaints of the inefficiency of the Army and its utter inadequacy for the defence of the country. During the time of his Parliamentary experience there had been several Committees and Royal Commissions appointed, and the opinions of experts had been brought to bear, with a view of showing in what respect the Army was defective, and how its defects might best be remedied. A great variety of promises had been made, and within his own experience a large sum of money had been spent for the abolition of purchase. Subsequently to that they had, in his opinion, adopted, most unwisely, in order to accomplish what was desired in the way of the flow of promotion, a system of forcing out of the Army many officers of ability who wished to make the Army a profession. They had had opinions laid before them in regard to the length of service of the most conflicting character. At one time it was recommended that every man who enlisted in the Army should be enlisted for a considerable number of years; at another time they were told that they ought to have very short service indeed. As he had stated, his feeling had been, and he was only expressing an opinion, without any education on the subject which could have attached to it much authority — but his own opinion had always been something between the two extremes. He thought it was somewhat undesirable to have an excessively long service; but he had always thought that in the recent change they had gone too far, and that the present term of enlistment was too short. But now the hon. and gallant Gentleman, who had made his maiden speech that night, and who, no doubt, as a military authority, was an acquisition to the House, had astonished the Committee by suggesting that the present short service, which some of them thought too short, should be reduced still further and brought down to one year and a-half. Now, to persons outside who had not the great advantage which hon. and gallant Gentlemen opposite possessed, of belonging to the Army, it was most difficult to form an opinion of a satisfactory character with regard to these discussions; but what they had to say in respect of the question represented the feeling of the public at large who were without technical information. What they had to say was this—that for the £16,000,000 a-year now charged for the maintenance of the Army they ought to have an efficient Army. Some hon. Gentlemen imagined that he was opposed to any military expenditure whatever. That was quite a mistake. No doubt he wished that the country could do without an Army or a Navy; but he was bound to say that no one, looking at the present state of the world and the present position of political affairs, could suppose that it would be possible, at the present time, for this country to dispense with adequate means of defence. Of course, in the position they were in, they were obliged to consider what their policy ought to be. If their policy was a policy of defence—if their policy was one of avoiding as far as possible complicated intervention in the affairs of foreign nations, no doubt they might be satisfied with an establishment that would not require so large an expenditure of money upon it as some hon. Gentlemen were inclined to demand. He did not think they ought to go in, in this country, for a very large Army. He thought they should go in for a moderate Army, and for suitable Reserves, and for a Militia and Volunteers to reinforce the Army if necessary. But if they were to have a small Army, then he was entirely in accord with hon. Gentlemen opposite in the belief that they ought to have a thoroughly efficient Army. He strongly protested against recruiting the Army with mere lads without either bone or muscle, who were not fit to stand the wear and tear of a soldier's life. They knew from experience that much of the mortality in the ranks had arisen from the fact that their soldiers were of too tender years; but they wanted something beyond soldiers of strong *physique* and bone and muscle able to stand the wear and tear of a soldier's life. They wanted soldiers who could shoot. If he had not been grossly misinformed, they had soldiers who could not shoot. Now, he was very much opposed to killing people at all. So far as he was concerned, he would be very sorry indeed to be called upon to do any duty of that kind; but if they were called upon to spend £16,000,000 a-year for that purpose they ought to see that they got an efficient instrument for their

money. They ought to learn a lesson from their past experience. No one could doubt that at Majuba Hill the Boers displayed their power of shooting to much greater advantage than our own troops. Every shot cut down our men, who fell by wholesale, and the superiority of the marksmanship of the Boers over that of our own soldiers was most extraordinary. They ought to take great care that as regarded their Army it should be trained so that every man should be a thoroughly good shot. He had been told by a most distinguished military man that he believed the extraordinary improvement which had taken place in arms of precision was really a disadvantage rather than an advantage, and had really rendered the effectiveness of the Army less than it was before in this country, because so few men knew how to make use of these arms of precision, or how to handle them; and there was a great amount of loss of power in having such arms put into the hands of men who did not understand them, and who were not carefully instructed as to their use. Then, again, they not only wanted men who could shoot, and who knew their duty as soldiers; but he entirely agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that it was of the greatest consequence that an *esprit de corps* should be maintained. He thought that, upon the whole, a great deal was lost in that respect. It was important that men should be made to feel, at the time they went into the Army, that they were entering into an association the character of which was something to be proud of, upon which they could rely, and which would afford them pleasure to be connected with—an association which would, at all events, inspire them with a good feeling towards the whole body to which they belonged. He had noticed the article in *The Times* of that morning which had been quoted by the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), and he was bound to say that his view of that article corresponded very much with that which the hon. and gallant Baronet had expressed. But what had struck him all through in reading that article was this—there seemed to be a want of elasticity in their military arrangements. The men who joined the Army were trained purely as if they were machines, and without the slightest regard to the feelings which they might be expected to entertain. He recollected two or three years ago the great struggle they had in that House in order to get rid of flogging in the Army. He remembered very well one of the arguments which he used when sitting on the Bench opposite against flogging — namely, that they ought to induce respectable men to enter the Army, and that no system should be maintained which would tend to prevent men of respectability and character from joining the Army. He believed that flogging demoralized the Army, and the very fact that it existed had tended to prevent a certain class of men from entering the Army. He believed that, although, perhaps, flogging had not been frequently resorted to, the moral effect of its abolition had already been felt in the recruiting, and he hoped it would be felt still more in getting a higher class of men into the Army. When men entered the Army they found themselves treated in a manner in which it would be impossible to treat any other class. He was afraid, in many cases, it often happened that the very treatment of recruits by the non-commissioned officers was calculated to excite ill feeling, and to make the troops discontented. He would like to see brought into the Army something more of that feeling which existed in all ranks and classes among the civil population. He should like to see the feelings that existed between the employers and the employed cultivated also in the Army, so that while discipline was enforced the feelings of men who were placed in a subordinate position should be fully recognized, and that they should not be treated as though they were mere dogs. He quite agreed with the remarks which the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite had made in reference to the employment of men upon sentry duty. The number of men employed in all kinds of weather upon sentry duty seemed to him to be unnecessarily large. These duties were discharged very frequently under circumstances which impaired the health and even sacrificed the lives of the men engaged in the discharge of that duty. But he knew perfectly well that when anything was proposed to improve the condition of the Army, hon. and gallant Gentlemen opposite would say—"Yes;

but it will cost more money. Will you give us more money?" Now he thought that the country was paying too much already; and he, therefore, objected to give hon. and gallant Gentlemen more money. He thought, however, that if they would look through the Estimates they would find, apart from the pay of the common soldier, apart from the cost which might be necessary to improve his position, and which he should not grudge—apart from all that, they would find in the Estimates ample evidence in the Manufacturing Department and the Commissariat Department, and in the various other Departments, that opportunities did exist for wasteful expense, and that by exercising judicious economy a large sum of money might be saved every year. There had been an enormous increase in the expenditure during the last 12 years in the various Departments to which he had referred; and he thought he would not be far wide of the mark when he said that at least £2,000,000 a-year might be saved without interfering in any way with the efficiency of the Army. There had been another enormous increase of charge in connection with the Non-Effective Service. He believed that very considerable charges for Non-Effective Services were made in a manner which was not justifiable and could not be defended. His own opinion was that they were charging that Vote with a sum of money which might be very much better employed, and what he would venture to say to hon. and gallant Gentlemen was this—"If you want to improve the condition of the soldier do not lead him to expect that this country can afford to give an extra amount of money every year for the charge of an Army already so excessive as far as expenditure is concerned." Let them see if they could not find some means of effecting economy. He thought it could be found in connection with the various Votes to which he had alluded; and then let them, if they possibly could, bring such action to bear upon the administration of the Army as would tend to increase the comfort of the soldiers, and encourage a disposition on the part of the working classes of the country to enter the Service.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have listened with great pleasure to the observations of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) on the subject of maintaining at as high a standard as possible the character of our troops and also to the statement he made, that the paramount interest felt by him in the efficiency and contentment of the Army was shared by a large number of his Colleagues. While it is true that my hon. Friend expressed the desire that, almost irrespective of cost, an efficient Army and a contented Army should be maintained by this country, it is equally true that towards the close of his remarks my hon. Friend endeavoured, somewhat feebly, I think, to maintain his character as an economist by suggesting that there were other Votes not so intimately connected with the pay or well-being of the soldier on which large reductions might be made, which would recoup the cost of what might be found necessary for the increase of the efficiency and contentment of the Army itself. Of course, my hon. Friend is justified in referring to other Votes for his purpose. We cannot be expected to give up any portion of Votes which have been passed; but I think if my hon. Friend is prepared to say that £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 can be struck off the Votes which are to come forward, he is bound to show to the Committee—not merely to make sweeping statements—the items on which reductions can be made, and to point out why he thinks the Votes can be reduced without interfering with the efficiency of the Service. On the subject of expenditure on materials of war, I will only make one or two general observations. My hon. Friend is perfectly well aware that the progress which has of late years been made in all the branches of military science, and the development which has taken place in respect of the various materials of war has rendered necessary very considerable expenditure upon those articles—either produced by the manufacturing departments or produced by contract—and that foreign nations as well as ours are spending very much larger sums of money than was formerly the case upon munitions and materials of war. Passing from that subject, I will make a few observations on what has fallen from hon. and gallant Gentlemen opposite. I was very glad to hear the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) say that he

does not desire now, and that, in fact, he never did desire, to attack the system of short service; all that he did was to criticize the kind of short service, and I gathered from his remarks that he, to an extent, approved of some of the modifications which have been introduced into the short-service system. Now, Sir, I am extremely glad to hear that the hon. and gallant Baronet accepts the principle of short service; and I think we must all believe now that it is impossible for us to go back to anything like long service. Remarks have been made with regard to the difficulty of recruiting and to the alleged unpopularity of the Service. But the fact is that the idea with regard to the unpopularity of the Service is erroneous, for we obtain every year recruits in much larger numbers, the number this year being greatly in excess of that raised before. Therefore, under these circumstances, it is impossible to say either that the recruiting is a failure or that the Service is unpopular; on the contrary, I say that the Service is much more popular than it ever was within our recollection. While I concede that all our efforts ought to tend to perfecting the working of the short-service system, I am not, and I think I have not shown myself to be, blindly prejudiced in favour of that which must be, to a certain extent, considered an experimental system, and that I am willing to introduce certain changes into that system, and into our present organization when necessary, which might adapt it more to our home wants and to the wants of our Indian and Colonial Service. The hon. and gallant Baronet referred to a statement made by the hon. Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham) as to the condition of certain battalions, and especially of certain battalions in the First Army Corps, or in the First Line, as he described it, of our Army. I do not propose to follow the statements of either of those hon. Gentlemen in detail; they were, however, to the effect that a large number of the men who composed the battalions of what ought to be the First Army Corps were men of short service; that in some cases they were men of somewhat less height and size than those who had hitherto been enlisted; and, in fact, it might be said with truth that the First Army Corps did not consist of battalions so hardened and so entirely composed of fully-trained soldiers as was my Predecessor's intention when he laid down the constitution of the First Army Corps. On the last occasion of our discussing the subject, I admitted that fact, which was explained by the statement I made in moving the Army Estimates in March last. I said on that occasion—

"Last year the occupation of Egypt was considered to be a temporary and provisional one, and the battalions there were considered as still forming part of the First Army Corps, and no special measures were taken to replace them. Now, however, that the necessity for the occupation of Egypt appears likely to be somewhat prolonged, it is proposed to place the battalions in Egypt on the ordinary Colonial Establishment of 800 strong, and to raise a corresponding number of battalions at home to take their place in the First Army Corps. The total increase that will be necessary for these purposes is 2,400 men."—(3 *Hansard*, [286] 113.)

Well, Sir, I admitted that in all probability the force in Egypt would have to remain there longer than was at first contemplated, and that the force in Egypt, consisting to a great extent of battalions which constituted what the hon. Member for Leitrim called the First Line, was not as it ought to be; but what I claim is, that we are taking measures for placing the First Line, or First Army Corps, in the condition in which it ought to be. Of course, it is impossible to make those measures come into effect instantaneously; it can only be by a gradual process that the battalions composing the First Army Corps can attain to the numbers, or that the men of those battalions should have the length of service or the *physique* which it is desirable that they should possess. What we are doing is to take such steps as are essential for increasing the reserve of those battalions in order to bring about that result as rapidly as possible. The hon. and gallant Gentlemen, as I understand him, says he is generally satisfied with the state of our Army in India and in the Colonies, but that the great subject of complaint was the condition of our Army at home. Well, Sir, a great deal has been accomplished when we are in a position to admit that our Home Force is capable of supplying garrisons for India and for our Colonial stations, which are admitted to be in an efficient and creditable state. And now as to the numbers of the Army at home. The hon. and

gallant Gentleman, as I understand, expressed some doubt as to whether it was possible for us to place 10,000 men in the field. Without following the hon. and gallant Gentleman into that calculation, here are the numbers of the Army at home on April 1, 1884—84,957 effectives, non-commissioned officers and men, or very slightly below the full number, the Establishment being 86,752. In addition to that number of men at home, there were in the First Class Army Reserve 37,493 men; in the Militia Reserve there were 28,482 men; and the Militia, having been subsequently called out for training, I believe the Militia Reserve reached its full quota of 30,000. Then in the Second Class Army Reserve there were, at the date referred to, 8,065 men. Besides these Regular Forces, there is the Militia, which, excluding the Militia Reserve, numbered 82,525, and there were 209,365 Volunteers, and 11,441 Yeomanry. Well, Sir, the figures which I have just stated show that you have a Reserve available for foreign service of 65,975 men, and that the Second Class Army Reserve, together with the Militia and Volunteers, gives you a force for home defence of 311,000, even not counting such Regular troops with the Colours as would be left behind in England in the event of its being necessary to send an Army into the field abroad. What, then, is the condition of this Army at home? I understand the hon. and gallant Gentleman to say that it consists of men who are so young, so small, or so weakly, that they are not really efficient. Well, Sir, I have acknowledged on previous occasions that a large proportion of that Army must largely consist of recruits, and it is both possible and very probable that by taking a particular battalion or battalions selected for the purpose of examination you may find some battalions to be in a condition of extreme inefficiency; but I do not think that the Committee ought to judge of the state of the Army either at home or abroad by instances taken in that way. They should take the figures relating to the Army as a whole. I have stated just now what were the actual numbers a few weeks ago of the Army serving at home, and I have here a statement of the proportion of service of the men in the Army at home on the 1st of January last. At that date, taking all arms, there were 293 men per 1,000 under one year's service, and 524 per 1,000 over three year's service, or more than half the total number at home; or, taking Infantry only, there were 361 per 1,000 under one year's service, and 457, or nearly half, who had over three years' service. Next as to age. There were 797 per 1,000 men in the Army at home of over 20 years of age; and as to height, taking all arms, there were 737 men per 1,000 above 5 feet 6 inches, and only 124 under 5 feet 5 inches, while, taking the Infantry alone, 673 men per 1,000 were over 5 feet 6 inches, and but 150 below 5 feet 5 inches in height. I will now state the figures with regard to chest measurement. I find that at the date mentioned for all arms there were 747 per 1,000 of over 35 inches, and only 92 per 1,000 of under 34 inches; or, taking Infantry alone, there were 686 per 1,000 of over 35 inches and 126 per 1,000 men under 34 inches. These are the particulars as to the length of service and *physique* of the Army at home. I do not pretend that they are absolutely satisfactory; but I say that they do not warrant that amount of condemnation which the hon. and gallant Gentleman has passed upon the men who go into the Line. Then the hon. and gallant Member said that the small or weak battalions would have to be supplemented from the Reserve. Well, Sir, that is admitted, and every hon. Member who has spoken on the subject has admitted that fact. But the hon. and gallant Gentleman went further, and said we should have nothing to fall back upon in time of war. Now, I think that this is not a true statement of the case. We should have to fall back on the Reserve to make up our Home battalions; but can the hon. and gallant Member point out to me a single country, however great is its Military Reserve, which can place its battalions in the field for all purposes without calling on the Reserve? Why, Sir, it is the very essence of the Reserve that it should be used in time of war to fill up the battalions to war strength. The hon. and gallant Gentleman seems to me not to understand the intention of the Reserve as it exists and as it was stated to be. It is avowedly for the purpose of filling up battalions for all purposes, and not merely as a Reserve to fall back upon in time of war. We have other Reserves to fall back upon if, unfortunately, at any

time we should be called upon to go to war—namely, the remainder of the Reserve and the whole of the Militia. With reference to the question of free rations raised in an article of *The Times* of this morning, and which has been often mooted, it is a question which touches on the larger question of the soldiers' pay. There can be no doubt that the soldiers' pay has been largely increased of late years, and it may be necessary in the course of time that there should be a further increase. It might be that the most desirable way of improving the position of the soldier would be to give him free rations; that, however, is a question which is not one for present decision. But what the Committee must understand is that it is simply a question of the pay of the soldier, or whether it is necessary to add to the advantages which he at present possesses. The hon. and gallant Member for South Hants (Sir Frederick Fitz-Wygram), whose contribution to the discussions on military subjects I am sure will always be welcomed in this House, spoke to this effect—that if, as a matter of fact, the Army is more popular than it has ever been before, it is no reason why we should not as far as possible endeavour to remove anything which interferes with its popularity, or why we should not do everything in our power to increase its popularity, and in that I entirely agree with him. I listened with interest to the observations which the hon. and gallant Member made as to the position of a man who found himself, on passing to the Reserve from the Line, unable to obtain profitable employment, and to the suggestion of industrial occupation by which the position of the soldier in that respect might be improved. Certainly, I think that, looking at the matter from the point of view of the Estimates, no impediment could be found to the adoption of such a proposal; on the contrary, looking at it from a financial point of view, it might be of considerable advantage. I believe my hon. Friend (Sir Arthur Hayter) will be able to state to the Committee that the Estimates for the Army are, to a certain extent, increased by the necessity of employing a greater number of civilians than would be the case if it were possible to obtain military labour. But that is a question which must be settled for the most part by the Military Authorities, who are best acquainted with the time which must necessarily be devoted to the military instruction and education of the soldier. I can hardly follow the hon. and gallant Gentleman into the details of the Cavalry organization which he gave us. I can only say that his suggestion in relation to that branch of the Service is worthy of consideration, although I am unable to hold out any hope that the considerable increase in the numbers of the Cavalry which he indicated could be made. I am somewhat surprised at what fell from the hon. and gallant Gentleman with regard to the comparative uselessness of the Cavalry Reserve, because I should have thought a man at the age of 30 or 40, who had been once in training, and had mastered the Cavalry drill, would be able speedily to come back to it after one or two years, and make a very efficient addition to a Cavalry regiment. With regard to the numbers of the Army, I may supplement the statement which I made a few months ago by a statement of what has taken place since that time. Since the beginning of the present year there has been a small but still a substantial increase in the strength of the Army. Owing to the present arrangements for the Militia the number of recruits who come to the Line from the Militia is very considerable during the winter months, the number being comparatively small at the time the Militia are called out for training; the six months which have now passed are not, therefore, the best for recruiting purposes. But although the increase in the strength of the Army this year is not a very large one, still I think it satisfactory as compared with the increase during the corresponding period of last year. During the six months of last year, instead of the small gain I have mentioned, there was an actual loss. As a matter of fact, we are, on 1st July, about 3,000 men in excess of the number at this time last year. No doubt the establishment is deficient still by about 9,000 men; but, as I have endeavoured on many occasions to explain, that is owing to the regulations sanctioned by Parliament not permitting the deficiencies in the Indian Service being balanced by recruiting in excess of the establishment voted by Parliament; and, therefore, when the deficiency occurs that de-

ficiency is temporarily transferred to the Home Army from which the Indian deficiency has to be supplied. The same observation applies to some corps in the Home Army; and, therefore, there will always be a deficiency in the effective as compared with the establishment. No doubt there is a want of elasticity in the present system, and it was to remedy that want of elasticity that I have proposed an increase of the establishment of the Infantry and the Reserve, although I said in proposing it that I did not anticipate that we should at any time recruit completely up to the increased establishment. The deficiency in the numbers of the Army is frequently spoken of as a serious danger. Now, I venture to think that it is not a serious danger. A serious inconvenience no doubt it is, because there is a difficulty in supplying the wants of India, and in keeping up the garrisons of the Colonies; but as to its being a serious danger I do not think, now that we have the Reserve, that it constitutes a danger anything like that which used to exist when the Army was not up to its establishment. In case of danger or emergency it cannot be too often borne in mind or repeated that we have the Reserve to fall back upon from which our ranks might be filled and more than filled. But not only so. Without calling on the Reserve at all, if serious danger threatened the country, or if it appeared necessary rapidly to increase the strength of the Army, the stoppage by Proclamation of the outflow of Infantry into the Reserve from the Colours would in a few months bring up the Army to its full strength. That outflow goes on at the rate of about 200 per week. At all events, whether there is, as some hon. Members think, a serious danger to the country, or simply, as I have said, an inconvenience of a temporary character, it is one which it is always in the power of Parliament to meet and overcome. No radical defect has been proved to exist in our present military organization. The system of short service has been proved to be popular; and if it be necessary to have a larger efficient force to put in the First Line, that can at any time be secured by somewhat increasing the Establishment voted by Parliament, and by increasing the pecuniary advantages of the soldier. It is a mere question of money; and, although I consider it extremely undesirable to alarm the country by asking for a large increase in the Military Estimates at the present moment, it seems to me that it ought to be a source of satisfaction to us, and give us a sense of security, that at any moment it is possible to increase our military resources to any extent required by the simple process of spending more money upon them. I am not saying that at some future time an increase may not be necessary; but, until we have thoroughly discovered and tested the working of the present system of organization, and the minimum Establishment necessary in order to keep it in working gear, I think it would be imprudent to ask Parliament to vote more money and men than are absolutely required for the safety and security of the country.

The Marquess of Hartington

COLONEL STANLEY said, he had only a few remarks to offer in reply to the statement of the noble Marquess. So far as he understood, the noble Marquess seemed to be very well satisfied with the state of affairs; although he very frankly owned that, in respect of the quality and number of men, there were deficiencies which he would be glad to see remedied, still he looked, on the whole, with satisfaction on the result of the present year's recruiting. He was bound to say, however, that the net result, so far as he could gather from the figures given by the noble Marquess, even supposing the recruiting to continue to be as successful as it was now, and making allowance for the percentages stated by the noble Marquess, would be that there would exist a deficiency on the full establishment at the end of the year, after all the efforts made, and upon the conditions to which the noble Marquess had referred. That, he hoped, was not a position which would lead the noble Marquess or the War Department into a state of optimism as regarded the future; because it must be borne in mind that good recruiting—although he did not say that was to be regarded from a pessimist point of view—had undoubtedly arisen concurrently with a period of great agricultural and commercial depression, during which periods they knew that men were induced to enlist more freely. Although, of course, the improvement in recruiting was not entirely due to that circumstance, it had, he thought, undoubtedly tended

very largely to swell the number of recruits. There was another point on which he thought the noble Marquess had been somewhat led away by the figures before him. The noble Marquess spoke of the question as being simply one of getting recruits into the Service. But there was something to be considered of much more importance than that — namely, the waste which arose from various causes after the men were got into the Service. It was plain that no permanent improvement could take place while the waste occasioned by men leaving the Service a short time after enlistment corresponded with or exceeded the gain by enlistment. He did not speak from exact figures, or even from personal knowledge; but he was led to believe, from information which reached him from many quarters, that the noble Marquess would have no difficulty in ascertaining that there were an abnormal number of vacancies caused by desertion, and by men taking their discharge. If that were correct, it probably pointed to causes tending to create dissatisfaction with the Service; and if such existed, the abnormal waste resulting therefrom would affect the well-being of the Service even more than the inducements which might be held out to recruits in the first instance. There was another point in the noble Marquess's statement against which, if he had rightly understood the noble Marquess, he desired to enter his protest, and that was in relation to the system of Reserve. The noble Marquess would correct him if in error; but he understood him to say that the system of Reserve was mainly established with the view of bringing up the Forces to war strength. Now, he should be very loth to admit that such was by any means the primary object of the Reserve. Primary, in a certain sense, it was doubtless to bring up the forces to full strength for field service; but there was, in his opinion, a more important function which the Reserve fulfilled—namely, that of supplying gaps in the ranks caused by vacancies and casualties. So far as he understood it, the Reserve system arose out of the condition of affairs during the Crimean War, when the difficulty felt was not that of filling up battalions to their full strength, but of keeping up the strength of battalions after they had for some time been exposed to those circumstances which produced casualties in the field. It was quite true that some alteration might be necessary in deference to the tendency of modern warfare to be short and sharp; but he should not like it to go forth uncontradicted that the Secretary of State for War was entirely satisfied with having a body of Reserves which might not be sufficient to fill up the number of men required in the field. He was not going to enter farther into the question of the Reserve, and would simply add that he saw no reason to change the opinions upon the subject which he had formed and frequently expressed. He thought, in the speech of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for South Hants (Sir Frederick Fitz-Wygram) to whom he was sure both sides of the House had listened with great pleasure, and whose voice it was to be hoped would be frequently heard in their debates, there were points which evidenced careful thought in respect of the matters under consideration. His hon. and gallant Friend, in making his suggestions, spoke, of course, with a knowledge of the subject which no one could gainsay; but whether, as a matter of practice, it would be found easy to adopt the suggested reforms connected with civilian labour in the Army Service was a question upon which, at that moment, he (Colonel Stanley) would hardly like to pronounce an opinion. If men were so employed they would be withdrawn from military duty, and that, again, would cause increased duty to be thrown on their comrades, who were not so employed. There were many questions as to working pay, which were not quite so easily disposed of as, at first sight, hon. Members might be inclined to imagine. His hon. and gallant Friend, however, spoke after so much practical experience on these points that one was bound to suppose that he had considered all the ins and outs of the matter and found a satisfactory solution of his own problem; and he (Colonel Stanley) hoped the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) would not lightly put aside the matters which were raised in the speech of his hon. and gallant Friend. He (Colonel Stanley) hoped that after the two admissions made by the noble Marquess —one actually made, and the other made by implication—the one being that, although the recruits were large in number, many of them were not quite of such a

stamp as might be desired, and the other, made, as he had said, by implication, being that after all the efforts made the Army would still be considerably below its proper strength at the end of the year—the War Department would not relax their efforts to make the Service as elastic, and as pleasant to the recruit, as possible. He hoped, also, that if the War Authorities found that after all their exertions there was still a greater drain upon the Army than the best means of recruiting could meet, they would not feel it inconsistent with their duty to come forward and ask the House to assent to further proposals.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said, he would not detain the Committee more than one or two minutes; but he desired to congratulate the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) and the War Office authorities upon the large number of recruits they had got this year to enter the Army. It must, however, be remembered that the increased recruiting this year was owing in great measure to the depression of trade, which he regretted to say existed throughout the country. He could not agree that the increased number of recruits had been obtained because the Service had become much more popular than it was in former years. A test of the popularity of the Army was the number of re-engagements at the end of the first period of service. He believed that, as a matter of fact, men were very loth to re-engage after their first period of service. He feared that the regiments, under the new system, did not form as happy homes as they used to do. Soldiers did not like to be shifted from one battalion to another; they could not settle down, make friends, and keep them, as they could formerly. With regard to the Reserves, there were now, on paper, a very large number; and he hoped that, in the event of the country having to engage in any military campaign, the authorities would use their best endeavours that the men of the Reserve should be sent to their old regiments, and not to any regiment that might come up first. It was, no doubt, a great pleasure to a Reserve man to go back to his old regiment, and it was a great pleasure for his officers to receive him; but when a Reserve man was sent to a regiment of which he might know nothing, and to a regiment the officers of which might know nothing of him—it was very detrimental to the interests of the Service. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War alluded to the fact that foreign countries had Reserves to fall back upon in the event of war breaking out; but he (Sir Henry Fletcher) believed he was correct in saying that, generally speaking, the Reserves in the Foreign Armies were as far as possible sent to the regiments in which they had first served. He was reminded by his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that they were invariably sent to their old regiments. He hoped that in respect to Reserves they would in future copy the system of the Foreign Armies. With the system now adopted in this country the Reserve men were very dissatisfied. He was afraid that the War Office authorities did not hear all the complaints which the Reserve men made; but it was positively painful to him, living as he did in the country, to see Army Reserve men wandering about in want of employment, owing to the system which had hitherto been adopted in regard to them. There was one other question which was brought forward by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot)—namely, that of rations in the Army, upon which he (Sir Henry Fletcher) had a few words to say. He thought the noble Marquess had given them some slight hope that the question of rations should be thoroughly looked into. He impressed upon the noble Marquess, as he did last year, that it was most desirable that the soldier should have a good breakfast ration. The young growing lads in the Army had nothing now for breakfast but dry bread and a cup of tea. It was too much to call upon them to do several hours drill on a comparatively empty stomach; indeed, it was detrimental to their own health, and to the interests of the Service generally. When the lads came in from the morning's drill they were thoroughly exhausted, and the first thing they were apt to do was to rush to the canteen and drink beer or porter, which in many cases was a very undesirable practice. He earnestly hoped that the question of the breakfast ration would be most seriously considered. It might be argued by the authorities of the War Office that an improved breakfast ration would cost a larger sum than they could recommend

Colonel Stanley

the Committee to vote. He had no doubt it would cost £200,000 a-year; but he thought the money would be well spent, because a good breakfast would be a means of enabling the young soldiers to perform the work required of them.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he would like to have one question cleared up by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). He understood the noble Marquess to say that the Reserves were used to fill up the gaps in the Army. They all knew that 18,800 men were sent out to Egypt from this country, but that that number could not have been sent out unless a certain portion of the Reserves had been called out. As a matter of fact, about 4,500 of the 18,800 men belonged to the Reserve. Other Reserve men, however, were called out for the purpose of filling up the regiments remaining at home. The noble Marquess had said nothing which conveyed to him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) the idea that unless the Reserves were called out there were sufficient fighting men to send out to engage in any small war that might occur. It was quite true there were men out in Egypt at the present moment; but if the noble Marquess were required to send out to Egypt another 10,000, could he send them out without calling out some of the Reserves? His (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) belief was that the noble Marquess could not; and, therefore, they were in the position he had already stated—namely, that their first fighting line could only be made up by calling out the Reserves. He maintained that if on the occasion of every petty war they were obliged to send out some of their Reserves, the usefulness of the Reserve Force would be greatly impaired, because the intention with which the Force was created was that it should fill up the gaps which occurred in time of war. The noble Marquess also stated that they had 67,000 Infantry, or some such number, but that that number included 24 battalions in the Colonies.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he did not specify the Infantry; but he said there were at home 84,957 men of all arms.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he based the whole of his statement upon the Infantry of the Line, and he did not take any account of the Artillery or the Cavalry. The noble Marquess in his first speech said that, after making the necessary deductions for recruits, there were only 26,000 men whom they could possibly put into line, and they were employed in Ireland and elsewhere. If he was wrong with regard to the Reserve he should be glad to be corrected by the noble Marquess. He repeated that nothing the noble Marquess had said had shaken his (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) statement, that they could not send an Army out of this country without calling out the Reserves. Ten thousand was the smallest number that could be sent out; if 20,000 were sent out they would have to call out a large number of Reserves.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he was not quite sure what the question was that was addressed to him by the hon. and gallant Member (Sir Walter B. Barttelot); but he was aware that when the Reserve Force was established it was intended that there should always be a certain number of Reserve men capable of being sent out with the First Army Corps if need be. As he explained in moving the Estimates last year, it was not possible to send out the Egyptian Expedition without employing some Reserve men. He had already said measures were being taken to replace regiments which were in the First Line. The situation had been modified by the battalions which were now in Egypt having been, up to the present year, considered as forming part of the First Army Corps. The number of Reserve men who took part in the Egyptian Campaign was only 1,600 Infantry, although a larger number was utilized for the purpose of filling up vacancies in other regiments.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, he had only one word to say in reply to his hon. Friend (Sir Henry Fletcher) respecting rations. As the hon. Gentleman knew, the soldier received a full ration, without payment, when on active service. As to the rations at home, bread and meat were supplied by contract; but it was found that groceries were more easily supplied by the sergeants of companies from the local tradesmen.

Vote *agreed to*.

(2.) £438,800, Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he would like to ask the noble Marquess what steps he had taken to put the First Army Corps in a thoroughly efficient state with regard to Commissariat and Transport and the Medical Service. The noble Marquess had said that every care would be taken that the First Army Corps should be efficient in all its appliances for war; but perhaps he would say in what state it actually was. This was one of those questions which had very properly excited the public mind. The people would very much like to know what was being done. When one went down to Aldershot and saw the long line of buildings there almost tenantless, one was inclined to think that hardly anything had been done to put the Commissariat and the Transport Corps on a proper footing. He would not now go into details, because a Committee was inquiring into the Commissariat and Transport Services in the Egyptian Campaign.

MR. BRAND said, his hon. and gallant Friend asked him whether there was at present a Transport Service sufficient for an Army in case of active operations.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that what he really wanted to know was whether the authorities could put an Army Corps into the field complete in every particular?

MR. BRAND said, his reply was that they could do so. There were certain details with respect to Commissariat and Transport generally, which remained to be settled; and a Departmental Committee had been appointed to consider some points of detail which were raised by the Adjutant General in regard to the Egyptian Expedition. The proceedings of that Committee had, however, been suspended, owing to the appointment of a Committee of that House to consider the Commissariat and Transport arrangements during the Egyptian War. As soon as the proceedings of the Committee of the House were closed, no doubt the question would again be considered by the authorities of the War Office.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked where the Transport for the First Army Corps was?

MR. BRAND said, that it was in store.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT inquired whether the Transport had ever been called out and tested at Aldershot or elsewhere; and whether there was, in reality, an efficient Transport Corps?

MR. BRAND said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman had asked a question which he (Mr. Brand) had answered. It was the fact that one Army Corps, fitted with every appliance, could be put into the field.

SIR FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM said, he was a member of the Departmental Committee to which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brand) had referred; and he was under the impression that the result of their inquiries was that the Commissariat and Transport Services did not possess half the requisite number of horses or men.

MR. BRAND said, he merely contended that there was transport material for more than one Army Corps. He did not mean to say there were horses sufficient. As to men, there was a considerable number of Reserves who could be obtained in case of war for service in the Transport. What he had said all along, and what was perfectly true, was that there was transport material sufficient for one Army Corps. He maintained that horses and men could be obtained within a short time.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked if nothing was being done at Aldershot for the education of the men of the Transport? He did not wish to press the matter unduly; but it must be remembered that a good deal had been said lately about the inefficiency of the Commissariat and Transport Departments. The matter was more or less *sub judice;* but he was certain the Committee would be glad to think that some good would spring from the inquiry which was proceeding. It had been hinted that the inquiry would not proceed to as great a length as was at first supposed. How that might be he did not know; but he thought it was important to satisfy the public that all was being done to make the Commissariat thoroughly efficient in case of its being required to enter the field.

MR. BRAND said, that a School of Instruction had been established at Aldershot for the Commissariat Service; and only three days ago the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War authorized the issue of full equipment for the instruction of the men in their duties.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that in this Vote there was an item of £1,600 for taking a remain at Woolwich. He would like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Brand) if he could inform the Committee what was the scope of the duties undertaken by the gentlemen who were taking the remain—whether the remain would include all the stores which were now lying at Woolwich, or whether it was merely a remain of the stores taken over from the manufacturing departments during the last financial year, or during any limited period?

MR. BRAND said, he was much obliged to the hon. Gentleman for mentioning this subject; and in answer to him he would like to say a few words in respect to the whole question of the remain. The remain was a serious undertaking; but he was convinced it was a wise one. Stock was being taken of everything in the Arsenal; and so far the results had, on the whole, been satisfactory. Certain errors in the system of keeping accounts had been discovered, and it was hoped that in the future these would be remedied. He must say, in justice to the storekeepers, that, considering there had been no remain taken for nearly 25 years, and considering the enormous number of dealings at Woolwich recently, they had done their duty admirably — indeed, it was surprising that so few errors in the accounts had been disclosed. To keep an account of stock was a work of great labour; and he doubted whether it would be possible to get anybody to keep it if, at the same time, officers of the Department were to be held personally accountable for the stores. In campaigns there must necessarily be a loss of stores; there was a great loss in transferring stores from one regiment to another. It was only by the experience of skilled officers that they were able to judge of what stores ought to be written off charge, or what stores ought to be charged against regiments. Then, again, there would be great difficulty in ascertaining the value of the stores in the Arsenal. How were they to be valued? There might be a gun in stock which was somewhat out of date; yet that gun would have to be valued at the same value as a new weapon. They would have to deal again with the value of stores returned from the Navy. He should say that, on the whole, it was wise to leave the matter alone, and rest satisfied with the better system of account of stores which he hoped would result from the remain now being taken.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the hon. Gentleman would, perhaps, allow him to express the personal satisfaction with which he had heard the answer just given. Many of the demands which had been made by the Treasury in respect to the audit of stores were, if not unreasonable, at any rate not practicable. It was perfectly clear that in any campaign the loss and the use of stores must be very great and rapid, and that there could be no proper, effective, and detailed audit of stores made. Neither did he think that the claim which had been made as to the annual valuation of all stores on land was a reasonable one, because there was no practical value to be obtained by it. The amount of labour involved would be something enormous. What he thought the country, and the Committee especially, ought and might reasonably insist upon was that a large Department like the War Office should, at any rate, know what were the stores it had in its possession. They were aware—indeed, they had just heard from the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brand)—that the War Department did not know, and had not known for 25 years, what stores it was actually possessed of. That an enormous quantity of stores—stores amounting in value to many millions of money—were lying, and had been lying for many years, at Woolwich, was admitted; but the War Department now proposed to take a complete remain of all its stores, so as to be able to start clear with a balance. When once that balance was established, the Committee would be able to obtain annual statements of the taking on charge and of the discharge of stores which would enable them to know, at any moment, exactly how they stood in regard to stores. It appeared to him that the Committee would be well satisfied if that end was secured; and he, for one, would not press the Government to do anything more. The Auditor and Comptroller General, in successive years, had insisted, somewhat strongly, upon having a complete system of audit in regard to the stores. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor)

was not prepared to go so far with him; but he thought they ought to have a full statement of the actual stores in hand at any given moment. He hoped they would follow the system which had been begun at Woolwich, at all the different out-stations, until they found themselves in a position at last to give complete accounts of all the stores of every kind in the possession of the Government.

MR. RYLANDS pointed out that the first Vote in Class III. related also to the Commissariat Department. He ventured to say to the noble Marquess, in answer to the appeal which had been made to him (Mr. Rylands), that in this Department the expenditure had gone on increasing to an enormous extent. The Committee were in a somewhat unfortunate position with regard to this Vote, because there was a Committee of Inquiry in regard to the Commissariat Department sitting at the present time; and hon. Members who did not happen to be upon the Committee were hardly able to form an opinion as to what they were doing, and would have to wait until all the facts were before them, in the Report of the Committee, before they could express any strong views. He could only say from the facts which had been brought under the notice of the House of Commons in former years in reference to the administration of these Departments that he should not be surprised to find that the Committee would be able to prove that a very wasteful expenditure had been incurred which might have been prevented. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor), he (Mr. Rylands), as a Member of the Public Accounts Committee, entirely supported the view which the hon. Member had expressed. The provision of a large stock of stores, unless it was managed in a business-like system, and they were able to ascertain from time to time what stores they had in stock, must inevitably lead to a large unnecessary expenditure of the public money, and, very probably, many of the stores were wasted. His hon. Friend the Member for Stroud (Mr. Brand) said that was impossible; but he (Mr. Rylands) was by no means certain that it was impossible. His hon. Friend stated that for 25 years nothing wrong had been found; but now they knew that there was to be stock-keeping and stock-taking, no doubt the Department would obtain a good deal of information as to the general movement of stock, and as to what was in their possession. From time to time there ought to be stock-taking, so that the authorities might really know what they had in their possession.

MR. BRAND said, that was intended to be done in future years. It was arranged that there should be stock-taking each year.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if the hon. Member thought the sum of £16,000 charged in the Vote would be sufficient to defray all the expenses?

MR. BRAND said, it was rather difficult to answer that question. He could not commit himself exactly to any figure; but he thought it was very possible they would not spend more than the sum of £16,000, which had been mentioned.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked how many men were employed?

MR. BRAND replied that at one time there were 22 gentlemen employed regularly, in addition to a number of assistants. The total number was then reduced to 10, and it had now been reduced to eight. He believed that before the end of next month it would be still further reduced.

MR. WARTON said, he did not quite understand Vote 9. He found at page 4 a statement as to the Commissary Generals and other officials, and, referring to the amount expended, he found it was considerably in excess of the same amount last year. It amounted to £438,000, and showed an increase of £3,370 over last year. At the foot of the Vote there was a note, which stated that the total emoluments of these officers serving at home and abroad were shown in Appendix No. 10. Turning to Appendix No. 10, at page 169, he found that the figures there given did not in any way correspond with the sums which were given on page 42. He quite understood that they were given as an abstract; but he did not find that they at all corresponded with the figures in the Vote.

MR. BRAND asked what page of the Appendix the hon. and learned Member referred to?

MR. WARTON: Page 169.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER requested the hon. and learned Member to look on page 167.

MR. WARTON said, he had done so, and he did not find any figure there that agreed with the figures at page 2.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, the Table he referred to was that which gave details of the distribution and charge of the Commissariat and Transport Department for the year ending the 31st day of March, 1885.

MR BRAND asked the hon. and learned Member to take the first figure. He would find that there was one Commissary General at the headquarters of the War Office, and another in Ireland; and the pay of a Commissary General was provided for in Vote 16?

MR. WARTON said, the charge on page 42 for Commissary Generals, &c., was £34,748, and he did not find any corresponding figures on page 167. It was perfectly true that there was a total of £55,404 given for the whole; but it did not appear to correspond in any way with the figures given before. He wanted to know why they should have this sum of £34,748 without any corresponding figures to make up the same amount?

MR. BRAND said, that if the hon. and learned Gentleman would make an addition for himself, he would no doubt find the amount correct. If he looked at the Vote he would see Commissary Generals, Deputy Commissary Generals, Assistant Commissary Generals, Deputy Assistant Commissary Generals, Quartermasters, &c., within a bracket, and the total salaries amounted to £34,748.

MR. WARTON said, he saw at once that it was quite possible to give the same figure on both pages. All he said was, that if they had a figure of £34,748 which was intended to be explained on another page, they ought to be able to find a recapitulation of similar items with the same total of £34,748. He did not say that the figure was inaccurate, or a single £1 wrong; but he contended that when what pretended to be an abstract was given on one page and an explanation of that abstract on another, the figures ought to correspond, in order to show how £34,000 on one page tallied with the sum of £34,000 on another. He had no doubt it was possible to add up 500 figures on one page and make them correspond with the total on another; but the Committee ought to know how each one of the sums was made out.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he thought he could satisfy the hon. and learned Gentleman. If he would refer first to Vote 9, page 42, he would see an Estimate for the pay of the Commissariat and Transport Staff, which amounted, in the present year, to £81,199. The pay of Commissary Generals, Deputy Commissary Generals, Assistant Commissary Generals, Quartermasters, &c., was given, and at the bottom of the first line at the foot of the page he would find the figures £81,199. If he would then turn to the Appendix at pages 167 and 168, and look at the recapitulation on page 168, he would find the details there given, which amounted to the same figure of £81,199.

MR. WARTON said, the noble Marquess was quite right.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he wished to ask a question in regard to this Vote. He was very much obliged to his hon. Friend (Mr. Brand) for what he had said; and he presumed that when the different stores had been enumerated, and it was known exactly what they were, the House of Commons would have an opportunity of seeing what there was in store, and of knowing, year by year, whether the stock was kept up to the present mark, or whether it was allowed to decrease. He thought that was a very important question.

MR. BRAND said, he did not see any reason why such a Return should not be presented.

SIR FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM said, he entertained a very high opinion of what he had seen in connection with the Commissariat officers. At the same time, he thought they were not altogether fairly treated, because there was no school in which they could be taught their duty; such, for instance, as that of ascertaining whether the bread, meat, forage, and various other articles supplied were good. He had talked to a good many of the Commissariat officers and the Commissary Generals, and he had been told that there was nothing they regretted more than the absence of such a school, in which an officer could be taught to know what articles were good and what were bad. There was a test which could be applied to almost every article; and fraud could be committed in regard to almost everything supplied. For instance, in regard to beef, it was not very difficult to know

cow beef from ox beef; and forage was very much in the same condition; but for want of instruction very officers possessed the necessary knowledge. Some years ago, the Secretary of State for War set up a school for veterinary surgeons; and the veterinary surgeons of the Army derived a great amount of knowledge in enabling them to test what articles were good and what bad. He felt confident that nothing would tend more to the efficiency of the Commissariat Service than a school in which every Commissariat officer could be taught these things. It would not be a very expensive matter. It would only be necessary to keep a collection of articles; and a Commissariat officer, when he joined the Service, could be sent down to learn all that could be learnt with regard to the good and bad stores, and the possible frauds that might be committed in the issue of stores.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £3,058,000, Provisions, Forage, &c.

(4.) £782,500, Clothing Establishment, Services, and Supplies.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he did not see the Secretary of State for War in his place; but he should like to know if anything had been done in regard to a change of uniform. He ventured to express a hope that the question had dropped out of sight, because the more he heard of it the less, he thought, the country would be inclined to see the old and popular uniform of the Army changed. It might be desirable, in certain climates, and under certain conditions, to wear some other uniform; but he was satisfied that, all things considered, the red uniform of the British Army—that fighting uniform that was known all the world over—was far better to be seen and to be dealt with in the field, and that it would only introduce unnecessary complications to alter the colour. He trusted the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War would be able to give the Committee an assurance that there would be no change from the red uniform. He believed that very great difficulties would ensue if such a change were made.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, that before his hon. Friend the Surveyor General of the Ordnance answered the question of the hon. and gallant Baronet he wished to express his regret that his right hon. Friend the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) was not present, as his right hon. Friend had been particularly anxious to ask a few questions in regard to the proceeds of the sale of clothing, in which his constituency at Aldershot was very much interested. His (Lord Eustace Cecil's) interest did not extend in that direction, but was rather of an opposite and different character. He was, nevertheless, anxious to know how the sales of clothing had resulted, and what advantage had been given to the troops. He had heard a certain amount of grumbling on the part of the soldiers, who alleged that they had been deprived of what was called their perquisites. They said it was the Government, and not themselves, who had gained by the transaction; but they all knew, at least those who preceded the noble Marquess and the hon. Gentleman in the Offices they now held, that the subject had been much inquired into some time ago, although it was not exactly carried out at the time. He rather thought that the right hon. Gentleman the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers), when Secretary of State for War, carried out the present plan in its entirety; and, at the time it was carried out, it was supposed that it would be of advantage, not only to the Government, but to the soldier himself. It would be as well that the Committee should have some light thrown upon the working of the system, because it had now been for two or three years in existence. They saw, by a comparison, that there had been a decrease in this Vote, which arose, he was inclined to think, in consequence of the sale of old clothing; and that decrease would, of course, make it appear that the Government had been benefited, while the private soldier might probably have suffered proportionately. He would be very sorry that that idea should get out, because in these days they heard so many grievances and so much grumbling that it was not necessary to add another cause of complaint. The attention of the Committee had already been called to an article in *The Times* of that morning, two columns in length, devoted to the grievances of the soldiers. If a private soldier failed to

discover any grievance there were plenty of people to give him the notion that he was being put upon, and that he did not obtain his rights. He thought it was desirable, therefore, that this mysterious affair should be explained, and that it should be made known to the Committee that the present system in regard to the sale of clothing was really of advantage to the private soldier, as well as of advantage to the general public. He did not know that he had anything further to comment upon in reference to this Vote. It showed a decrease, and therefore he did not think it came under the category of those Votes which his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) thought it right to call in question. He had not stopped the hon. Gentleman just now in the conversation which had occurred upon the Commissariat Vote; but, of course, the hon. Gentleman was fully aware that in regard to Votes 12 and 14 he would have an opportunity of bringing forward those items of expenditure he complained of, and which he had promised to bring under the notice of the House, in answer to the challenge of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War. He (Lord Eustace Cecil), having had the care of these Departments for a considerable time, wished he could see his way as clearly, as he had no doubt the hon. Gentleman did, to effecting the economies the hon. Gentleman was going to propose. Considering the great increase which had been made in the comfort of the Army, and the necessity of showing the private soldier that he was still cared for both at home and abroad, and that he had every sort of allowance and comfort he could require, it was very difficult to effect a reduction of expenditure of any kind. The private soldier nowadays had a number of things which were never dreamt of or known in former times, most of which had been given to him within the last 20 years. No doubt, it could be proved by his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) that the expenditure in the Army had increased, and especially in connection with these particular Votes; but it must be remembered that the value the country got for the money expended made the Service much more popular with the soldier. It was only fair to the soldier to say that the comfort of all classes had increased enormously; and that the soldier, drawn as he was from the labouring and artizan classes, on entering the Army expected a great increase of advantages, both in reference to clothes and to comforts, above those he had hitherto enjoyed. He would not detain the Committee further than by asking the question he had mentioned respecting the produce of the sale of clothing. He was quite certain that if his hon. Friend could give the Committee any idea of the way in which the scheme was working, it would be very satisfactory to know that it was working beneficially as well as economically.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR remarked, that in this Vote there was an item of £163,000 for wages for making garments, some at Government establishments, and others in the hands of contractors. For making clothing at the Pimlico Clothing Factory a sum of £60,000 was put down, and for contracts for making clothing a sum of £20,000 was charged; but, as he was informed and believed, the whole of that £20,000 had not been, at any rate in recent years, devoted to the service for which the House had voted it, because some other services had been defrayed out of it—such as civilian clothing for discharged men. At any rate, only £20,000 were taken for contracts for making clothing, against £60,000 for making up clothing at the Pimlico Clothing Company. In order to test the comparative expense of making up clothing at the Pimlico Factory and in the hands of contractors, he had moved some time ago for a Return, which, by the courtesy of the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, had been hastened so that he should have it by that evening. That Return showed exactly that which he had anticipated—namely, that for all the leading and most important articles of clothing for the Army, the saving, when the work was placed in the hands of contractors, as compared with the expense of the same service at the Pimlico Clothing Factory, was very considerable. For Infantry tunics for privates the charge at the Factory was 11*s.* 4*d.*; whereas, for making up the same articles, the materials being issued to the contractors by the Government, and the making up only charged by the contractors, the total cost was only 10*s.* 9¾*d.* For kersey frocks for the Infantry the

contractor charged only 8*s.* 6¼*d.*, against 8*s.* 9*d.* in the Factory. Of course, the difference in a single article was not very much; but when they come to such a figure as 42,000 articles, the difference in the charge amounted to a very considerable sum. Then, with regard to tweed trousers for the Militia and Artillery, the charge in the hands of the contractors was 9*s.* 2*d.*, against 9*s.* 11*d.* at the Clothing Factory; for the rank and file of the Rifles, 7*s.* 11*d.* in the hands of the contractors, against 8*s.* 6¼*d.* in the Clothing Factory; and tweed frocks for the rank and file of the Infantry could be procured from the contractor for 11*s.* 2*d.*, while in the hands of the Government *employés* they cost no less than 13*s.* 1½*d.* He held in his hand a long list of articles which, of course, it would be too wearisome to read to the Committee; but in almost every case he found the same result. Briefly, he might say this—that in the same articles, such, for instance, as the frocks of the Artillery, there was a difference in favour of the trade of more than 50 per cent in regard to the mere making up of the garments. Kersey frocks for the Infantry showed a difference in favour of the contractor of nearly 20 per cent; tweed trousers for the Artillery showed a difference in favour of the contractor of nearly 50 per cent, and tweed trousers for the Infantry a difference in favour of the trade of more than 30 per cent. Now, what he wished to urge upon the Government was this, that if, according to their Returns, and if, according to the figures given in the Army Manufacturing Establishments Returns, it could be shown that so large a saving could be effected by putting this work out to contract, it would certainly appear to be a very good thing if they would extend the system and put as much work out by contract as they possibly could. Instead of paying £60,000 for the work done in the Pimlico Clothing Factory, and only £20,000 for contract work, it would be well if the figures were reversed, the £60,000 being taken for contract work, and the smaller sum only for the work done in the Pimlico Clothing Factory. He had no doubt that in certain articles the Pimlico Clothing Factory could produce for the country a more satisfactory outfit than could be obtained for the same money from contractors; but where they had a very large number of simple articles, such as tweed trousers or frocks, he did not see why nearly the whole of the orders could not be given to outsiders, who, if they knew they would receive the orders with certainty, would compete one against the other, so that the saving now effected by such contracts would be materially increased by reason of the rivalry between the contractors themselves. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman the Surveyor General of the Ordnance had had this matter under his consideration; but, probably, the Motion he (Mr. A. O'Connor) had made for the Return he had referred to would have directed his attention to it.

MR. BRAND said, the noble Lord the Member for West Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil) had put some questions to him with reference to the results of the change introduced with regard to the sale of clothing. The change was not, as the noble Lord supposed, actually introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers); but he thought the actual decision was made by his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley), who was now sitting on the Front Opposition Bench, although the first suggestion came from the Quartermaster General, and was approved of by a considerable number of officers. A paper had been circulated asking for the opinion of officers, and very few of them had returned a reply that was adverse to the change. At first the steps that were taken were very cautious; and, in the first instance, the change was only applied to certain batteries of Artillery by the direction of Viscount Cranbrook; but the result was so successful that, in 1879, he thought, the plan was extended by his right hon. and gallant Friend opposite. The figures showed that the gain to the men had been very considerable indeed. Without going into them with any unnecessary detail, he might say that the average total value of the extra articles which had been supplied on account of the change amounted to 8*s.* 8*d.* per man in the Royal Horse Artillery; 8*s.* 9*d.* in the Foot Guards; 6*s.* 7*d.* in the Cavalry; and 3*s.* 6*d.* in the Infantry of the Line, and, in addition to that, the men had been supplied with a coat, waistcoat, and shirt, suitable for winter wear, and also a summer suit. He thought those

were advantages which might be considered very great, and they had only been able to give them to the rank and file of the Army by reason of the old clothing having being transferred to the State. A sum of £30,000 was annually received from the sale of old clothing, and it was clear that if they had not been able to obtain that fund they could not have given the advantages to the soldiers which he had just enumerated. The hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had referred to the question of changing the colour of the uniform. The exact position of that question was as follows:—A certain amount of kharkee clothing had been issued to regiments at home and abroad, and the Government were now awaiting Reports from the commanding officers of the regiments to which it had been issued. At the same time, it had been decided to adopt, with the kharkee clothing, a white helmet; and, if it was finally approved of, it was supposed that it would lead to certain advantages. In regard to the questions put by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) in reference to the making up of clothing by contract, and in the Pimlico Clothing Factory, he would submit that it was not a question now of establishing a new Government Factory, as they had a Government Factory already in existence. They had spent a large sum of money upon it, and it was perfectly clear that the less the amount of clothing made in that Factory, the greater would be the cost of production. Up to 1861 Pimlico was the only place were cloth was cut and issued to be made up by the trade. Certain experiments were then made at Woolwich, and female operatives were employed in the manufacture of clothing. So successful were the experiments that the late Lord Herbert established this Clothing Factory. It was a great mistake to suppose that the general trade did not derive immense advantage from the work it was necessary to have done in order to clothe the Army. In 1880-1 there was a sum of £1,254,165 expended upon clothing; and if they deducted £112,000 odd for the Establishment charges, they would find that the actual sum spent was £1,141,000, and out of the whole of that large sum of money expended, £74,000 went into the trade of the country. Some time ago a change was made by which all the material formerly supplied by the trade was supplied direct from the Government Factory, so that now it was, as the hon. Gentleman had pointed out, a very easy thing to make an almost exact comparison between the cost of the articles made by the trade and the articles made by the Factory. He would point out that from that very change the trade derived great advantage, because, by issuing articles direct from Pimlico, companies or individuals possessing only a small amount of capital were able to engage in the work, seeing that the material was supplied to them. There were other remarks which might be made in reference to the comparison instituted by the hon. Gentleman—for instance, they could check the prices of the trade, and they could make up special measurements, of which they had 30,000 last year. All the small garments had to be made at the Factory; and when they compared the cost of the Factory with that of the contractor, they must bear in mind that, in the case of the Factory, they had to pay the interest on the capital expended in the building, and the charges of inspection, which really went to increase the cost of production at the Factory. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he believed, if they were to take the whole amount of the work done at the Factory away from it, and have the articles supplied by the trade, they would not save the country a larger sum than £2,000 or £3,000 a-year. Then, again, as he had said, they could not possibly check the prices of the trade, unless they had a Government Factory of their own for making up clothing. That was the only way in which they could impose a check in regard to the clothing, and fight the combination against them. Then, again, it was of manifest advantage to the country to be altogether independent of the trade, and to be able to turn out their own clothing in the event of an emergency. In the next place, they could not supply, by private contract, clothing for special regiments. During the course of the year 3,000 requisitions had been sent into the Factory for clothing, and 3,000,000 articles had been sent in for repair. It would be most difficult to enter into contracts for that work. On the whole, he would submit to the hon. Member that the decision come to by the late Secretary of State for War, who was

now Chancellor of the Exchequer, was a reasonable settlement of the case as between the trade and the Factory. The arrangement gave five-sevenths of the work to the Factory, and the remaining two-sevenths to the trade.

MR. RYLANDS said, he approached the subject not at all from any point of view as to what should be done for the trade in comparison with the arrangements made for the supply of clothing by the Factory. The real point was, which was most economical for the country? If they required a large number of articles for the Public Service, it would be false economy, and would lead to no great advantage to the country, if waste were permitted in the manufacture of stores on the one hand, or if articles were manufactured which could be supplied more cheaply by the trade itself. The point he wished to press on the Committee had been pressed 20 years ago by Mr. Cobden. Mr. Cobden urged upon the House of Commons that the increase of vast Government manufacturing establishments was a mistake. Mr. Cobden pointed out that the effect of the Government attempting to supply the articles it required by the creation of manufacturing establishments would necessarily lead to very much larger costs in connection with the articles supplied by the Government, and would be a great loss to the country. Mr. Cobden desired that the Government at that time should make a careful inquiry as to the cost of the different articles they were producing; and the Government did, in fact, lay upon the Table of the House certain Returns showing, as they alleged, the exact cost of the articles they manufacured. The noble Marquess who was now Secretary of State for War was Under Secretary of State for War at that time, and had to sign the Returns. Mr. Cobden alluded to the Returns as being very inaccurate and most misleading, and he remarked at the time, that the noble Marquess, whom he spoke of as the greatest manufacturing tailor in the country, had presented his account to the House in such a form as rendered it comparatively worthless. He admitted that since that time there had been an improvement in the book-keeping of the Government. He was quite prepared to admit that the Government now put as elements of cost charges which were formerly excluded. They now put down a charge for rent, and he believed one for the interest on the capital employed in the manufacture of different articles; indeed, on the whole, they pretty fairly brought under the notice of Parliament, as far as they could, the cost of the articles they produced. But even now he believed that a very careful investigation would show that there were many charges in the course of a year which tended to raise unduly the cost to the country of the goods it manufactured. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War challenged him earlier in the evening to show where the economies which he said could be made in these Estimates could be made. He maintained that during the 20 years which had elapsed since Mr. Cobden made speeches in which he warned the House of the great expenditure which was likely to be created in State manufacturing establishments, there had been a vast increase in this Vote. The actual increase was £174,900, but there had been no very great increase in the numbers of the Army; in fact, they were almost the same as they were when much lower Estimates were laid before the country. His (Mr. Ryland's) contention was, that instead of going upon the principle which successive Governments had adopted of gradually enlarging their manufacturing operations, they should adopt the policy of restricting such operations. He had a very strong impression that by purchasing in the open market a much larger proportion of their stores, the Government would effect a great saving. He said so, because it appeared to him that Governments were the worst manufacturers in the world. They had no chance of competing with private manufacturers. Every department of expenditure was subject to a greater or less degree of public pressure; they had their establishment charges, they had their clerks and superintendents, and in every direction there was a pressure put upon them to increase the salaries, and, in fact, to increase the numbers of those employed. Take the wages of the workpeople. Was it possible for a Government which was under the control, more or less, of a popular House of Commons, to keep down wages to a limit that ordinary manufacturers would? Nothing would induce him to believe for a moment that

the Government could manufacture articles as cheaply as a first-class manufacturer in the country. When the Government undertook the manufacture of goods, they engaged a certain number of men, and they must keep them always employed. Whether there was a demand or not for any particular articles, they still went on producing them. In warlike stores it frequently happened that improvements took place, and then the Government, as manufacturers, found themselves in possession of an enormous stock of articles at Woolwich which were obsolete in pattern, or which had been made useless in consequence of the improvements. If the Government went into the market, they would just buy the quantity they might require for the time being. Of course, they would keep a fair and reasonable stock in reserve; but they would not have the inducement to go on manufacturing articles in order to keep their men employed. This Session had not now long to last; therefore, it was impossible for him to suggest the adoption of an immediate change. But what he did suggest, and what he had suggested in former debates, was that the Manufacturing Department of the Government ought to be carefully investigated by a strong Committee of the House—not a Departmental Committee, but a Committee consisting of men conversant with business operations, and men fairly representing the judgment and experience of the House. He believed that the result of an inquiry into the cost of their large manufacturing establishments, and as to the relative cost of articles produced in the national manufactories, and those which could be obtained from private manufacturers, would be that a very considerable economy would be effected in this Vote, and that without any deficiency, either as regarded quality or quantity, of the stores supplied to the Army.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not propose to follow the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) over the wide field he had surveyed, because, although the hon. Gentleman did enter upon a great many topics, and cast a glance over the last 20 years, he concluded by saying he had no practical suggestion to submit to the Committee. Well, he (Mr. A. O'Connor) proposed to go upon a totally different line. He had a practical suggestion to submit to the Committee, and in discussing that suggestion the hon. Gentleman the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Brand) very ingeniously introduced a number of points which had nothing whatever to do with the nature of the suggestion. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brand) mentioned many things on which he (Mr. A. O'Connor) was not at all at issue with him, and which had nothing to do with the merits of the proposition he (Mr. A. O'Connor) put forward. It was perfectly true that they had a large Clothing Factory at Woolwich, and that into the estimated cost of whatever articles were manufactured at that establishment would have to be thrown a certain percentage for establishment charges. No one disputed that. Then, again, there were certain articles which were much better made at this Clothing Factory at Woolwich than they would be if put out to contract, because they were only required in comparatively small numbers, and they were of a special make. Of course, a contract for a limited supply of articles would not furnish that advantage which a large contract for a single article would afford. What he proposed was, that it was very much better on every account that the simple articles which must be got year after year, and sometimes twice a-year, such as serge trousers, should be put out to contract, instead of being made in Government establishments. The Surveyor General of the Ordnance said he considered the arrangement made by the late War Minister a fair settlement of the dispute between the trade and the Government establishments; but he (Mr. A. O'Connor) respectfully demurred to that way of putting the matter. It was not a question between the trade and the Government establishments; it was, as the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had said, a question of what was cheaper for the country. He (Mr. A. O'Connor) had shown plainly, from a Return furnished by the War Office itself, that it was more economical to get tunics and trousers, of which the Government wanted tens and hundreds of thousands every year, from private contractors than to get them from the Army Clothing Factory. Then, why in the name of common sense should these articles not be got from private contractors? He had in his hand a statement of the prices

for making up clothing which were tendered by the Auxiliary Forces Uniform and Equipment Company of London and Limerick on the 2nd of May, 1884. The prices related to such articles as frocks for the Cavalry, great coats and trousers for the Infantry, and also scarlet tunics. On the opposite side was a statement of the prices paid for making the same description of garments in the Government Factory; they did not include any establishment charges at all, but they were simply the prices paid in hard cash for the direct labour of cutting out and making up. And this was the result:—The contractors offered to make up Cavalry frocks for 2*s.* each, the Government paid 2*s.* 9*d.*; the contractors would make cotton and kharkee frocks for 1*s.* 8*d.*, the Government paid 2*s.*; tweed frocks for the Artillery the contractors would make up for 1*s.* 11*d.*, the Government paid in their own Factory 3*s.* 1*d.*; and so it was all through the list. The total tender for making up 167,000 garments was £10,258; whereas the Government paid in their own Clothing Factory for absolute labour in making up the same garments, £12,611. Then, according to the Army Manufacturing Return, there must be added to the £12,000 on account of direct labour, £1,500 for indirect expenditure, whatever that might be. The total, therefore, for work done at Pimlico was £14,124. On the other hand, there was to be allowed—and this was what the Pimlico Factory claimed against the private contractors—one halfpenny per garment for Government inspection when the clothing was made by private firms. Anyhow, there was a difference in favour of the trade in this particular tender of no less than £3,518. It seemed to him that the case was perfectly clear. There was no attempt to strain or exaggerate the position in any way. The figures were taken from Government documents, and on this one tender alone there was shown a saving of £3,518, and this irrespective of the establishment charges, which were very heavy. What he maintained was, that when they found so assured a saving by the system of issuing their material to contractors to be made up, they ought to extend the system, and get just as good an article at very much less cost. That was the only point he raised, and he did not at all wish to join issue with the Surveyor General of the Ordnance on all the other points he had introduced.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL said, he did not wish to prolong the discussion unduly; but he thought there were one or two things to be said on the question. He confessed there was a great deal to be said in favour of employing private contractors, and there was a great deal to be said in favour of having Government Establishments. His hon. Friend the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Brand) had told them that the whole matter in dispute amounted to about £2,000 a-year; that the clothing cost that amount more than it would if supplied privately. The Committee must look at the advantages which accrued from a Government Establishment. First of all, there was a great advantage in time of emergency, in time of war. At such a time the Government were able to lay down exactly what the price should be, so as to prevent anything like a combination of contractors against them. A combination of contractors invariably took place in times of emergency. The Committee would recollect the stories which were told in 1870 as to what France had to go through—she was simply at the mercy of the contractors. Again, there was another advantage accruing from a Government Establishment. They might always depend upon the quality of the manufactured articles, and that, perhaps, in warlike stores, was even more important than in clothing—in clothing, of course, it was of great importance. Then, again, there was the question of cleanliness of manufacture. They all knew that infectious diseases had been constantly conveyed by the articles made in private shops. The practice of letting articles out to be made privately prevailed to a certain extent now; but he had always felt that the practice should be minimized as much as possible, because of the frequent complaints that infection was traceable to certain goods supplied by clothing manufacturers. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had said that everything that was made at the Clothing Manufactory could be made as well and as cheaply privately. That, to a certain extent, might be true; but it certainly was not true in respect of all warlike stores at the Arsenal. There were certain things which must be manufactured by Government. They really

could not depend upon contractors to supply some goods of the same quality as Government could themselves manufacture them. He held, therefore, that the country did not pay an outrageous sum for the advantage of manufacturing its own goods. He was sure that his hon. Friend (Mr. Brand) would give the fullest information in the matter, so as to set at rest any difficulties and doubts which might arise in the minds of hon. Members. At that time of the Session he should deprecate, as he had deprecated over and over again, the appointment of a Committee, which probably would entail a great deal of labour, but result in nothing satisfactory. The matter had been inquired into, not only in the House of Commons, but outside, and it had formed the subject of debate over and over again during the last 20 or 30 years. He thought the hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. O'Connor) who brought forward this matter, and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), might be very well content with having drawn attention to the subject. He had no doubt that anything that could be done in the way of diminishing expense would be done. The late Government had great difficulties to encounter in reference to the Clothing Factory. It might be in the recollection of some hon. Members that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), in his capacity of a private Member of the House, called attention to the irregularities which went on at the Clothing Factory. A Committee was appointed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), consisting of the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert), the hon. Member for Abingdon (Mr. Clarke), and the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Barran), all business men, and two of them specially acquainted with the tailoring business. They went into the matter most carefully, and they found that the irregularities, and the starvation of the *employés* which was alleged, had no foundation whatever in fact—they said that if anything the *employés* were too well treated. As he had said before, this was a question which depended very much upon the fluctuation of trade. It was exceedingly difficult to lay down broadly that the *employés* were better paid or worse paid, because they had to provide for any emergencies. They might be perfectly certain that they could at all times depend upon good workmen, and that they were thoroughly comfortable, especially when it was possible to have the whole of the Government manufacture and its arrangement called in question, in consequence of some tale of hardship, or some story which might get about as to the way in which the factory *employés* were treated. He had entered into the question at a greater length than he intended, and he had only to say in conclusion that the Committee might rest assured that they got value for their money.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said, he did not quite gather from his hon. Friend the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Brand), when he replied to the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), whether the regiments at home, as well as those abroad, were to be supplied with kharkee, in the event of the experiment made with such clothing being successful, and also whether white helmets were to be supplied to all the troops. He should like also to know what the exact shade of the kharkee to be adopted was, because he understood there were several shades of kharkee. It would, perhaps, be in the recollection of the Committee that the Colour Committee recommended a dark grey for the service uniform of the Army. There was one other question connected with the Clothing Vote he wished to put to the Surveyor General of the Ordnance. It was whether it was still the practice in the Army to serve out to recruits the old clothing? As he had said on previous occasions, the practice was a very objectiouable one to recruits, and prevented many men enlisting. He was fully persuaded that if new clothing could be given to recruits, it would prove an inducement to men to enter the Army.

MR. BRAND said, the white helmet had been issued on trial to the regiments who had kharkee clothing. It had been suggested that if the kharkee clothing was successful, the white helmet should be issued to all the troops both at home and abroad, but no decision had been come to. It was hardly possible for him, at the present moment, to state the exact colour of the kharkee; but if the hon. and gallant Gentleman

(Sir Henry Fletcher) would call at the War Office, he would show him a garment made of the material. As to the ultimate decision with respect to kharkee clothing, he could only say that if, on their making their Reports, it was found that the commanding officers of the regiments who had kharkee on trial were satisfied with it, it was, no doubt, the intention of the Secretary of State for War to issue kharkee clothing for the undress uniform of the whole Army. There was no question of changing the colour of the uniform of the Army. The colour of the uniform of the Army was red, and it would remain so. The only suggestion was that the undress should be of a colour which was recommended by the Committee which had inquired into the subject. There was only one other question that his hon. Friend (Sir Henry Fletcher) had asked him, and that was with reference to the clothing of recruits. That question had engaged his (Mr. Brand's) attention for a long time, and he was happy to say that the Secretary of State for War had agreed to an arrangement which would, he believed, remove all the grievances in regard to the matter. He did not think he could be more precise in his statement, because there were some details which had still to be considered.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he did not think the answer of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Brand) was quite clear. The Committee would like to know very definitely whether it was intended to change the uniform of the Army? The hon. Gentleman had said that the undress uniform was to be of kharkee; he supposed the colour was a kind of brown. The question was whether the troops were to wear kharkee upon all occasions, because, if they were, the outcry in the country would be very great indeed; if the fighting dress was to be of kharkee, whether the troops were in Europe or not, the feeling of dissatisfaction would, he was persuaded, be universal. He hoped that, whatever else might be done, the old red colour would not be got rid of.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, he thought he had already explained that what was intended was that if the colour of the kharkee clothing was found satisfactory, kharkee would be issued as the undress uniform of the Army both at home and abroad.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, he was sorry to trouble his hon. Friend (Mr. Brand); but he would like to thoroughly understand whether the white helmet was to be worn with kharkee as the undress uniform?

Mr. BRAND said, he thought his statement was perfectly clear as to the white helmet. The white helmet had been issued to certain regiments, and it had been suggested—only suggested—that in case the Reports respecting kharkee were satisfactory, the white helmet should be issued instead of the present helmet to the regiments both at home and abroad.

Sir FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM said, he understood the full-dress was to remain red, and that the kharkee was to be adopted as an undress. He should like to know whether there was any advantage in the latter, and, if so, what advantage, because, for his own part, at present, he was unable to see any? In active operations, supposing a line of Infantry were sent to take a position a distance of 2,000 yards, they would be in skirmishing order. The enemy firing upon them would not be able to distinguish single men, but only the general line; therefore, there would be no advantage in a neutral colour over the red. Then, when the line got within point blank distance, say 300 or 400 yards, the line would be distinctly visible, and the enemy would fire at individual men, and it would not matter whether the colour was red, blue, or brown.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, the dust colour was tried as an experiment. There was a regiment stationed at Preston, and he had seen the men go about in black helmets with the kharkee. It did not seem to be at all an undress uniform. The men wore it with all their accoutrements. He should like to know whether it was intended to supply the Rifle regiments with this kharkee as well as the Line?

Mr. BRAND said, that question would be considered by the Military Authorities as soon as the Reports of the commanding officers to which the issue had been made were received.

Colonel STANLEY wished to know whether the question of the hon. and gallant Member behind him (Sir Frederick Fitz-Wygram) was to be answered? A great many people were interested in the matter,

MR. BRAND said, the main object of the change in the dress was to avoid the great danger which many military authorities considered attached to the wearing of red on active service, considering the arms of precision now used in warfare. It was intended that the new uniform, if generally adopted, should be the fighting dress of the British Army.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £1,262,500, Supply, Manufacture, and Repair of Warlike Stores.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he wished to draw attention to an official lecture delivered a short time ago, the general effect of which was that the whole of their present heavy artillery were to be completely out-built by some new pattern adopted from the French and German. It seemed there was to be a complete renewal of the heavy ordnance, which would necessitate a similar renewal of the projectiles and carriages. This country had been seven or eight years behind the times with heavy ordnance, owing to their perseverance with the muzzle-loading system; but at length they were going to give that up and follow the example of the French. The lecturer (Colonel Maitland), on the occasion to which he had referred, delivered a remarkably able address, and concluded that there were only two things necessary to give effect to the change—one being time, and the other money. The time was fixed at three years—that was to say, it was stated that by that time they would have a sufficient number of these new powerful breech-loading guns. It was to be hoped they would have no necessity for the use of heavy ordnance before that period, for, should they be in a great war before the end of three years, they would find themselves completely unfit to carry it on. Of course, at the end of one year they might have a large number; but, in the event of an emergency, they would have reason to regret being so much behind the times. Then, besides time, they required money to carry out the change, and that was dwelt upon by the lecturer. Seeing that the Secretary of State for War was present, he had looked forward with curiosity to see what would be his expression of opinion at the conclusion of the lecture; but the noble Marquess had left without expressing any opinion, and, with admirable strategy, had carried off his Financial Secretary and the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, declaring that they were wanted at the War Office. In another matter, also, the noble Marquess had shown his wisdom. He had put in the Chair the late First Lord of the Admiralty, who took great interest in guns, but at present was unable to speak with any authority on financial questions, being in Opposition. He (Colonel Nolan) would like to ask whether the Vote included the arrangements which were to be made in changing the character of the heavy ordnance during the ensuing year? He should also like to know whether there had been an Estimate prepared of the total cost to the country of carrying out the change? The Vote was a very large one; but it would have to be much larger if the statement in the lecture were to be acted upon. For the Land and Sea Services something like 40,000 or 50,000 tons of guns would have to be constructed, and would cost about £2,500,000. Speaking roughly, another £2,000,000 would be required for gun-carriages and projectiles. A great many of the existing gun-carriages could be turned to account, no doubt; but it would be necessary to construct a great many new ones. No figures were given at the lecture as to the expense which the change would entail; and although appreciating the difficult position the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War was placed in, he (Colonel Nolan) was very sorry that no Estimate had been submitted. He should like to be informed now whether there would be anything asked for this year, or in future years, in addition to the ordinary Vote for renewing the heavy ordnance? He should not have put these questions in consequence of statements made in a lecture had it not been that this was of a different character to ordinary lectures. It was virtually an official lecture given by the Government. The technical statements in it were beautifully arranged and very clear, and the lecture received the applause of everyone. It was evident, from Colonel Maitland's remarks, that the change in the Artillery Department would have to be very great; and, for this reason, he (Colonel Nolan) did not think it would be beneath the dignity of the Secretary of State for War to make some little statement that night as to what expense

such a complete change as that proposed would render necessary. He (Colonel Nolan) had often spoken on this question in the House, though without much effect; but he must say the conclusions arrived at by the lecturer were important and so wise that a Minister could adopt no other course than give effect to them. As he had said, a great deal of expense had now to be incurred owing to the representations which had been, years ago, made to the Government as to the superiority of breech-loading guns not having been entertained.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL believed he could tell the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Nolan) how it was that in this country, in connection with heavy ordnance, the muzzle-loading system had not been changed for the breech-loading for so long a period. The muzzle-loader had been considered superior until great improvements in the manufacture of powder had altered the conditions, and rendered it necessary to adopt an altogether new kind of gun; and it was as to the manufacture of that powder that he should like to know a little more. He believed there had been a great improvement in pebble powder, and he should be glad to know from the Surveyor General of the Ordnance (Mr. Brand) whether there was a good supply in store of the new description? Of course, he did not expect the hon. Member to state the exact amount of that or any other powder in the Government Stores, if he thought it unwise to do so; but he should like him to state whether there was the full supply of M. G. powder in hand, so that they might know that, if emergency arose, there was sufficient in store for all purposes. The Vote was only very little larger than that of last year. The £114,000 increase would not go far towards the £2,500,000 of expenditure which the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Nolan) declared to be necessary on heavy guns alone, to say nothing about projectiles and gun-carriages. It was clear that such an enormously-increased charge could not be defrayed out of the ordinary Estimates, and they all foresaw, as the Opposition did when they left Office, that a charge of this kind would have to be provided for sooner or later. Whether the expenditure would be met by voting a lump sum, or by voting a sum annually, would, of course, have to be decided by the Executive authorities. As to the statement which had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member, that this country had unduly delayed changing from muzzle-loading to breech-loading heavy ordnance, he could only repeat that the change had been rendered desirable by recent improvements in pebble powder. With regard to magazine rifles, he had asked a Question before, and should like to repeat it. Experiments with magazine rifles had been going on for three or four years, and a great many people were interested in the result. Had any result been arrived at, or had there been necessary and unavoidable delay in the investigations of the Committee? Of course, it was not known to him whether or not they had reported; but if they had, would the Government announce the fact; and would they submit, at a convenient season, that and any other Report or information they might have on the subject? If the adoption of the magazine rifle was approved—and he hoped it would be shortly—it would, no doubt, involve a great expenditure of money. Presumably, the matter was one which the Secretary of State for War had before him. Then there was a question as to rifle bullets, which appeared to be an important one. He understood that the weight of the bullets had lately been reduced by a quarter or one-fifth. No doubt, such reduction had the advantage of enabling the men to carry more cartridges, and of lessening the amount of transport that was necessary in the field; but, to his mind, it had one disadvantage, which he would point out—and if he was in error, he should be glad to be corrected. One of the great advantages of the heavy bullet in former days had been its power of stopping a charge of Cavalry. If the weight was decreased, there would always be a danger of its being inefficient to check Cavalry charges. How did this matter stand? Then they heard a great deal about the manufacture of bayonets. It was alleged that lately bayonets had not been quite up to the proper strength and quality. The Surveyor General of Ordnance had said he would inquire into the matter—that, in fact, it was being inquired into—and that he expected soon to have a Report upon it. It was to be hoped the hon. Gentleman would give them some information on the point—that he would be able to say he had re-

ceived the Report, and found from it that the bayonets were now quite as good as they were before the recent unfortunate incidents that took place in the Soudan. He should like, too, to know what was to be done in regard to Strensall Common? There was a Bill before the House dealing with it, and he knew it would be more proper to discuss the details in dealing with that measure; but he was very anxious to know whether there was to be anything in the nature of a further decentralization of stores—whether there was to be another central arsenal; and, if so, whether it was to be at Strensall Common or anywhere else? There was one point in which he quite sympathized with the Surveyor General. He had seen throughout that this Vote stood very little chance of being diminished. Even the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who was not now in his place, would find it extremely difficult to suggest where reduction could be effected without neglecting those requirements which were increasing every year in consequence of improvements which took place in manufactures.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that before he answered the noble Lord (Lord Eustace Cecil), he would say a word or two by way of reply to the observations of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway County (Colonel Nolan). With regard to the lecture of Colonel Maitland at the United Service Institution, though a considerable number of official persons were present, it was not an official explanation in any sense of the word, certainly not in the ordinary sense. Colonel Maitland had asked whether there would be any objection to his giving a lecture on the position of the Artillery question; and it was thought desirable that one so well qualified, and who was not likely to state anything to the disadvantage of this country, or to the advantage of other countries, should give such a lecture. The lecture, however, was not a declaration of the opinions of anyone but Colonel Maitland himself. He (the Marquess of Hartington) had not seen the lecture previously, nor did he know until he heard it what it contained. No doubt, there was something alarming in the prospect the lecturer had opened out. The hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Nolan) wished to know what steps Her Majesty's Government proposed to take to bring about the change from muzzle-loading to breech-loading in regard to heavy artillery. Well, it was not intended to undertake any general re-armament, either of the Navy or of the Army, in the sense in which re-armament was generally understood. What it was proposed to do was to provide for the Navy, as well as they were able, guns of the pattern described by Colonel Maitland. If the resources of the country permitted it, it might be desirable to replace some of the muzzle-loading guns in the ships by guns of newer construction; but there was no intention of throwing aside the guns of large size and great power which had been constructed during the past seven or eight years. What had been practically decided on was that the guns of the future used on board Her Majesty's ships, and for their coast defences, should be of the new pattern described by Colonel Maitland. It was not considered desirable to proceed too rapidly in the matter of re-armament, throwing aside their old guns. What the Government were doing, and what, he thought, they were bound to do, was this—they were adopting for present manufacture, for the supply of their wants as they arose, the newest and best type of gun it was possible to get.

COLONEL STANLEY said, there was a question he desired to ask the Surveyor General of the Ordnance when he got up to answer hon. Members on points of detail, and it was this—How far within the limits of this Vote was the War Office able, as a Manufacturing Department, to comply with the demands of the Navy? Because that was by no means the least important side of the question. As the noble Marquess said, with perfect truth, a great many guns in the Service, though they would be superseded by guns of a newer type, were by no means obsolete, and would, no doubt, prove very efficient for land defences. The custom at the War Office had always been to allow the Navy the first call on the best guns. Very wisely, the best guns were manufactured for the Navy first, and that, of course, entailed a great deal of correspondence between the two Departments; and it was difficult, no doubt, to adjust the manufacturing capabilities of one Service to the requirements of the other. But what

he wanted clearly to understand from the hon. Gentleman the Surveyor General of the Ordnance was whether he was able to keep pace, so to speak, with the demands of the Navy fornew guns? As he (Colonel Stanley) understood it, a certain class of ships were laid down to carry these new guns. In the year 1879 or 1880, it was his duty to explain that under the progressive powder a larger gun was used, and that, therefore, in order to comply with the necessary conditions of shipbuilding, breech-loading guns had to be manufactured. No doubt, ships had been designed and laid down to carry the new kind of gun. However, what he wished to know was this—was the War Office keeping pace with the demands of the Navy, or were the ships waiting for armaments which the War Office from some cause or other, whatever it might be, were unable to supply? The country was very anxious on this point, and he, therefore, trusted the Surveyor General of the Ordnance would favour him with some information in regard to it.

MR. TOMLINSON desired to bring a matter before the attention of the Surveyor General of the Ordnance with regard, not to the heaviest guns, but some of the lighter steel-lined guns. He understood that these guns which the local Artillery practised with did not shoot true. There was a battery at Southport consisting of eight guns, only two of which could be made to shoot with accuracy. Had the Government had any other complaints as to these old steel-lined guns? He assumed the Committee would hear something about the bayonets; and with reference to the manufacture of sword blades, he should like to know whether the statements which had appeared in the papers were true? The sword blades were said to be as bad as the bayonets; and it was stated that most of the blades used by the Cavalry were manufactured in Germany. Was that correct? If it was, it showed a very unsatisfactory state of things. Surely they ought to be able to manufacture all their warlike stores at home. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, in moving the Estimates, said it was impossible to procure in this country masses of steel large enough to forge their heavy guns. That seemed to him a most lamentable state of things. Had the Government taken, or did they intend to take, measures to enable them to procure these masses of steel at home? If they did not, and an emergency arose, most lamentable results might take place. With regard to the Martini-Henry rifle, could the Surveyor General of the Ordnance give any more definite promise than had been given hitherto as to when it would be issued to the Volunteers?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to draw attention to the item of "Produce of sales of Old Stores at Woolwich." What he wanted to know was, whether the result of the investigation now being made at Woolwich was such that a very large quantity of stores had been discovered which were only fit to be broken up and sold as old materials; and whether there would not be a very large deficiency next year on that account?

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, his recollection was that last year the suggestion was made that this Vote might be decreased; but that was said to be an impossibility. He saw, however, that it had been decreased by £114,500, and he was led by that circumstance to ask the question whether any provision had been made for arming the Horse Artillery and Field Batteries with the new breech-loading gun? A great deal had appeared in the newspapers about the new gun, which was considered to be something very superior to anything they had ever before possessed—that was to say, superior to the present muzzle-loading gun; and, therefore, he would like his hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Brand) to state to the Committee what steps had been taken to furnish this new gun to the Horse Artillery and Field Batteries, and when they were likely to be so furnished.

MR. BRAND said, the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was not quite correct in supposing that there had been a decrease of £114,500 in this Vote as compared with last year's Estimate. He would point out to his hon. and gallant Friend that the Estimate for the year 1883-4 included a considerable number of supplementary items, which, however, being taken into account, left a clear decrease on this year's Vote of about £7,000. In reply to his hon. and gallant Friend's inquiry as

to the supply of new breech-loading guns to the Horse Artillery and Field Batteries, and the date at which they would be furnished, he might say that three batteries of 12-pounder breech-loading guns had been issued for further trial to the Royal Artillery, and that when the Reports of those trials were presented, and in the event of their showing that the guns were a success, he had no doubt that a larger issue would be made. He was extremely glad that his hon. and gallant Friend had asked him a question with reference to the supply of guns to the Navy, because it afforded him an opportunity of replying to statements which were frequently made on that subject. The matter was one to which he had given a considerable amount of attention, owing to the attacks which had been directed against the Ordnance Department; and he was able to say that he did not believe there was a single case of one of Her Majesty's ships waiting a day for her armament. As a matter of fact, the contrary was the case—the guns were waiting for the ships. The manufacture of the guns was, he believed, on the whole, proceeding satisfactorily; the value estimated in last year's accounts having been very little more than that produced in the case of guns of large calibre, while in the case of guns of small calibre the quantity produced actually exceeded the estimate. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) had asked him a question with reference to the large steel breech-loading guns. There had been great difficulties in connection with the manufacture of these guns—difficulties due in a great measure to the transitions, mentioned by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War in the beginning of the year, from muzzle-loading to breech-loading, and from wrought iron to steel. First, there had been a temporary difficulty in obtaining steel from the English steel manufacturers upon the required conditions; secondly, there had been the difficulty of applying the breech-loading system to these heavy guns; and, thirdly, there had been the almost insane rivalry amongst nations which had led to the use of enormously heavy charges, with comparatively light guns to bear them. With regard to the test laid down by the Ordnance Committee, two officers were sent from this country to visit the steel works abroad. When they returned and reported, the Ordnance Department was instructed from the War Office to take evidence on this point from amongst the manufacturers at Sheffield, the result being that the test was found not to be more severe than the French test, although it differed in respect of some details which it was very difficult to meet. He might say that the Sheffield manufacturers were now turning out this large ordnance satisfactorily. With reference to the second difficulty, it was hardly necessary to point out to the Committee that the application of the breech-loading principle to these heavy guns resulted in there being less strength at the point where the greatest strength was wanted. For this, therefore, compensation had to be found in mechanical appliances. Under the circumstances, then, he considered that the country had gained an advantage by the delay which had taken place; and the Government believed that the mechanism of the guns turned out at the present time was safer and more rapid in its action than any which had been adopted abroad; a conclusion justified by experiments which had recently taken place. Several questions had been put to him by the noble Lord the Member for West Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil) which he would now endeavour to answer. With reference to the quantity of gunpowder in hand, he was able to say that the stores of that article were in a satisfactory condition at the present time, the manufacture having been, during both this and last year, unusually large. The Committee appointed some time ago, although it had been sitting a good while, had not, up to the present time, presented any Report in favour of a magazine rifle. Then, with regard to the noble Lord's question as to the quality of the bayonets used in the Soudan, he would point out that the question was a technical one; although he might say that the result of all the inquiries he had made into the matter was to cause him to believe that the quality of the steel was good. The bayonets in question had been manufactured by persons who had supplied bayonets to the Department for many years—George & Sons, and Harrison & Co., both firms of high repute; and in addition to the fact that the price paid was sufficient to procure metal of a superior quality, the tests to which the

bayonets were submitted were most searching and severe. He had no doubt that a number of exaggerated reports of the kind alluded to by the noble Lord had been circulated; but he must repeat his belief that no complaint could be sustained against the quality of the bayonets. There was no idea of establishing an arsenal at Strensall; but, no doubt it was the intention of forming a depôt there for equipment purposes; and he thought it desirable on the ground that at Woolwich more room would be available for stores than was at present the case. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) had referred to the item which appeared under the head of "Sale of Old Stores at Woolwich." No doubt there was a considerable quantity of old stores at Woolwich which had been sold, and credit was given in the Estimate for a large quantity sold this year. But there was nothing enormous in the quantity sold at the present time; and he would point out to the Committee that year by year there was always a certain amount of stores which became obsolete. No doubt there was just now a slight increase on the quantity of old stores which generally existed in the Arsenal. Finally, in reply to the inquiry of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson), he might say that the question as to the new rifle was at that moment before the Secretary of State for War, and he had no doubt that before long a decision would be taken as to whether the new rifle was to be issued to the Army or not. As soon as that question was decided he should be in a position to make a statement as to the issue of the Martini-Henry to Volunteers. Having replied, satisfactorily he hoped, to all the questions put to him, he trusted the Committee would allow the Vote to be taken.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £740,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge for the Superintending Establishment of, and Expenditure for, Works, Buildings, and Repairs, at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON rose to make a statement with regard to the Report of the Commission on the defence of British Possessions and Commerce abroad, and also on the defence of Commercial Harbours in Great Britain and Ireland. The first action taken on the Report in connection with the first subject was to refer that Report to the examination in detail of the Adviser of the State in these matters—namely, the Inspector General of Fortifications; and although the Report was generally concurred in, the recommendations of the Commission were considerably modified in detail, and he was glad to say that a very considerable reduction of the amount proposed to be expended on fortifications was recommended. The Report having been under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, they had given a general approval of the scheme as modified by the Inspector General of Fortifications. The principal stations dealt with in the Report were Aden, Trincomalee, Colombo, Singapore, Hong Kong, Simon's Bay, and Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope, and Port Louis, Mauritius. The first step which had been taken was to confer with the Government of India as to the fortification of Aden. It had been decided by the Home and by the Indian Government that the works there were to be undertaken at the joint expense of the Indian and English Governments. The proposal to that effect had been made to the Government of India, and agreed to by them, and the sanction of Parliament would accordingly be asked for the fortification of Aden. The next stations in order of importance where work was to be done with as little delay as possible were stated to be Singapore and Hong Kong, with regard to which it appeared to the Government reasonable that the expense should be borne either wholly or in part by the Colonies themselves—that was to say, that the Home Government should not be called upon to contribute more than the armament, the works agreed upon being paid for by the Colonies. That view had accordingly been communicated to the Colonies in question. With regard to the stations at the Cape of Good Hope, it was thought by Her Majesty's Government that the cost of making Simon's Bay a secure shelter for ships of war, was an Imperial concern, while they considered that the Colony should be invited to undertake the fortification of Table Bay. Therefore, as regarded the Cape and the other stations to which he had referred, the first step had been

taken, and what other steps were taken would depend upon the willingness expressed by the Colonial Governments to contribute to the work to be done. With regard to the commercial harbours, a similar course had been pursued. The plans proposed with regard to these had been considerably modified; they had been modified as much as possible in respect of the expense, and also by the experience which had been gained by the development of engineering science. The question whether the whole or part of the expenditure on the great commercial harbours of the country ought to be borne by the State, or whether they should be contributed to by the localities themselves, was, as he had said, a novel and difficult one. The latter was certainly a new principle, for the harbours on the coasts of the country had hitherto been considered as of more than local importance, and their defence had also been considered as a national duty. In addition to that, there were matters of a rather more detailed character involved. The works having to be necessarily under the superintendence of the Military Authorities, the Local Authorities would have very little control over the expenditure to which they were called upon to contribute. On the other hand, it was impossible, with any reasonable expenditure which the country was likely to assent to, for the Government to undertake the defence of all the harbours and commercial ports in the Kingdom. The Committee would be aware that the trade of the country had of late years shown that, if left perfectly free and unbiassed by any action of the Government, the tendency was continuously in the direction of the development of new outlets and the improvement of natural advantages, one of the consequences of this being that new harbours were constantly being built on their coasts. The question would arise whether it would be just to the whole community, and especially whether it would be just to the minor harbours on the Coast, to give to their more powerful rivals the great additional advantage which would be conferred upon them by fortifying them against attack. That was a question which would have to be studied with considerable attention and care, and upon its solution would depend to a great extent the possibility of adopting the proposals of the Commission. Its solution would also exercise considerable influence upon the time within which the recommendations of the Commission could be carried out. The question was not one for immediate decision, but it would have to be looked at by the House in all its bearings. No doubt, if a disposition were shown by the commercial populations mostly interested in this matter to come forward and assist the public taxpayer in making their harbours secure, or more secure, from attack in time of war, it would greatly facilitate the execution of the work.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he was very glad that the noble Marquess had so far forestalled his Notice as to state that the Government had undertaken, better late than never, to deal with this great subject. It was a great subject, undoubtedly, and one which had, no doubt, occupied the attention of the previous Governments, but which, owing to various circumstances, principally the want of funds, had not been dealt with as it ought to have been many years ago. Complaints had arisen from time to time in connection with the state of harbour defences at home and abroad, and he was not surprised at it; and if, now, without entering very largely into the question, he were merely to shadow forth his views upon this subject, which he certainly hoped the Commission and Members of that House had thoroughly considered, he trusted he should not be looked upon as trespassing on the time of the Committee. In the first place, he thought it a most unfortunate thing that publicity could not be given to the Report of the Commission. Although he saw how important it was that everything done by the Executive should not be made public abroad, he thought it was to be regretted that publicity had not been given in this case. It was his opinion, in reference to such matters, that unless publicity was given in some form or shape, looking at the many questions that had to be dealt with, attention was not sufficiently excited in that House with regard to any subject, however important it might be. And he held this subject to be very important. Under the circumstances described the thing was lost sight of, or perhaps only taken up in a half-hearted way, and that, too, after a considerable lapse of time. The noble Marquess said that

the question was exceedingly difficult and exceedingly complex, and he told the Committee, with regard to the operations recommended, that the question whether the Imperial Government or the localities were to bear the expenditure was one which required solution before any active steps could be taken. He understood the noble Marquess, however, to say that active steps were being taken of a certain character; but they were only partial as far as the Colonies were concerned, and very little or nothing had been done. He was fortified in that opinion by the statement of the late Inspector General of Fortifications, Sir Lintorn Simmons, at the United Service Institution not long ago, when this question was under consideration. He (Lord Eustace Cecil) was anxious, whatever statement had fallen from the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War that evening, that the public should not suppose that little or nothing was intended to be done. He hoped that what the noble Marquess had stated meant that the Government were really going to take up the question in earnest. Everyone knew that it would occasion the expenditure of a very large sume of money; but still it was a question which ought to be grappled with; and when the Committee considered how very important were the points involved—their population and their immense commercial interests—they would see at once that the question of the defence of their harbours in time of war, by suitable fortifications, was second to none. In the discussion on the state of the Army that evening, the noble Marquess told them that, in the event of invasion, they had a considerable Force to rely upon besides the Volunteers. He had seen it calculated, and had had it before him in figures, that after providing for all the fortifications and garrisons of the country, apart from the Volunteers, the country could not muster a greater Force than 15,000 to take the field at home. Then, if he looked at the Navy, they had it, no doubt, in evidence that the Navy was superior to that of any one Power in the world; but he had figures to show that that superiority, when the English Navy was contrasted with the French Navy, might be taken as in the proportion of seven to five only. Of course, it was perfectly clear that if any other Naval Power were to join with the French, our Navy would have more than sufficient to occupy them in looking after their commercial interests and defending their Colonies abroad. That being so, what were the Government doing at the present time? Now, the noble Marquess had not gone in great detail into the number of the harbours. Looking, first of all, abroad, he found that the noble Marquess dealt simply with the Indian Stations; he said something was going to be done at Aden, something at Trincomalee, something at Port Louis, Mauritius, and also that Simon's Bay, Table Bay, and Cape of Good Hope were to be looked after, it being proposed that a portion of the money required for the purpose of fortifying them should be found by the Cape Government.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I said that the Indian Government and the Imperial Government had both undertaken the defence of Aden; that the Colonies would be communicated with; that it would be inquired how far they would be willing to contribute to the defence of Singapore and Hong Kong; that inquiry had been made of the Cape Government with regard to Table Bay, and that the Imperial Government undertook the defence of Simon's Bay.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked pardon of the noble Marquess; but his point was, that there were a great many other places to be looked after and defended besides those which had been named. For instance, nothing had been said about the North and South American Stations, or the Falkland Islands, which were very important as coaling stations; nor had anything been said with regard to the defence of Melbourne or Sydney, or of Cooper's Island in the Pacific. He would like to know what was the Report of the Commission with regard to these places? Looking at the great size of the Empire and the large expense which would be incurred in these operations, the subject, of course, was by no means a small one; nevertheless, he hoped it would be faced as soon as possible. But however important the defence of the stations abroad might be, he thought the importance of their Home defences was even greater, because it was perfectly clear—and he was not an alarmist as to the question of invasion—that a piratical expedition might take

place at any time during a European War, which would cause such an amount of damage to be done as would take, perhaps, years to repair. At all events, some of their most important harbours might be placed under contribution, an event which would be extremely disagreeable. He did not think that hon. Members were sufficiently alive to these considerations, and that they hardly knew how little had been done in this matter. They knew that the military ports—for so he might call them—of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Pembroke, Sheerness, and Chatham were in a very fair state of defence; but when they came to what he might properly call their commercial harbours, they found that almost all of them were in a very poor state of defence. Of course, were they in possession of any certain information, such as that which he understood had been reported upon by a Departmental Committee, they would be more able to judge correctly than they were at the present moment. But when he mentioned London, Liverpool, Hull, Glasgow, Southampton, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Bristol, Swansea, Belfast, Sunderland, Folkestone, Newhaven, Yarmouth, Littlehampton, Galway, and other places, the Committee would see at once what an enormous list there was of ports practically undefended. Let the Committee consider for one moment the South and West Coasts of England. The South Coast of the country was comparatively well provided with defences undoubtedly; but on the West Coast there was nothing of the sort. What the defences of Liverpool were he was not prepared to say; he believed that something had been done, although not very much. Then again with regard to the East Coast, which was, perhaps, the most vulnerable of all, they knew there was not on that Coast a harbour accessible between Dover and the Firth of Forth—a distance of 560 miles—except Harwich, which was not accessible in all weathers. He asked if it was right that the country should remain in the position described with regard to Coast defences, considering the powerful neighbours they had at that moment. When they considered that they had had and were passing through a very complicated state of foreign affairs, and supposed for a moment the country at war with Germany, France, or another of the Great Powers of Europe, and that there was a rising in Ireland, he believed they would perceive that the consequences which might follow from a piratical expedition would be very serious. Again, the question was one which certainly ought not to have been brought on at a time when the House was very empty; because he would have been very glad to learn what were the views of hon. Members who represented the many places he had named on the seaboard of the United Kingdom. He was not without hope, however, that the invitation which had been that evening extended to them by the noble Marquess would produce some expression of their opinions upon this most important matter; but of this he was quite certain—whether it was a question of Imperial fortification or a question of local fortification, it was equally impossible to exaggerate the importance of the subject. He would be the last person to ask the Government—or, indeed, any Government—to come down with a full and complete plan; but he did think that when this Commission, which had sat for four years, had reported, not a moment ought to be lost by the Government in maturing their plans; at all events, they might give the House a somewhat more detailed sketch of what they proposed to do, and the manner in which they proposed to find the money necessary for these works. He would impress upon the noble Marquess and upon the Government that this question, however insignificant it might now appear, would some day have an importance which would certainly throw an enormous amount of responsibility upon past and present Governments if it were found in time of emergency, in time of war and danger, that in consequence of the delay, want of action, and want of energy on the part of the Government, the country was totally unprotected against the attacks of any enemy who thought proper to put its ports and harbours under contribution on account of the inadequate state of their defences. He had now only to apologize to the Committee for bringing forward this question in an almost empty House; but he had no alternative. That, however, did not take away anything from the importance of the subject; and, whatever they might think, he hoped he had succeeded in calling the attention of the Representatives of the

ports and harbours of the Kingdom to the great question of their defence.

MR. C. M. PALMER said, the question of the defence of their commercial harbours was one of the utmost importance; and as the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had invited an expression of opinion from those Members whose constituencies were on the seaboard, he (Mr. Palmer) ventured to express the opinions he held upon the question. The question was one to which for some time past he had paid great attention, from the position he held of having the honour to command an Engineer Volunteer Corps something like 1,300 strong; and he felt that if Volunteers were really to be utilized for the defence of our shores they ought certainly to be the Engineers Corps. He made overtures to the late Government in the hope of inducing them to utilize the Engineer Volunteers for our harbour defences; but the overtures fell through in consequence of Volunteers not being permitted to receive pay more than the capitation grant. Latterly he had followed the question up, and he believed that the example he had set was about to be followed by the commanders of other Engineer Volunteer Corps throughout our harbours, as he understood that similar steps to his were being taken on the part of the Engineer Volunteer Corps on the Clyde, Mersey, and at other places, so that the question was becoming one of national importance, more especially as the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had said that he contemplated the possibility of the localities contributing something towards the cost of the harbour defences. He (Mr. Palmer) had taken upon himself the cost of experimenting his men in sub-marine mining, and in sending companies of the corps in order that they might be associated with, and go through the drill upon, sub-marine mining with the Royal Engineers. He had lately sent two officers to Chatham to pass and obtain certificates in sub-marine mining. He had such a belief in the intelligence, *physique*, and general knowledge as practical artizans of the Engineer Volunteers that he felt that if the Government would only encourage the different corps which existed in the country, their harbour defences could be safely left in their hands, particularly if they were occasionally brought in contact and drilled with the Royal Engineers. There were two courses open to the Government—namely, to increase very considerably the number of Royal Engineers, and construct large fortifications around their Coast; or else to encourage, by an increased capitation grant, the Engineer Volunteers. Personally, he thought that the most economical, as well as the most efficient, plan would be to utilize the men who were on the spot, and who were competent to perform the duties of defence. He had ventured to make these observations in the hope that the authorities would be able to see their way to offer additional inducements to very efficient and deserving Engineer Volunteer Corps.

COLONEL STANLEY: Of course, it would not be fair to criticize too closely the statement which the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) has made upon these two very important questions of natural defence; but, otherwise, I am bound to say that, if I understood him rightly—and I hope I did not—the conclusions at which he seems to have arrived are very extraordinary. The Commission to which reference has been made has been sitting for some years considering the defence of the Colonial ports; and at home a Committee has inquired into the defences of the mercantile ports. Now, taking the Colonial ports first, what, clearly, seems to be the outcome of all the investigation is, as the noble Marquess says, that the recommendations of the Committee have been very materially modified by competent authorities, no doubt the Inspector General of Fortifications and the Inspector General of Artillery. The result, however, appears to be this—that something is to be done at Aden, and that the Government admit their responsibility for Simon's Bay; but, as regards other places, the magnificent offer the Government make to the Colonies is that if they wished to be defended, they must, in great measure, pay the expenses of the fortifications themselves, and, perhaps, the Imperial Government will be prepared to arm themselves. I do not know that I have repeated the noble Marquess's words; but that is the inference I draw from them. What I hope the noble Marquess will by no means lose sight of is the necessity of giving prominence to the fortifications

of Simon's Bay. What we want is to have coaling stations so distributed throughout the world that our ships may keep the sea in time of war, in constant readiness, and within reach of depôts where they can recoal and refit; the object is to preserve great naval coaling stations at the principal and convenient points of the world. I do not think I am mistaken in saying that in the opinion of the most competent authorities—all things considered, one of the most important stations, if not the most important station, in the world, is Simon's Bay, or, as it is commonly called, the Cape. I do not want to go into any vexed questions; but, assuming for the moment that negotiations such as we have heard of lately take place, and assuming that our present road to India through the Canal is to be considered as of secondary importance, it stands to reason that you must coal at the Cape of Good Hope, which will then assume even greater importance than it does at present. In other words, if in time of war, whether due to diplomatic reasons or to the events of the moment, the command of the Canal is taken from you, you will have to fall back upon a long sea passage. I know there are many persons in this House who think that before long the improvements in steam navigation will make it a matter of great indifference whether we go round by the Cape or through the Canal. As, however, I have no desire to enter into extraneous subjects, I will pass that by. What I want to do is to show that from whatever point of view you approach the question, the Cape is one of the most important coaling stations we can possibly have. There are places of scarcely minor importance, such as Singapore and Hong Kong; and what I hope we shall be clearly told by the Government is what they intend to do. Are they going to say to the Colonies—"If you like to make these fortifications we will arm them, or we will bear half the expense; or if you will, by local effort, man them, we will build them for you." These are three direct propositions to which I think we ought to have an answer. So far as regards the leading considerations concerning the Colonial defences. Now, as to the question of the Home ports. I must say that something fell on that subject from the noble Marquess, which I think was almost as extraordinary as any statement we have heard. Are the fortifications which it may be necessary to build for the protection of Liverpool, or Newcastle, or Hull, to be taken off the Imperial charge and thrown on the different localities? Liverpool, for instance, must, under any circumstances, be the port, in a certain sense, for Manchester, and other inland towns; yet if any works for its defence are necessary, is the charge to be thrown upon Liverpool itself? Such a proposition is entirely new, so far as questions of natural defence are concerned; and I can only hope I have misinterpreted the expressions which fell from the noble Marquess on the subject. Does the noble Marquess mean that the defences are to be provided out of national money, and are the forts of which he spoke to be manned by local Volunteers? I think we want a little more information than we have got on this point. I do not say that the noble Marquess could at present have given us more information; but, at the same time, he has just told us enough to make us a little anxious about the principle which may, perhaps, be involved. We must all have listened with pleasure to the observations of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. C. M. Palmer). The hon. Gentleman is very well qualified in every respect to speak upon these questions; he has contributed both in time and in money very much to the efficiency of a very fine corps which he commands. I think it is great evidence of the hon. Gentleman's public spirit that he should have taken upon himself the burden of experiments such as those he has in general terms referred to. I believe that what he sketched out is entirely in the right direction, because local Volunteer corps, in which many excellent artizans find a place, are the best bodies to deal with local defence. Probably there will be in such corps a class of men better qualified both scientifically and practically to deal with sub-marine questions than even the engineers themselves. But what we want to know on this point is, first of all, how far the incidence of these fortifications is to rest with the Colonies, and, at home, how much is to be left to local effort? I hope the noble Marquess will be able to give us further information on this point. I must say that the subject comes upon us with rather

startling effect; and, therefore, I trust we shall receive more definite information.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I think I have some right to feel somewhat surprised at the tone which has been adopted by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Stanley) and the noble Lord the Member for West Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil) on this subject. Surely the subject of the defence of our coaling stations and Colonial Possessions, and of our commercial harbours at home, is one which can be discussed quietly and dispassionately. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman and the noble Lord seem to think that the importance of the subject was a discovery of their own. It is rather strange that when the late Government were not very energetic themselves, some of its Members should accuse us of apathy in reference to the military defences of the Empire.

COLONEL STANLEY: I did not accuse the Government of apathy.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The tone of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman's speech in itself attributed apathy to Her Majesty's present Advisers.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: I never used the word.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I know right hon. Gentlemen opposite did take steps during their tenure of Office to appoint a Commission to report on the state of the defences of the Colonial coaling stations, and of our Colonial Possessions. It is an extremely easy step to take to appoint a Commission, the labours of which we may hope to extend over a number of years, but it is not an easy task to deal with the recommendations of that Commission when they are received. And even when you have made up your mind what you would like to do with the Report, it is a still more difficult task to ascertain exactly from what quarter the funds are to be provided with which to carry the recommendations into effect. I have stated in what manner the Government propose to deal with the Report of the Royal Commission on Colonial Defences. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Stanley) stated that great importance—and I entirely agree with him—ought to be attached to the defences of the Cape of Good Hope. Well, Sir, the proposal which I have said has been made to the Colonial Government is, that the Imperial Government should undertake the defences of Simon's Bay if the Colonial Government were inclined to take the necessary measures for the defences of Table Bay, which, I understand, is more important as a commercial than as a naval station. That appears to me to be not an unfair proposition. Then as to Singapore and Hong Kong. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman expressed some surprise that all we have done is to invite the co-operation of the Colonial authorities in paying the necessary expenses of the fortifications of those possessions. It appears to me it is not an unreasonable proposition considering the magnitude of the commercial interests which are involved, considering the enormous benefits which would accrue to the Colonies from a position of security. It is not an unusual proposition to make on the part of the Imperial Government that the expense of these fortifications should not fall entirely upon the Imperial taxpayer, but should be borne in part, and in very great part, by the Colonies which will be directly benefited by the defences. Then, Sir, as to the question of the incidence of the cost of the defences of our commercial harbours at home, I have not expressed any opinion on the part of the Government. All I have said is, that the extent to which this subject will be taken up, and, probably still more, brought to a conclusion, depends in great measure upon the solution of the question as to how far the localities are prepared to go in the matter. There is a good deal to be said in favour of the localities contributing some portion of the necessary expense of the fortifications or the other defences required. The noble Lord (Lord Eustace Cecil) read a long list of commercial harbours on our coast. No one, however, supposes that Parliament is to be at the expense of fortifying all the harbours enumerated. If that is so, and if, as is most probable, Parliament could only consent to undertake the defences of those which are most important, it appears to me, as I have said before, there would be some unfairness; because we should be conferring upon the principal commercial harbours defences additional to those which nature has conferred upon them,

whilst the less favourable localities would be left out in the cold. I did not announce any settled conclusion on the part of the Government on the subject. I only threw it out as a suggestion which I hoped would be received with consideration both by Parliament and the country; and I think if it should appear that the different localities are disposed to undertake a portion of the necessary expense of their defences, it would probably contribute to the speedy settlement of the question.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think the complaint of my right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) was that the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had only thrown the subject out as one for consideration, and that he had not announced any definite policy on the part of Her Majesty's Government, beyond a desire that the localities should, in fact, initiate the works which are necessary to be undertaken at particular places.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I stated that the recommendations of the Committee had come before me very recently indeed. It was only with the object of saving time that I mentioned the point for consideration. The subject is not in that state that it is capable of receiving definite consideration from the Government.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I do not wish to dwell upon that point, beyond expressing the hope that the initiation of the works may not be left dependent upon the willingness of the localities, but that when Her Majesty's Government have decided that works are necessary the initiation of the matter may, when the time comes, and I hope it will come soon, be undertaken by the Government. What I was anxious to do was to make a few remarks on the Report of the Commission which has for some time been in the hands of the Government. I understand the noble Marquess has this evening stated to the Committee the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to that Report. I do not think that my right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley), or my noble Friend (Lord Eustace Cecil), at all wished to deal with this matter in the spirit which was attributed to them by the noble Marquess. Of course there are difficulties in the matter. It is, as the noble Marquess remarks, one thing to appoint a Commission, and another thing to carry out the recommendations of that Commission; but even in the remarks of the noble Marquess himself I think it was possible to detect some kind of feeling that as much was not about to be done as he would like to be done. He remarked that you might like to do some things, and then you would have to find the means to do them; and he almost intimated to the Committee that, as many of the recommendations of this important Commission were not about to be carried out, as he himself would like to see carried out, if only the means for the purpose were provided. Now, I do not think it is possible for the Government or for the House to deal with a more important question than the one under consideration. It is a question which is beyond and above all Party differences; and, for my own part, I only wish that Her Majesty's Government had seen their way to carry out what I believe to be the recommendations of this Royal Commission to a far greater extent than the noble Marquess has given us to understand they will be carried out. I do not believe that the House or the country would grudge any expenditure that may be necessary in this matter knowing, as they must know, that it is the most effective insurance for our Empire and the liberties of the country. The noble Marquess stated as a principle which apparently was to underlie all the acts of the Government in this matter, that the localities were to bear one part of the expense, and the Imperial Government the other part. I do not wish to quarrel with that principle where it can be fairly applied. I think it may be very well, as he suggested, that at the Cape the Colonial authorities should be called upon to take any necessary measures for the defence of Table Bay, while Simon's Bay is to be left to the Imperial authorities, Simon's Bay being the most important station in that part of the world. In the same way with Hong Kong. Hong Kong is a rich Colony; it can afford considerable expenditure, it ought to be called upon to bear considerable expenditure in this matter, and the Imperial Government has in its power to compel Hong Kong to bear any portion of expenditure which may be properly thrown upon the Colony. I am sure there is considerable expenditure required in the defence of Hong

Kong, and I hope Her Majesty's Government will treat the matter liberally, and will take care that what is done is done in a thoroughly efficient manner, so that Hong Kong will be made, as it ought to be, a securely fortified position. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of that position to our trade and commerce in the Eastern Seas. A good deal is unquestionably required to be done at Singapore, and I think it would be possible to require as much of the expense to be locally met there as at Hong Kong. I should have been very glad, indeed, if we could have heard from Her Majesty's Government that the recommendations of this Royal Commission were to be carried out in their entirety. The Commission was appointed by the late Government with the desire of obtaining an impartial and fair opinion upon all the grave questions submitted to it. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers) served on that Commission, and when he assumed Office he was succeeded by another Member of the House not less qualified to deal with such matters. It was a Commission appointed impartially as regards politics, in the hope and belief that it would be possible to deal with these questions, as they must be dealt with, entirely apart from Party politics. I do not believe, speaking as I do with very imperfect knowledge of what the recommendations are, that that Commission would recommend anything that it was not absolutely necessary to do, or that they would recommend anything except what was forced upon them by the very best evidence that could be obtained in all quarters of the world. I do not believe that if the matter were clearly placed before the country, the country will grudge this expenditure, recommended as it is by the highest authority which has carefully considered the subject, and I hope that what is now done will be only the beginning of a thorough carrying out of the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

Mr. WHITLEY said, this country had always believed that whatever might be the arrangements with regard to Colonial defences, yet the whole of England and the Colonies were but one country, and the defences ought to be a matter of national expenditure. The suggestion thrown out by the noble Marquess would be received with great astonishment, and would be a great injustice to the localities concerned. Surely if any places should be defended it was the great commercial centres, which were the great sources of the wealth of this country; and he hoped the noble Marquess would hesitate before he again made such a suggestion. He thought the right hon. Baronet had done great service by calling attention to this matter.

Sir ARTHUR HAYTER wished to say, in reply to the hon. Member for South Durham's inquiry as to torpedo drill, that Treasury sanction had been obtained for the appointment of a Royal Engineer, as extra sergeant instructor for torpedo drill to the Durham and Newcastle Corps. He felt confident that the skilled engineers in his hon. and gallant Friend's Corps would gladly avail themselves of this opportunity for instruction, while the Tyne, since the Corps was formed also of Newcastle men, would afford peculiar facilities for the practice. He considered this new drill with torpedoes as in the nature of an experiment, which, if successful, could, with great advantage to the country, be extended to other Volunteer Engineer Corps. With regard to his hon. Friend's second question of an increase of allowances, that was a large question, which could not be dealt with now, but only when the Estimates were being framed in the Autumn.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER said, there was an item of £3,000 with respect to Wormwood Scrubbs; but he had understood that the ranges were closed some months ago. The Household Cavalry used to have the benefit of these ranges; but they had been closed, and he thought some explanation of this item should be given.

Sir EDMUND LECHMERE asked for some information as to the old military hospital at Malta; and quoted a Report made by Captain Galton as to the defective condition of the hospital. This matter, he said, had been under the consideration of the Military Authorities for more than 20 years, and plans had been submitted to them; but nothing had been done. This hospital had the advantage of being isolated, and was also well placed with respect to ventilation. He hoped to receive from the noble Marquess an assurance that some steps would be taken in this matter

without any undue delay. Considering the near approach of cholera, it seemed most important that this question should be decided as soon as possible.

MR. MAGNIAC said, anyone acquainted with Hong Kong must be aware that upon it centred an enormous China trade, and that very little was required to make it a strong place, and at no considerable expenditure. At the present moment there was a good example of the need of such a place as a coaling station in the proceedings of the French at Tonquin. If the Tonquinese had had a few gunboats they could have stopped the action of the French, who had no place where their transports could coal; and it would be a frightful thing if their trade at Hong Kong, which was vastly greater than that of the French, were placed in such a position. In the event of the loss of Hong Kong, the nearest port would be Vancouver's Island; and no one could tell what would happen to India and China if Hong Kong were lost. He thought this matter deserved serious consideration by the Government; and then, with regard to Gibraltar, he believed it would be impossible for more than one or two iron-clads to moor there in safety for coaling purposes, while the mail steamers upon which we depended in case of war for our communications had to coal in the open bay. In case of war with Spain, the Spaniards with a couple of guns could destroy mail steamers, coal hulks, and all the vessels in the place. He hoped the Government would call for a Report from the Engineers' Department, and that vigorous steps would be taken in these matters.

SIR FREDERICK FITZ-WYGRAM asked the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War why the ranges for the use of the Household Cavalry at Windsor had been stopped?

MR. BRAND said, he did not think there was any doubt that the erection of a new hospital at Malta was a matter of great importance, and it would receive serious consideration. With regard to Wormwood Scrubbs, it had been found, some time ago, that the firing was dangerous to the public. An officer had been sent to Belgium to inspect the ranges in that country, and on his Report a sum of £3,000 had been taken this year for the construction of a range on the model of the Belgium ranges. That, he believed, would enable Volunteers to practise without danger to the public. With regard to the question put by the hon. and gallant Member for North Hants, he was not acquainted with the circumstances respecting the practice of the Household Cavalry at Windsor.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(7.) £127,200, Establishments for Military Education.

MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER wished to ask what decision the noble Marquess had arrived at with regard to the promotion of captains to the rank of major; and whether he proposed to introduce any modifications in the present system? The new examinations were introduced in July, 1881, and all purchase captains were properly exempted from the new provisions. It was also provided that all captains who had held the rank of captain for five years at the date of the warrant should be subject to an examination in tactics only. This last rule had operated very unfairly, because it was only advantageous to those officers whose promotion had been rapid, while subalterns who had been 13 or 14 years in that rank were passed over. Some regiments had been peculiarly unfortunate. He would instance the Northumberland Fusiliers. Promotion in that regiment had been particularly slow, and the consequence was that subalterns who had been 13 or 15 years in that rank had been passed over. The noble Marquess had said the other day that these officers were not turned out of the Army. That was true; but if they remained, they were sure to be superannuated, and would have no chance of promotion; and as they were almost all purchase subalterns, they would have to forfeit their purchase-money. He had suggested to the noble Marquess what he thought would be a fair remedy; and that was, that all officers who had entered the Army under the purchase system before the 1st of November, 1871, should be subject to examination in tactics only; that they should have the advantages given by the Royal Warrant of 1881 to those captains who had been five years in that rank. He hoped the noble Marquess was prepared to adopt some such plan. With regard to examinations generally, although he was no enemy to them, he

thought they should be reserved for young men, believing it to be rather hard to call upon elderly men to pass examinations. That was not done in any other Profession, and he did not see why these examinations should be applied in the Army. If they were good at all, they were good for all Professions.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he must remind the hon. and gallant Member, with regard to the system of examinations being applied only to the Army, that in the Law and in the Church promotion was by selection. A clergyman had no right to promotion by reason of his position; nor had he a right to become a Dean or a Bishop; but in the case of promotion from captain to major, the promotion did practically go by senority; and, therefore, there was a reason for these examinations in the Army which did not exist in regard to other professions. The subject had, however, been referred to the Military and Educational Authorities, and it was considered by them that there was no practical hardship imposed on the officers. The present system had been in force for a considerable time; men had passed the examinations and obtained promotion under the system, and he was afraid he could not undertake to propose the changes suggested.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE observed that these officers might know all their duties perfectly well, and yet, because they could not pass an examination by garrison and other instructors, they were disqualified. They were efficient officers; but they had before them this bugbear of going back to school.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that the examination of the officers was entirely of a professional character. They had not to be examined by the Civil Service Commissioners, but by Military Courts, and the examination was in regard to subjects which were useful, which no officer ought to be unacquainted with, and which ample opportunities were given him to be instructed in. His hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote) was not well informed if he thought officers had to go back again to school to learn the subjects in which, on entering the Army, they were examined by the Civil Service Commissioners. The examination was thoroughly professional.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT wished to ask one question as to the examination on entrance into the Army. He had, some time ago, seen it stated that the marks for English had been cut down. It was said that in many of the cramming institutions they had found out what the subjects were to be, and had, of course, availed themselves of the knowledge, not giving so much attention to English. Now, he should have thought that the one thing most necessary to learn and to know was one's own language; but that was the thing in which so many were deficient. He should like to know how far the reduction in marks for English was sanctioned by the Military Authorities?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, that the marks for English had been increased, and not diminished. They had been raised from 1,500 to 2,000. The highest figure was 3,000 marks. That was given for mathematics, and also for one ancient language—Latin—and two modern—French and German. In the next class of subjects stood English History, the marks for which, as he had said, had been increased from 1,500 to 2,000. Experimental Sciences—such as chemistry and electricity—had been raised from 1,500 to 2,000, as also had Geography. These were the main alterations which had been made, and he could assure the hon. and gallant Baronet that instead of there having been a decrease in the marks for English History, as he supposed, there had been an increase.

MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he wished to say a word as to the officers who had been five years captains at the date of the Royal Warrant—1st July, 1881. What he wanted to impress upon the noble Marquess was that the rule, although well intended, gave advantage to those officers whose promotion had been exceptionally rapid. In those unfortunate regiments where officers had been subalterns for 13 or 14 years it was, of course, absolutely impossible that they could have been captains for the requisite number of years. The rule had not been made by the noble Marquess, but by his Predecessor; and, as he had said, no doubt it had been well intended. It was a premium upon rapid promotion, and operated very injuriously against those officers whose promotion had been slow. There was another point which he wished to press on the attention of

the noble Marquess. Many of the officers had obtained the necessary, and more than the necessary, number of marks in each one of the subjects, but had failed to obtain the aggregate number required. That appeared to be a very unfair rule. If an officer could obtain the number of marks required for each subject, what did it matter whether he had or had not obtained the aggregate number? Notwithstanding the decision the noble Marquess had declared he had arrived at, he (Major-General Alexander) still hoped he would reconsider the matter, because it had really been causing the greatest possible discontent in the Army. Many of the officers in question were good officers. All the five officers of the Northumberland Fusiliers were adjutants; one was an M.A. of Oxford, one had been very successful in musketry at Hythe, and a third was acting as adjutant in the county he (Major-General Alexander) now represented (South Ayrshire), and felt it hard, because he had been away from his regiment so long, that he should now be passed over by his juniors, who had remained with the regiment, and had had an opportunity of working up which he had not had.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER wished to put a question to the noble Marquess on a matter he had referred to when the Estimates were last under discussion, but as to which he had received no reply, for the reason that there did not happen to be on the Front Bench anyone connected with the War Office. Probably what he had stated had not reached the eyes or ears of the Secretary of State for War. The question was, whether captains were still promoted provisionally pending their passing the examinations? He had brought forward the case of an officer who was promoted provisionally from a battalion in India to a battalion in Malta. It had taken him some considerable time to reach his destination; he afterwards went with his regiment to Egypt, served through the Egyptian Campaign, and ultimately reached Cairo. It would be seen from this description that the officer he was referring to had had no opportunity of studying or of making himself acquainted with the examination requirements. After having been some weeks at Cairo, this officer was called on to go up for his examination for promotion to the rank of major, and failed in some minor point. His provisional appointment as major was at once cancelled, and he was reduced to the rank and pay of captain. This officer, who had served for something like 18 or 19 years in Her Majesty's Service, felt this so much, that he sent in his papers, and retired from the Army. He (Sir Henry Fletcher) had also mentioned the case of another officer, which had come within his own knowledge—a case where an officer who had been ordered up for examination in July last year had an officer who was fifteenth on the list of captains promoted over his head. The authorities at the War Office must have known that the officer to whom he was alluding was about to go up for his examination. This gentleman had suffered very seriously, for, perhaps, now he might be for ever precluded from obtaining the command of a regiment. Another matter of great interest to officers in the Army was the statement made recently by the noble Marquess as to some alterations to be made in the examinations. He (Sir Henry Fletcher) would like to know this—Supposing an officer was promoted to the rank of major over the heads of three or four, or, it might be, two or three others, would the senior officer, whom he had pushed aside, if he eventually passed his examination—on the second opportunity which he (Sir Henry Fletcher) understood was to be given to him—be placed in his former position as senior to the one who had been promoted in the meantime? That was a matter which had been brought before him by many officers in the Army, and it would be a source of very great satisfaction to those captains who were going up for their examinations for the rank of major if the noble Marquess could give a favourable reply on this subject.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that, so far as he could follow the question of the hon. Member, it was a repetition of one put that afternoon by the hon. and gallant Member for North Leicestershire (Major Curzon). The answer he (the Marquess of Hartington) had given was to the effect that before giving a decision he should like to wait until such a case as that suggested occurred. He believed such a case had not yet arisen. When it did, he should refer it to the Military Autho-

rities, who would give it their best consideration. It was not possible for him to give an answer as to a case which had not yet arisen. With regard to the observations of the hon. and gallant Member (Major-General Alexander), it appeared to him that the question raised was part of a large and complicated one. As the hon. and gallant Member was aware, many of the questions had been settled before he (the Marquess of Hartington) took the Office he now held. It seemed inconvenient to re-open the question; but he would bring it before the attention of his Colleagues at the War Office.

MR. TOMLINSON said, there was a question germane to this Vote which he wished to ask with regard to the tactical examination of Volunteer officers. As things were, the examination in tactics always took place at the headquarters of the district, and the officers had sometimes to travel long distances to get there. It was felt as a grievance that in these cases no allowance was made for expenses. When these officers had spent a great deal of time and labour on preparing themselves for such examinations, it was hard that they should have to pay their own travelling expenses.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, that this question should have been put upon Vote 7—the Volunteer Vote; but if the hon. Member desired it, he would be very happy to look into the question.

Vote *agreed to.*

MR. CARINGTON moved to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Carington.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he was anxious to meet the wishes of the Committee. As the next Vote would probably lead to considerable discussion, he should be willing to agree to Progress being reported.

MR. PULESTON stated that the next Vote was an important one, raising, as it did, the question of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Many deputations had waited on the noble Marquess on the subject, and great interest was taken in it; therefore, he should like to know when the discussion would be taken?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he could not say when it would be possible to bring on the Army Estimates again, and he should not like to give an undertaking on the point. He would suggest whether the subject hon. Members wished to discuss could not be raised on the Naval Vote.

MR. GORST asked when the Naval Vote would be taken? They were repeatedly putting that question, but could get no answer.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The Navy Estimates must be taken shortly.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK thought it would be well to go on with the discussion of the next Vote on the next Government day, whilst military subjects were in the minds of the Committee.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON replied, that the requirements of the Public Service would render it necessary for other subjects to be dealt with. Could they not raise the discussion they were anxious to raise on another Vote?

MR. PULESTON said, they had abstained from bringing the subject before the Committee until they reached Vote 15, in order to meet the views and wishes of the noble Marquess himself. It was hard the noble Marquess should quarrel with them now for having acted upon his suggestion last year. The Secretary to the Admiralty was not present, and they did not know when the Navy Estimates would be taken. Besides, with great respect, he would suggest that they connected the noble Marquess especially with this matter, for the reason that he had moved in it last year. The Committee desired to know something about the Bill of last year, and something about the addition which was to be made to it, if the measure was to be introduced at all.

MR. CAUSTON said, there were also other matters which hon. Members desired to bring before the Committee. He himself had a point to submit as to military staff clerks, and he had been sitting in the House all the evening in the hope that they would reach the Vote upon which this subject could be discussed. Now, unfortunately, they were going to report Progress at an early hour, knowing perfectly well that there would be very little chance of discussing the matter at a future date. He sincerely

trusted that the Army Estimates would be put down for such a day as to insure a discussion being taken which was of so much importance to many people concerned.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that as the noble Marquess had been good enough to remind them of one thing, he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) would remind the noble Marquess of another, which was that under Vote 9 there was an Estimate for police. If he had ventured to address the Committee on the subject which had been referred to under that Vote he would have been called to Order; and that was the reason why he desired to postpone the observations he had to offer on Vote 9 until the subject came before the Committee in its full form under Vote 15.

MR. WARTON said, he hoped the Government would make further progress with the Estimates that night. It had been perfectly understood early on that they were to have a good night with the Estimates. The Government seemed always anxious to put off a subject when there was a good opportunity of discussing it. The hour was not late, they had the proper officials in attendance, and he, therefore, must earnestly protest against Progress being reported. He had never known a Member of the Government on an ordinary occasion agree to reporting Progress at so early an hour as half-past 12. It might be good policy for the Government to put off the Committee with promises which they expected would come to nothing with regard to taking certain discussions.

CAPTAIN MAXWELL-HERON said, he hoped that, at all events, next year arrangements would be made by which all military subjects could be discussed before the first Vote was passed. He was very sorry that he had put himself out of Order that night; but it was through a pure misunderstanding.

COLONEL STANLEY said, he hoped hon. Gentlemen behind him would not insist on dividing against the Motion, because he believed that though many of them might be prepared to go on discussing the Estimates some time longer, discretion must be left with the noble Marquess and those who had to arrange the Business of the House.

Motion *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

REVISION OF JURORS AND VOTERS LISTS (DUBLIN COUNTY) BILL.

(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan.*)

[BILL 124.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, it was impossible for him to prevent the Bill being read a third time, and therefore he would not trouble the House with any lengthened observations. He regarded this as one of the best instances of a Bill being smuggled through the House. The Bill passed every stage but the last one without explanation, and then the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) read a letter he had received from the Recorder of Dublin with regard to the duties he had to perform. It was a most surprising thing that the right hon. Gentleman did not read the letter at the commencement of the discussions on the Bill. When the Question was put, he (Colonel King-Harman) would be bound to say "No," in order that it might not be recorded that the Bill passed *nemine contradicente.* When the Speaker put the Question a second time, and declared that the "Ayes" had it, he should not challenge the decision.

MR. WARTON desired to support the statement made by his hon. and gallant Friend, that the Bill had been shamefully smuggled through the House. It was introduced without explanation, and it was read a second time without explanation, simply because it was not blocked. To-day it was understood they should proceed with the Army Estimates; but the Government had stopped Supply at half-past 12, in order to take this Bill. It was quite clear that the Members of the Treasury Bench were hardly keeping faith with the House, and their complaint was made that Bills were blocked. If his hon. and gallant Friend divided, he would divide with him, as a lesson to the Government, that if they tried to rush Bills through, they should have a little trouble for their injustice.

Question put—[*Cries of* "No, no!"]

Question again put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLL) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 261.]

(*Sir Charles W. Dilke, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles W. Dilke.*)

MR. A. R. D. ELLIOT said, that before the Bill was read a third time he desired to address a few words to the House. He did so for the sake of protesting once more—on the last occasion open to him—against the very partial and incomplete character of the Bill which the Government had laid before them. It was almost ungracious to criticize the Bill, considering that it was brought before them by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who, they all knew, had been at much trouble in urging the question before the country, and in attempting, on various occasions in the House, to forward the claims of borough voters to an extension of the hours of poll. But now that the subject was before the House, he felt it was the duty of the Government to show what was the reason for excluding from the benefits of this excellent Bill, so far as it went, the whole of the county voters. If one thing was more clear than another, it was this—that a Bill for the extension of the hours of poll was infinitely more required for county than for borough voters. In a borough the working classes and small tradespeople found it easy to vote during breakfast or dinner hour—voting with them was, perhaps, a matter which only occupied a few minutes of their time. But a county voter had to take sometimes the best part of the day to vote; formerly he could be conveyed to the poll, but now, as he (Mr. Elliot) thought very properly, the use of conveyances had in great measure been stopped. Under present arrangements, county voters would have very often to walk very considerable distances to the poll. What would be the feeling of a county voter who came into such a place as Carlisle, and found that, whereas the poll for the county election was closed at 4 o'clock, that for the borough remained open until 8 o'clock? It was quite clear that, if the convenience of the voters was considered, the Bill ought to have been extended to counties. Let the House for a moment contemplate the absurdity that was entailed by the Bill as regarded groups of boroughs. The Bill extended to 3,000 voters and upwards. The constituency of Ayr borough included Inverary, and in the latter district, he believed, there were about 100 county electors. Now, these voters would be precluded from voting, unless they got to the poll before 5 o'clock; but if they lived in the Inverary borough itself, and voted for Ayr borough, they could vote up to 8 o'clock in the evening. He knew it was now too late to alter in any way this Bill; but still his remarks would not be altogether beside the mark if they succeeded in eliciting from the Government—and he hoped they would—some pledge or some intimation that, at the earliest convenient moment, possibly next Session, they would extend the provisions of the Bill to counties. It was extraordinary that at a time when the main business of legislation in the House had been to produce uniformity between counties and boroughs, a great difference was being made between them in regard to the facilities for recording votes. He could not help feeling that it was in great measure owing to the weak action of county Members, to those Members who had been constantly in attendance and yet had not desired to give trouble to Her Majesty's Government. All they could ask the Government to do was to bear the counties in mind. He was fully persuaded the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade sympathized with them in the matter. He had thought it right to make these remarks in the hope that the right hon. Gentleman might be induced to encourage them to think that before they renewed their acquaintance with their constituencies, the privilege, which was now very properly given to boroughs, would be extended to those people whom he (Mr. Elliot) and others represented.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he rose to add his protest to that which had been so well expressed by his hon. Friend

the Member for Roxburghsire (Mr Elliot), and to express his surprise that the Government had not been able to extend the benefit of the Bill to counties. His hon. Friend had very properly said that it was a comparatively easy matter for borough electors to record their votes during the dinner hour; but he (Dr. Farquharson) knew many people living in the remote glens of Scotland who would be absolutely prevented from voting unless the hours of poll were extended, especially now that they could not be conveyed to the poll. He was quite satisfied that, under the present condition of things, a great many earnest Liberals would be practically disfranchised.

MR. CAINE said, he did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Charles W. Dilke) in charge of the Bill had scrutinized the names of those who divided upon this question when it was introduced in Committee; but if he were to do so he would find that only five of his supporters followed him into the Lobby, while 55 independent Liberals voted in favour of extending the provisions of the Bill to counties. He (Mr. Caine) hoped it might be possible that "another place" would adopt the proposed Amendment; in which case he was persuaded that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would have no difficulty in accepting it when the Bill came back to this House. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and in the counties around London, the greatest disappointment was felt that the Government had deprived the people of what they considered their just rights in this respect.

MR. CAUSTON said, that, although he sympathized very much with the hon. Members who complained that the provisions of the Bill did not extend to counties, he could not help thinking that county Members were themselves to blame. They ought to have attended, as borough Members attended, upon the debates in Committee, and pressed their views upon the Government. The borough Members were constant in their attendance, and they succeeded in carrying an Amendment providing that the Bill should operate in a constituency where the electors numbered 3,000. He was disappointed that the privilege boroughs had received was not extended to counties. At the same time, he thought it was unfortunate that the county Members did not wait up on that memorable morning when the Amendment he referred to was carried, and give the Government a little spur, because there was then a great feeling that the provisions of the Bill should be extended to counties. If the measure was necessary in boroughs, surely it was more necessary in counties, where men had to travel long distances to the poll. At the recent elections which had taken place near the Metropolis, only about 50 per cent of the voters on the Register were enabled to poll. This was owing to the fact that there were not sufficient facilities afforded for business men, who started from their homes early in the morning and returned late in the evening, too late to record their votes. Personally, he should be glad to see the Bill come back from the other House amended in the way suggested.

MR. ALBERT GREY also desired to protest against the exclusion of county constituencies from the benefits of the Bill. In answer to his hon. Friend the Member for Colchester (Mr. Causton), he might say that if county Members had not been present in greater force on the evening when the Bill was discussed in Committee it was because they thought it was absolutely impossible that the Government could object to include county constituencies, and thus bring about this result—that the only measure affecting the *status* of the elector, that would get on the Statute Book this year; would be marked by the great defect that it would deliberately establish a great difference between the county and borough voter. It was somewhat strange that a Bill creating such a difference should be passed in a Session which had been conspicuous for the discussion of a measure which had for its object the equalization of political privilege between borough and county voters. Therefore, he thought those county Members who were away the other night were justified in their belief that his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) would give way willingly to the demands that were made upon him by the noble Viscount the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lymington), and others, that he should place county and borough voters upon an equality as regarded the

facilities afforded them for exercising the franchise.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he was certainly able to give the assurance the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) asked for—namely, that if the suggested Amendment were put in in "another place," Her Majesty's Government would not think it necessary to drop the Bill. And with regard to the remarks of his hon. Friend (Mr. A. Elliot) he was also able to give an assurance. On former occasions he had stated that, personally, he was in favour of extending the provisions of the Bill to counties; but although that was his own opinion, he must, to some extent, agree with what was said by the hon. Member for Colchester (Mr. Causton.) The hon. Gentleman said that county Members were really to blame in this matter. It must be remembered that the Members for large boroughs had advocated the necessity of an extension of the hours of poll year after year. For the last 12 years this matter had been before the attention of Parliament; indeed, hardly a Session had passed by during that time without an attempt being made on the part of the Representatives of large borough constituencies to secure an extension of the hours of poll. Although for 12 years borough Members had exerted themselves in the matter, it was not until this year that it had been taken up by county Members. That, he thought, cleared the Government from any charge of being ungrateful. The Bill was brought in as one applying to large boroughs, and not to counties; and the pressure which was put on the Government to extend the scope of the Bill was entirely confined to county Members sitting on the Liberal side of the House. He thought they might have been open to the charge of sharp practice if, having read the Bill a second time, they had, in deference to the pressure of their own supporters, made it a universal Bill, applying to all counties as well as to all boroughs. As he had already said, he would take every step in his power to acquaint himself with county feeling on the subject. His own opinion was entirely in favour of the change; but he feared he could not say more on this occasion than to repeat the statement that if "another place" inserted the Amendment in question the Government would be glad to accept it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.—[BILL 1.]
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. John Holms.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment on Second Reading [19th May].

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be discharged."—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

MR. MAC IVER said, he hoped the House would not agree to this Motion. It appeared to him that the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) had behaved in a way which was altogether unworthy of an English statesman, or an English gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman had made use of the second reading of the Bill as a means of levelling charges against the whole shipowning community; and now he proposed, by having the Order discharged, to evade the inquiry which he (Mr. Mac Iver), in moving the rejection of the Bill, ventured to suggest ought to be held. What the President of the Board of Trade had said about a Royal Commission had really little to do with the immediate question now before the House. It was, unfortunately, only too true, as all who were conversant with shipping matters knew, that there was a good deal of preventible loss of life and property at sea. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that fully, and he produced a Bill dealing with the matter. He (Mr. Mac Iver) believed at one time that the Bill was produced with a good and honest intention; to-day he doubted that it was. He thought the President of the Board of Trade would not have abandoned his Bill if he had really wished its subject-matter to be properly and fairly discussed. The suggestion that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee was adopted by the whole of the Members of the shipping community, no matter to what political Party they belonged. If the right hon. Gentleman had agreed to what he knew to be the desire of all interested—of seamen and shipmasters, quite as much as of shipowners—the inquiry would have been going on during the weeks which had been wasted, and to-

day the Bill would have stood before the House not as a Bill which could pass, but as one condemned as utterly useless for the purpose for which the right hon. Gentleman professed to have intended it. Perhaps the House was not aware how completely, and entirely, and hopelessly the Board of Trade had blundered, not alone in respect to this Bill, but in respect of the whole of its legislation during the last 13 or 14 years. The condemnation of the Board of Trade could not possibly have been stated more clearly than in Sir Thomas Farrer's own words. The words to which he (Mr. Mac Iver) referred were used in a publication that was officially sent round the country last November. The obvious intention of that publication was to show some necessity for a change in the law, for Sir Thomas Farrer said that the true charge against the existing legislation was that it had failed to diminish the loss of life at sea. No condemnation of the doings of the Board of Trade for the last few years could be more complete. The very curious statement he had quoted was not one on which the Board of Trade could reasonably ask the House for a renewal of its confidence. The House knew well that in objecting to the Motion for the discharge of the Order for the second reading of the Bill he (Mr. Mac Iver) did not support the Bill at all. In his opinion, nothing could be worse than the Bill. What he thought was that even to-day the President of the Board of Trade should refer his Bill to a Select Committee, who should inquire into the charges he had made against shipowners. The House remembered well that the President of the Board of Trade had spoken on more than one occasion of the preventible loss of life at sea. The right hon. Gentleman believed that much loss of life at sea was preventible; at all events, he had said so. He (Mr. Mac Iver) believed it whether the right hon. Gentleman did or not. In his (Mr. Mac Iver's) opinion, what ought to be done with this Bill was that it should be referred to practical people who understood the question. It would not take many Sittings of a Committee of practical men to knock the bottom out of the right hon. Gentleman's Bill, to show the utter falseness of the charges the right hon. Gentleman had levelled against shipowners, and to indicate also the direction in which legislation should proceed, in order to be effectual in saving life and property at sea. Before he sat down, he wished, in the strongest and most emphatic manner, to protest against the course which the right hon. Gentleman had taken. It was no special duty of his (Mr. Mac Iver's) to defend the shipowners. Although he was himself a shipowner, he was thankful to be able to say that he had during his shipowning career been entirely free from serious disaster, and was therefore under no possible suspicion of defending his own case in whatever action he had seen fit to take. What he wanted to put to the House was that if there were such cases as the right hon. Gentleman had led the House and the country to believe there were, surely every legitimate shipowner was injured by them, and in self-interest, even if there were no higher motive, would cordially join the right hon. Gentleman in taking steps to prevent their recurrence. If there were such shipowners as the right hon. Gentleman had spoken of, they must be very unpleasant competitors of the legitimate trader. The legitimate trader was interested in having a law of such a kind as would, as far as possible, prevent the unfair competition of those who were less careful than they ought to be. Now, he believed the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had behaved thoroughly badly. It was quite true that the courtesies of that House almost forbade language such as he had used; but it seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman had exhibited but scant courtesy towards the shipowning class of the community. He seemed to treat them all as if they were *quasi*-criminals; and he (Mr. Mac Iver) ventured to think that almost every Member of the House would agree with him in this—that the shipowning and shipbuilding communities, and those who had to deal with ships generally, had done a great deal for the country in the past. They had done a great deal more than screw-making in Birmingham; and he (Mr. Mac Iver) could not help asking himself that night who was this man who, vested with a brief authority in that House of Commons, slandered men who had done so much——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is transgressing the Rules of Parliamentary debate.

MR. MAC IVER: I have no desire, Sir, to transgress the Rules of debate in this House. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!"]

An hon. MEMBER: I rise, Sir to call your attention to the fact——

MR. MAC IVER (interrupting): I shall submit to any penalty Mr. Speaker may impose upon me.

MR. SPEAKER: The phrase made use of by the hon. Member which I spoke of as transgressing the Rules of courtesy which prevail in this House was that in which the hon. Gentleman referred to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade as "slandering."

MR. MAC IVER said, if the use of that phrase was objectionable, however true he might believe it to be—if it was an offence against the House of Commons to use such a word he would at once apologize to the House of Commons, and express regret that he adopted it. At the same time it seemed to him that he had good reason to complain when a Gentleman in the position of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade made charges which he gave no opportunity of answering, and which, if he had made them in good faith —and it could not be suggested otherwise—must have been ignorantly made. Some, at least, of those to whom the right hon. Gentleman had referred were persons known to him (Mr. Mac Iver). He (Mr. Mac Iver) spoke especially of two Liverpool cases—in one case the person was known to him; and in the other the ships. He would here quote a couple of lines of Tennyson—

> "A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright;
> But a lie which is partly true is a harder matter to fight."

The case of a man, however innocent he might be, who had lost a great number of ships, was a difficult one to defend; because the fact could not be got over that, unfortunately, he had been losing vessels. That difficulty presented itself in one of those Liverpool cases, and there was not one man in 1,000 out-of-doors, and he (Mr. Mac Iver) did not suppose one in 100 here, who had had an opportunity of inquiring into the circumstances. He would take one case—he did not remember the name of the vessel for the moment; but he remembered the occurrence perfectly well. The particular vessel referred to was in charge of a pilot in the River Hooghly; and everyone who knew anything about Calcutta was aware that that was a very dangerous river. The vessel being at the time under compulsory pilotage went ashore in the river, and was so damaged that she became what was called a "constructive total loss." Ultimately there was a compromise between the owner and the insurers; but that was one of the cases which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade described to the House as "a loss." He (Mr. Mac Iver) did not wish to speak at any great length detailing every case; but they might go through the whole list as he had done, and they would find that there was not one of those disasters that was not perfectly explicable, and there was not one out of which it could be said that the owner made any profit. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade led the House of Commons to believe that the gentleman who owned those vessels was "an unworthy shipowner," who drowned sailors for the sake of gain. Well, now, under those circumstances, there were two things which the House might expect to exist from that statement—first, that this gentleman drowned sailors; and, secondly, that he made something out of the transaction. Well, it was perfectly untrue that he made anything out of the loss of his ships; on the contrary, he (Mr. Mac Iver) believed that what little money he had, had been almost entirely lost through those disasters, and, more than that, he had suffered very materially from the charges brought against him. As to loss of life, though it was true that vessels belonging to Captain Hatfield were lost under circumstances of which he (Mr. Mac Iver) had given an illustration, in only one instance was there a loss of life, and in that case there was no possible ground of suspicion that the loss of the vessel was premeditated. She went ashore on the Long Sands, and owing to a difficulty with regard to the lifeboat there were a number of men lost. Well, the case he had endeavoured to put before the House was that a man, however innocent he might be—[*Laughter*] —hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite, with their usual good sense, were laughing at the circumstances when he defended an innocent man. They did not understand this question;

but he ventured to say that there were many in that House who did. The other Liverpool case—[*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Divide!"] He dared say it was very unpalatable to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to hear about these things; but he was about to speak of a case in which he knew both of the vessels very well; but in which, as it happened, he did not know the owners, who were referred to in opprobrious terms by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. He happened to know that every single statement made by the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the *Inchclutha* was absolutely without foundation, with the exception that the vessel was unfortunately lost. Referring to this matter, he asked a Question in the House of the right hon. Gentleman, and the right hon. Gentleman declared that he was misreported. Well, he (Mr. Mac Iver) happened to remember what the right hon. Gentleman said, and it certainly did not seem to him that there was a misreport to be complained of. There might have been a verbal inaccuracy in what appeared in *The Times* newspaper; but certainly that which appeared there and in other journals, and which he contradicted there and then, was substantially what the right hon. Gentleman seemed to him (Mr. Mac Iver) to have said in the matter. What was the position? They had, by universal consent—except on the part of hon. Members below the Gangway—arrived at the conclusion, beyond any kind of question, that legislation for the last 13 or 14 years had absolutely failed. They had a Bill placed before them—a very long Bill—which he ventured to say there was not one Member below the Gangway on the opposite side of the House had read. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, he challenged any hon. Member sitting opposite to say that he had read the Bill. It contained 101 clauses and three Schedules—the thing was a book. The House of Commons up to that moment had never been considering the Bill at all; it had really been considering the right hon. Gentleman's speech when he moved the second reading. He (Mr. Mac Iver) wished to protest emphatically against the withdrawal of the Bill now, and to say that the right hon. Gentleman ought that day to do all he could to repair the mischief which he had brought about in the weeks that had passed. He ought, knowing, as he now did, the untruth of many of the circumstances to which he referred, to do all in his power to repair the injury he had inflicted upon shipowners. He (Mr. Mac Iver) was afraid to say all he should like to say, for fear his language would not be Parliamentary; but he might put it that, knowing the truth, it certainly amused him to hear what the right hon. Gentleman said that day in that House. There was a world outside the House of Commons—the right hon. Gentleman's speech was addressed to those outside, whom the Birmingham Caucus could reach—but there were those outside who were not in direct relation with the institution in Birmingham with which the right hon. Gentleman was no longer officially connected; and he (Mr. Mac Iver) was mistaken if it was not a long time before the right hon. Gentleman heard the last of what he could not help feeling were most improper statements. He urged the right hon. Gentleman, even at this eleventh hour, to refer his Bill to a Select Committee, in order that the charges he had made might be inquired into now, and in order that the law, which they knew, and which they knew on the confession of the Board of Trade itself, had failed, might be amended, and might not be made worse than it was at present, as it would be made if the House of Commons were unhappily to pass this Bill, of which some time ago the right hon. Gentleman moved the second reading. He (Mr. Mac Iver) objected to the Order being discharged.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Mr. Speaker, I find it very difficult, with any sense of self-respect, to reply to the hon. Member (Mr. Mac Iver), who cannot speak in this House on such a subject without transgressing the usual Rules of courtesy which are observed in this House—which are observed outside as well as in the House. I do not think there is another Assembly in the world, except the Birmingham House of Commons, where any hon. Gentleman would have dared to use such language as that which the hon. Gentleman has used towards me, knowing that I cannot call him to account in the way in which he would be called to account in other places.

MR. MAC IVER rose and endeavoured to speak.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not propose to follow the hon. Member's general argument; but I will ask the House to listen to me for a couple of moments while I refer to the two cases to which he has directed attention. The hon. Member states that, in referring as I did to the case of a certain Captain Hatfield, whom it appears is a constituent of the hon. Member's, I led the House to believe that he had been guilty of conduct which had contributed to a great loss of life; and, further, that he had made a profit out of the disasters. I will read the words I used. After referring to Captain Hatfield's denunciation of the Bill in the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce—after referring to his intimation that it was a Bill which should be kicked out at once, and to his throwing a copy on the floor and stamping on it, I said—

"I find that since 1877—less than seven years—Captain Hatfield has owned 12 ships, and in the course of that time has lost 11 of them. Adding together the periods for which each vessel has been owned respectively, I find that he has lost annually one in three of the ships he owned; and then he goes to the Chamber of Commerce in Liverpool and says—'Mr. Chamberlain is hampering a great industry.' Is this an industry the House of Commons is going to protect?"—(3 *Hansard*, [288] 694.)

Now, that is the whole statement I made with regard to Captain Hatfield.

MR. MAC IVER: It is not a true statement.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: It will be evident to the House that I did not say a word about loss of life, for at that time I was entirely ignorant on the subject. Neither did I say a word about this gentleman having made a profit out of the loss of his ships, because I knew nothing about the insurances he had effected. The hon. Member talks about slander. Well, slander means bringing a false accusation knowingly against another man. I leave the House to judge who has been slandering in this matter. Now, I am going a little further into this case. The hon. Member asked me whether I had received a letter from Captain Hatfield, contradicting my statement; and it appears that Captain Hatfield must have sent a copy of the letter to the hon. Member before he sent the original to me. The hon. Member now admits that within 10 years Captain Hatfield has owned 14 ships—I say that in seven years he has owned 12, and that in the course of that time he has lost 11 of them. The hon. Member admits that he has lost 10 ships, and as to the eleventh what are the facts? Why, the facts with regard to the vessel lost in the Hooghly are these. The owner declared her to be a total loss; but the underwriters refused to pay the insurance, and I am told they did so for the reason that they believed the ship to be unseaworthy. Captain Hatfield, I am informed, agreed to a compromise with the underwriters, and obtained something like 50 per cent of the amount of the insurance. I believe that at this very moment the ship is running. The facts briefly are these—She appeared in Lloyd's List as condemned; when the accident happened to her Captain Hatfield brought in a claim for total loss; and that she is still running. Therefore, my statement is perfectly true that in less that seven years Captain Hatfield has owned 12 ships, and in the course of that time has lost 11 of them. It is said that in all these losses in connection with only one of them was there any loss of life, and then 16 poor fellows went to the bottom; but I find that there has been altogether a considerable loss of life in Captain Hatfield's ships independently of shipwreck, and, further, that there have been a number of desertions wholly unparalleled. The records show that there were 366 desertions from 39 vessels, and that there was not a single voyage without a desertion. Furthermore, it is shown that in several of these cases of loss of the ship that although all lives were saved the sailors suffered unheard of privations. I am speaking from information given me by Captain Hatfield himself. He also gave me information as to the amount of the insurance he had effected. He gave me particulars as to nine of the ships he had lost, stating that the amount assured was £42,150. It is not competent for me to precisely check these insurances; but I have been able to discover that Captain Hatfield has understated the case, and that he has omitted one insurance effected with French underwriters. But, assuming the correctness of his figures, I find he states the value of his ships as £49,500, so that he makes out a loss of some £7,000 on the whole in consequence of the disas-

ters which happened to these nine ships. Well, I have had the ships valued by Messrs. Bayley and Ridley, very competent valuers, and they reported that the value amounted to £39,400, so that according to their impartial return Captain Hatfield made not a loss, but a profit of £3,000. All these particulars are additional to those I laid before the House when moving the second reading of the Bill. I knew nothing of these facts at the time, and, of course, could make no reference to them. I state them now because I am challenged by the hon. Member, and I must say that in my judgment the case against Captain Hatfield is very much worse than I imagined it to be when I made my speech. There is only one other matter to which I wish to call the attention of the House. The hon. Member gets up in his place, having probably in his possession a printed report of my speech, and says, speaking of two Liverpool ships, I referred to the owners of one of them—the *Inchclutha*—in opprobious terms. I will read to the House the terms in which I alluded to the owners of the *Inchclutha*. I said—

"Well, I will take a case that I think is significant, though I should be sorry to press it too far. I am going to ask the House to consider the cases of two vessels both belonging to owners of whose honour, integrity, and high character there cannot be the slightest doubt."—(3 *Hansard*, [288] 708.)

That is what the hon. Gentleman calls speaking of the owners of the *Inchclutha* in opprobious terms.

MR. MAC IVER: What I meant was this—that the terms used by the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the *Inchclutha* suggested that she had been under-manned and over-insured, and that these circumstances were in some degree the cause of her loss. It was that opprobrious suggestion which I referred to when I used the words "opprobrious terms."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The House, I think, will agree with me that that is a very lame explanation. In my speech I added—

"There was an inquiry into this case, and the Court found that the *Inchclutha* was seaworthy, and not overladen; but that, though her gross tonnage was 374 tons less than the *Ajax*, she carried 187 tons more cargo, and was, therefore, in a less favourable position to weather the storm. I find also—I do not attach much importance to it, and I only mention it because the subject of insurance will form so large a portion of my argument—that while the *Ajax* was self-insured, the *Inchclutha* was insured £1,000 above her cost, with no allowance for depreciation, and £6,300 on her freight, being the total amount at risk."—(*Ibid.* 709.)

It is perfectly ridiculous to say that, in stating what was really a statement of fact, I was conveying any imputation against men whom I had previously declared to be persons of whose honour, integrity, and high character there could not be the slightest doubt. I do not think it necessary to go any further into the matter.

MR. WHITLEY said, he very much regretted the course the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had taken that evening. He could not help observing that the shipowners felt very much aggrieved at the complaints made by the right hon. Gentleman—complaints for which there was not the slightest foundation. He (Mr. Whitley) should be very sorry to say one word discourteous of the right hon. Gentleman, because he was one of those who believed that the debates in that House should be conducted in a spirit of courtesy; but he did feel, as representing a mercantile constituency (Liverpool), looking at the way in which some of them had been dealt with by the right hon. Gentleman, that they had a right to complain of that treatment. The shipowners had contended from the first, especially after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, that the only way in which the charges he had made could be met was by the appointment of a Select Committee. The right hon. Gentleman had made a number of charges, and had had them circulated throughout the country; but the shipowners had not the slightest means of contradicting his assertions. He (Mr. Whitley) had, therefore, very earnestly trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would have taken some notice of representations made to him from all quarters, and would have allowed the Bill to be referred to a Select Committee. The very grave character of the charges the right hon. Gentleman had brought against the shipowners constituted the strongest ground for conceding the demand for the appointment of a Select Committee. As to the case of Captain Hatfield, he (Mr. Whitley) did not think that the right hon. Gentleman, by what he had said that night, had

very much amended his position. The right hon. Gentleman had brought charges against men whom he (Mr. Whitley), too, had the privilege of knowing, and whom he believed to be incapable of such conduct as that imputed to them. With regard to the vessel lost in the Hooghly, the charge of the right hon. Gentleman amounted to this. He said that Captain Hatfield had made a claim for total loss, while everyone who knew anything about shipping in India knew that claims in these cases were made for "constructive total loss." The right hon. Gentleman declared that the ship was totally unseaworthy, or quite unseaworthy; but that was entirely inconsistent with the right hon. Gentleman's succeeding observation, which was that the vessel in regard to which the claim was made for the full amount of insurance was still running. He (Mr. Whitley) could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman had made a great mistake in insinuating charges against gentlemen which those gentlemen contended they were quite able to disprove. It was a mistaken judgment on the part of a Minister of the Crown to bring serious charges against individuals without giving those individuals affected an opportunity of answering such charges. That was the complaint the shipowners throughout the country brought against the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman complained that the shipowners of the country had not met him in a friendly spirit; but he (Mr. Whitley) could not help thinking that that was quite as much the fault of the right hon. Gentleman as of the shipowners. He (Mr. Whitley), on one occasion, attended before the right hon. Gentleman with a large deputation; and he must confess that he had never waited on any Minister under such circumstances, or had been received in the same spirit. The right hon. Gentleman had taken the opportunity of reading a lecture to the shipowners; and, carried away by his feelings, he seemed perfectly incapable of distinguishing between those gentlemen who came before him and the rest of the shipowning community. The right hon. Gentleman's feelings, no doubt, did him credit, and he (Mr. Whitley) should be the last to defend shipowners capable of sacrificing human life to their own interests; but it certainly seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman should distinguish between one class of shipowners and another. In consequence of the way in which that deputation was received, a feeling of unfriendliness seemed to prevail, and certainly the language the right hon. Gentleman had used in introducing the Bill was not calculated to allay it. He ventured to say, on the part of the shipowners generally throughout the country, that they were most anxious to meet any charges the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade might have to make against them; that they were men of honesty and integrity, and desirous, by every means in their power, of co-operating with the right hon. Gentleman in adopting means to prevent destruction of property and loss of life at sea. Surely it was better to go with the shipowners than to act against the whole body of them. The shipowners would cordially unite with the right hon. Gentleman in the endeavour to carry any measure they believed to be in the interest of saving life and property at sea. He could not help saying that the shipowners had not been fairly treated in that respect. One great charge made against them was in respect of over-insurance. Well, he (Mr. Whitley) had sent to Lloyd's for particulars of insurance, and Lloyd's in reply had written to say that they had given the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade the information; and the right hon. Gentleman, when asked what he had been informed, declared that what he had received had been private intelligence, and that he could not convey it to the House. If that were so, then the right hon. Gentleman had no right to base a charge upon that information against the shipowners. Another very reprehensible course which had been adopted was the obtaining of information as to cases heard by him from the Wreck Commissioner, who sat to make inquiries into the circumstances attending the loss of vessels, and to give decisions according to the evidence brought before him. He (Mr. Whitley) objected to any view of the Wreck Commissioner which was not contained in his decisions. A charge had been founded, either wholly or in part, upon the particulars and statements furnished by the Wreck Commissioner; and that to him (Mr. Whitley) seemed, as he had said, a very reprehensible course. No

doubt the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade desired to do all he could to secure the safety of human life at sea. He (Mr. Whitley) honoured the right hon. Gentleman for it; but he deprecated the means which had been taken to bring about that end. Though he could not co-operate with the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) in his desire to refuse permission for the discharge of the Order, yet he could not sympathize with the course the Government had taken in this matter.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he could not too strongly express dissent from the statement of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down that his right hon. Friend (Mr. Chamberlain) had brought charges against shipowners generally. His hon. Friend opposite had spoken about what he called the lecture read to the shipowners by the right hon. Gentleman at the interviews they had with him. Well, if there was anything of the sort, it was owing to what had been too much the case in these controversies —namely, to the tendency on the part of the shipowners to take to themselves individually everything said about shipowners generally. There were two methods of speaking of a class; one to particularize individuals as guilty of improper practices, and the other, without particularizing, to set out certain malpractices that existed; and it was not a proper frame of mind in which to consider the subject, if they were to frame useful legislation, for each individual to regard himself as referred to individually in the second mode of referring to a class. He disputed that his right hon. Friend had brought or intended to bring any charge against the shipowners generally. Many of them were under the impression that he had done so; but he (the Solicitor General) was satisfied that it was a false impression. As to the specific complaint made with reference to charges brought against the shipowners, this was not the opportunity for going into the question. He would remind his hon. Friend (Mr. Whitley) that the shipowners would themselves be the very first to point out the impossibility of going exhaustively into these questions in debate in that House. The shipowners had expressed a desire that the charges brought against them should be investigated before a Select Committee; but his right hon. Friend offered a far more impartial tribunal than a Committee consisting probably of a few shipowners and a few of those who had taken an active part in raising complaints against the class to which they belonged. His right hon. Friend had offered to refer the matter to a Royal Commission. These charges could be made before the Commissioners, and the case of the shipowners could be heard and put forward, and the considerations which ought to influence legislation in the matter could be thoroughly weighed and sifted. The shipowners would at least feel that the right hon. Gentleman was offering them the amplest and fullest opportunity of stating their case, much more so than they would have before a Select Committee of the House.

MR. C. H. WILSON said, that the number of shipowners in that House was very limited; and therefore when an important subject of this sort, which was causing so great a sensation in the country, came on for discussion, the case of that class could not be very fully presented. Under the circumstances it was necessary that the matter should be fully gone into by a formal inquiry. Before, however, a Committee or a Royal Commission could investigate the charges made by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, it was important that those belonging to the class who were in the House should express their opinions. They had been recently told that the alterations which had been proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, in the Bill which he had brought before the House, had been accepted by the shipowners of the West Coast, and had not been met with equal approval by the shipowners of the East Coast. He was surprised that the opposition to the Bill had come from the Liverpool interest, in the person of the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver), and the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Whitley). The Solicitor General had told them the matter was to be referred to a Royal Commission, and then they were told that that ought to be satisfactory; but what was the present position of the matter? Why it was this—that after a four hours' speech from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of

Trade, they were told there was a great and preventible loss of life going on at sea. Certainly, under such circumstances, there was no time to be lost in investigating everything connected with that charge. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had that afternoon been asked when he intended to nominate the Royal Commission; but that information could not be obtained from him. Therefore when they looked on the Notice Paper that day and saw there Notices in the names of three or four, certainly three Gentlemen belonging to the shipping interest, to the effect that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, it was surprising to see that it was not proposed so to refer it. Why was it not to be referred to a Select Committee? He (Mr. Wilson) could speak with some experience on the subject of Committees, having for the last two months been sitting on the Committee considering the Thames Crossings. They had had 23 Sittings during the period he referred to, and it would be self-evident to all the Members of the House that during the whole of that time a Select Committee might have been sitting on the Merchant Shipping Bill. Twenty-three Sittings, or in his opinion even less, would have enabled a Committee to have arrived at some conclusion on the subject. He (Mr. Wilson) had had the honour of sitting on a Select Committee which was appointed in consequence of a similar agitation raised in the House under the auspices of Mr. Plimsoll. They were told on that occasion the same story that there was a great and preventible loss of life at sea. The story then was that the loss of life was principally through the ships carrying grain cargoes and being overloaded. Well, the legislation brought about at that time was supposed to be a remedy for those evils; but what were they told now? The statement now was that the state of affairs was as bad or worse than it was before Mr. Plimsoll's agitation, and that in consequence of the enormous strides in shipbuilding, which had led to the production of such splendid powerful vessels, they ought to be able to contend with all storms, and to do seafaring work with almost perfect safety. It was said that if in spite of all modern improvements, and all that legislation had done, great loss of life occurred, the shipowners were to blame. As a matter of fact, the blame did not attach to the shipowners, but to the Board of Trade, which had had great powers given to them, with a large amount of money, for the purpose of securing life and property at sea. He believed the Board of Trade had had some £40,000 a-year handed over to them for the purpose of superintending the Merchant Service of this country; and the officials of the Board of Trade, therefore, were really the people who ought to be blamed for any preventible loss of life that took place at sea. As far as they were able to judge—because information on such subjects could only reach private Members by side winds—but, as far as they were able to judge, the officials of the Board of Trade themselves were at variance in this matter. Those who were the advisers of the Board of Trade were responsible, no doubt, for a great deal which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) had said. The right hon. Gentleman, no doubt, had every wish to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the subject, but had not been able to obtain the best information. They all knew that a little learning was a dangerous thing, and it was evident the right hon. Gentleman had not been fully informed, but had been, to some extent, led astray and induced to make a speech which, perhaps, with fuller information on the subject, he would not have dared to utter. However, this was not the time to go fully into a matter of this sort. The Bill was about to be withdrawn—the best thing which, to his (Mr. Wilson's) mind, could be done with it; but, at the same time, when such a charge as that was made against the shipowners, however blameable individual members of that class might be, he could not help thinking that if the information on which those charges were founded was incorrect or misleading, the practice of bringing such charges was to be condemned. The position of things was that a charge had been made to the effect that this loss of life was going on at sea, and it was, therefore, the duty of the President of the Board of Trade to appoint, without a moment's delay, either a Royal Commission or a Select Committee to go into these matters as fully as possible, in order that, on the earliest opportunity, the law might be

altered where necessary. According to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, the losses were almost entirely connected with steamers; but if hon. Members went into statistics, they would find that the loss connected with sailing ships was much greater in extent than that connected with steamers. There were a great many details of this kind which wanted looking into, and which could only be gone into by a proper formal Court of Inquiry. He would not go into the question of over-insurance; still he must say that he could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, that the question was of such first-rate importance. If the Board of Trade did not spend money enough in protecting the lives of the sailors, let them spend more. After the loss of a vessel let them say—"This vessel has been over-insured, and we will punish the owners." Above all, let them prevent all unseaworthy ships from going to sea. Every practical man knew whether a ship was unseaworthy or not. Let the Board of Trade have surveyors enough, and let them all be practical men. Let the supervision at their ports be sufficient to prevent all unseaworthy ships from going to sea.

MR. CHARLES PALMER said, that he did not wish to enter into the controversy at that late hour; but having received more communications from persons connected with the shipping interest than, probably, any other Member of the House, he thought it only right to say that since the right hon. Gentleman had announced his intention of withdrawing the Bill, those communications he had received had been to the effect that the withdrawal was not to be regretted, but rather the reverse; and it was most satisfactory that the right hon. Gentleman had consented to appoint an influential tribunal to investigate the whole subject. He (Mr. Palmer) believed the shipping interest was perfectly content with that announcement; and he hoped, at a very early day, the right hon. Gentleman would be able to announce to the House and the country the names of those whom he intended to nominate upon the Commission, and that when the Committee was appointed that all the questions which had been referred to that evening would be impartially investigated. Those connected with the shipping interest also expressed a hope—and the right hon. Gentleman would agree with them in it, no doubt—that the Marine Department of the Board of Trade should undergo a thorough examination and investigation. He would not detain the House longer; his only desire was to give an expression to the feeling of the shipowners that they were content to have the Bill withdrawn.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he did not rise unnecessarily to prolong the discussion; but since a debate on merchant shipping matters had been forced upon them that night, he must take this opportunity, as he represented a seaport town (Wexford), of saying that he was extremely sorry to find that the measure was not to be proceeded with. He should have been happy to give it his support. It was true, he had not had much experience in these matters; but with, perhaps, rather more knowledge than a member of the general public, he was bound to say his impression was that shipowners, as a whole, were a bad lot, and that, as a rule, they had very little regard for the interests of the unfortunate men whom they sent to sea to work their ships for the worst possible wages, and upon most miserable food. Every precaution that could be taken for the purpose of insuring that unseaworthy vessels should not be sent to sea should be taken; and he thought the time would come when it would be absolutely necessary for the House to pass some measure to restrict the action of the shipowners of the country. There had been numerous cases of flagrant breaches of justice on the part of shipowners. Besides the worst cases that came to the surface, and could be quoted, there were a great many cases occurring every day, of injustice inflicted upon seamen by shipowners, which nobody ever heard about. He was very sorry, therefore, that this Session was not to see legislation for the purpose of putting a stop to these things; but, at any rate, he hoped, on the earliest opportunity, the Government would again bring forward a measure on the subject.

MR. WARTON said, he was not going to enter into a controversy with regard to loss of life at sea. He wished to look at this matter from a thoroughly business point of view, because they had before them the extraordinary spectacle

of a Minister of the Crown interested in a first-class Bill moving the withdrawal of that measure exactly seven weeks after having favoured them with a speech of four hours in introducing it. He (Mr. Warton) did not regret the speech, because they found in it an apt illustration of the evil the right hon. Gentleman professed to be anxious to cure—that was to say, the evil of overloading, and over-insurance. He certainly thought the right hon. Gentleman should have told the House—especially those connected with the shipping interest—why he had allowed so long a period as seven weeks to elapse before withdrawing the Bill. He (Mr. Warton) was not in the habit of saying unpleasant things to hon. Gentlemen opposite; he imputed no motives; but the case to which he was calling attention was a most extraordinary one—he did not think he could remember any similar case in his short Parliamentary experience. He could not remember any precedent in which a Minister had allowed seven weeks' delay before he could make up his mind as to whether or not he should go on with his proposal. The right hon. Gentleman in the course of these transactions had, at any rate, learned this lesson—that he was compelled to leave a subject of this kind to the consideration of an impartial Body; that he had done by referring it to a Royal Commission.

Motion *agreed to.*

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

COLONIAL PRISONERS REMOVAL BILL

[*Lords*].—[Bill 257.]

(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 and 2 *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Return of removed prisoners).

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, he had an Amendment to propose in Sub-Section 1. That clause provided for the return of a prisoner, who had been removed, to the Colony from which he had been so removed. That might be found necessary in case of an epidemic, or because of overcrowding of a prison in the receiving country; but it should not be in the power of the Colony from which the prisoner had been removed to object to his being returned. The clause, as it stood, provided that "the removing authority" might order the prisoner to be returned. But by Clause 5 of the Bill the "removing authority" was declared to be—

"A Secretary of State acting with the concurrence of the Government of every British Possession concerned."

Without some Amendment, therefore, the concurrence of the Colony from which the prisoner had been removed, and to which he was to be returned, would be requisite. He would propose to omit the words "the removing authority," in order to insert the words—

"A Secretary of State or the Government of a British Possession to which the prisoner has been so removed."

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 12, to leave out the words "the removing authority," and insert the words "a Secretary of State or the Government of a British Possession to which the prisoner has been so removed."—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 4 to 7, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Dealing with removed prisoners).

Sir HENRY HOLLAND said, that it was quite right to provide that the conviction, judgment, and sentence of a prisoner who had been removed might be questioned in the same manner as if he had not been removed; but such question should only be raised in the Colony where the prisoner had been tried and convicted. As the clause now stood that was not made clear; and he, therefore, proposed the following Amendments:—

In page 4, line 23, after the word "questioned" to insert the words "in the part of Her Majesty's Dominions from which he has been removed;" line 26, to leave out all the words after "removed" to the end of Sub-Section 1.

Amendments *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining clauses *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

COUNTY COURTS (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 258.]

(*Mr. Findlater, Mr. Thomas Dickson.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Findlater.*)

MR. HEALY trusted that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Findlater) in charge of the Bill would consent to report Progress after Clause 4. He (Mr. Healy) had several Amendments to move, and to-morrow Amendments would appear upon the Paper in the names of other hon. Members.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 4 *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Execution of decrees, &c. by persons not parties to suit).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Findlater.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

SEA FISHERIES ACT (1868) AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 265.]

(*Sir Hussey Vivian.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

MR. WARTON knew nothing at all about the Bill, and, therefore, would like some explanation of its provisions from the Government.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he had simply moved the second reading on behalf of the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill, who informed him that it was a Bill to protect cockles.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS ACTS AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 270.]

(*Lord Elcho.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Lord Elcho.*)

MR. ONSLOW objected to the second reading. He did not know who had charge of the Bill, and he did not hear anyone move the second reading. Perhaps some Member of the Government would say who made the Motion.

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord (Lord Elcho) raised his hat.

MR. ONSLOW said, he must certainly object to the Bill under the circumstances. They had received no explanation whatever why the Bill was brought in, and the 3rd clause was very objectionable, inasmuch as it empowered any policeman, and any other person, to enter any premises to ascertain whether any cruelty was being practised. If the noble Lord (Lord Elcho) knew anything about the Bill which he had raised his hat to move the second reading of, perhaps he would vouchsafe a little information to the House. He (Mr. Onslow) understood it was brought in in "another place" by the Earl of Redesdale in order to correct what was considered improper pigeon-shooting. It appeared to him that the Bill was one which would excite great opposition, inasmuch as it was calculated to spoil legitimate sport. He trusted the House would not agree to the second reading.

LORD ELCHO said, it would be in the memory of hon. Members that last year the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) introduced a Bill which was to put a stop to pigeon-shooting. He (Lord Elcho) was one of the supporters of that Bill, because he was led, by the hon. Gentleman's arguments, and by what he had heard elsewhere, to believe that the greatest cruelties were perpetrated at pigeon-shooting matches. He supported this Bill, which had been passed by the House of Lords without any opposition, because it seemed to him it would do a great deal to render impossible those cruelties which the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), and other hon. Members, alleged took place at pigeon-shooting matches. The

hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) objected to the Bill, because any persons might be empowered to examine birds provided for shooting matches. The hon. Gentleman evidently forgot that it was only upon the order of a Justice of the Peace that persons might enter premises to make the examination in question. He (Lord Elcho) did not think it likely that a Justice of the Peace would give an order to unduly qualified persons, one of whom must be a police constable. The objection of the hon. Gentleman ought to be raised in Committee; it certainly did not attack the principle of the Bill. It was simply hoped that the operation of the Bill would tend to do away with cruelties which it was alleged, and he believed truly alleged, existed.

MR. WARTON said, he did not wish to discuss the merits of the Bill, but to object to the second reading being taken now owing to the peculiar circumstances under which it was moved. This was the first time the measure had made any substantial appearance in the House of Commons, and no Notice had been given that the second reading would be moved that night. He had long tried to call the attention of the House to the peculiarity of the present mode of procedure. The Bill was brought in in the other House; but it struck him as being a very wrong proceeding that the second reading should be moved in this House without proper Notice being given. On the 1st of April he had a Motion down affecting the mode of procedure in matters of this kind; but he could not move it owing to the desire of the House to facilitate the passing of the Representation of the People Bill. He had a similar Motion down for to-morrow; but, again, he was to be deprived of the opportunity of moving it. ["Divide!"] His Liberal Friends opposite ought to remember that some day or other there might be Bills brought in to which they greatly objected, and which they would be anxious to have seriously considered. He believed that strictly and technically an hon. Member was in Order in bringing in a Bill one evening, and putting it down for second reading the next evening; but he, nevertheless, thought it was very objectionable that Bills should be hurried through the House. There had been no opportunity at all of considering this particular measure, and in order that such an opportunity should be afforded he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Warton,*)—put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT (1883) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Findlater, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Deasy, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Shaw.*)

[BILL 231.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *further considered.*

Amendment again proposed,

In Schedule 6, to leave out the words "a Tramway and Light Railway from Athy (county Kildare) to Crettyard Bridge (Queen's county)."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Schedule."

MR. HEALY asked, as a matter of practice, how this Bill got set up, because it was counted out the other night. He did not wish to offer any opposition to the Bill, but merely to point out that the Bill was counted out on Thursday night, and that there was another count out on Friday night. As he understood the practice of the House a Bill was to be set up by Motion; and, therefore, he was extremely anxious to know how the Motion to set up this Bill was made, and whether an hon. Member would be in Order in going to the Clerk and asking him to put up a Bill? When the House was counted out on the Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill a Motion had to be made to get it set up again.

MR. SPEAKER: A Motion to set up this Bill was made on Friday before the Orders of the Day were read.

MR. HEALY: Then it was set up on Motion?

MR. SPEAKER: On Motion.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *re-committed* in respect of Clause 2; *considered* in Committee, and *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

COLONEL COLTHURST moved that the Bill be now read the third time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Colonel Colthurst.*)

MR. HEALY: I wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether, as a matter of fact, you did not object to a proposal to read the Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill a third time the same night as it had been considered?

MR. SPEAKER: It is a matter for the allowance of the House. If the House wishes to allow a Bill to be read a third time the House can do so.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

COLONIAL PRISONERS [COST OF REMOVAL].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of any costs of removal of Prisoners, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session for making further provision respecting the removal of Prisoners and Criminal Lunatics from Her Majesty's possessions out of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

PRISONS (IRELAND) (COST OF CONVEYANCE OF PRISONERS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. TREVELYAN, Bill to amend "The General Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877," in certain particulars, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. TREVELYAN and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 275.]

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. FAWCETT, Bill to amend the Savings Banks Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. FAWCETT and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 277.]

NAVAL AND GREENWICH HOSPITAL PENSIONS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Bill to amend the Law respecting the payment of Naval and Greenwich Hospital Pensions, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN and Sir THOMAS BRASSEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 276.]

CHURCH PATRONAGE BILLS.

Select Committee on Church Patronage Bills to consist of Seventeen Members:—Committee *nominated* of,—Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER, Mr. PEMBERTON, Mr. EDWARD LEATHAM, Mr. CUBITT, Mr. WALTER, Sir RICHARD CROSS, Mr. CROPPER, Mr. HUBBARD, Mr. RYLANDS, Mr. STUART-WORTLEY, Lord EDWARD CAVENDISH, Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON, Mr. HARDCASTLE, Mr. STANHOPE, Mr. ALBERT GREY, Mr. J. G. TALBOT, and Mr. WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER; Five to be the quorum.

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 8th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Earl of Chesterfield, after the death of his cousin.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County)* (178); Elections (Hours of Poll)* (179); Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment* (180); Bishopric of Bristol* (181); Local Government Provisional Order (Salt Works)* (182); Local Government Provisional Order (No. 5)* (183).

Second Reading—Representation of the People (159), *negatived.*

Report—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 7)* (162).

Third Reading—Tramways Provisional Orders* (150); Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 11)* (156); Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 14)* (166); Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 15)* (167); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 4)* (161); Fisheries (Oyster, Crab, and Lobster) Act (1877) Amendment* (135); Improvement of Lands (Ecclesiastical Benefices)* (131), and *passed.*

THE CHOLERA—OUTBREAK IN FRANCE—NUMBER OF DEATHS.

QUESTION.

EARL DE LA WARR: I wish to ask a Question of which I have given the noble Lord opposite (Lord Carrington) private Notice—namely, whether any additional information has been received by the Local Government Board with respect to mortality from cholera in France?

LORD CARRINGTON: The only information I can give is a telegram which we have received, and which states that there were 24 deaths yesterday at Marseilles. I am unable to say whether or not they are all from cholera. In Toulon, by another telegram, I find

there were 14 deaths yesterday, all of them from cholera.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

OBSERVATION.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, that as he found that a good many of their Lordships, and also a number of Members of the other House who were interested in the subject, were strongly of opinion that the question of the control of education had not been sufficiently considered in connection with the Secretary for Scotland Bill, he would raise the question again on Thursday on the occasion of the third reading of that Bill.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY asked, whether that Notice was in lieu of the other Notice which the noble Duke had given in reference to the same Bill?

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: No; it is not.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—(No. 159.)

(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Earl Cairns amendment to the motion for the Second Reading, read.

Debate *resumed* accordingly.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, I think one of the most remarkable features of the debate of last night was the singular unanimity on many parts of this question which was expressed by different speakers on opposite sides of the House. I have no wish, in anything that I may say to-night, to mar that unanimity. At the same time, my Lords, I shall not paint in quite such rosy colours as some noble Lords did last night the substance and the principle of this Bill. I prefer to introduce into my picture some light and shade; and if, when I come to my conclusion, I find myself in general agreement with those who have preceded me, that conclusion, perhaps, at least so far as I am concerned, will not be the less satisfactory and valuable.

My Lords, in that point of view, I would ask your Lordships to bear with me for a few minutes while I remind you of some historical inferences and lessons to be drawn from this Reform Question before I pass on to its present aspect.

It is now little more than half-a-century ago since the Reform Act of 1832 was passed, which constituted a revolution in this country. I have always thought that the two great landmarks, whether for good or evil, in modern European history, were the Revolution in France, and the Reform Act of 1832. They each of them constituted a new departure; and though, happily, in part owing to the temper of our people, and in part owing to the nature of the measure itself, and the mode in which it was carried out, the alterations have been in many respects satisfactory, still the new departure has been great, and the change has amounted, as I said, in many ways to an absolute revolution. A gulf seems to lie between the thoughts and habits of 1832 and 1884. My Lords, what was it that that Reform Bill did? I am ready to acknowledge that many improvements were made, and many abuses removed by that measure; but the Act also made changes which were unnecessarily destructive and sweeping, and fraught with unexhausted consequences of peril to the Constitution.

It swept away the small boroughs. Those small boroughs gave admission to Parliament to some of the grandest names that English Parliamentary history records. Both the Pitts, Fox, Burke, Romilly, Canning, Brougham, Palmerston, and other illustrious men, owed their admission to Parliament, their public training, and their fame to the small boroughs. My Lords, more than that, the Reform Act of 1832 swept away the representation of classes, to enthrone in its place the principle of numbers. It destroyed the representation of Colonial interests. I am no admirer of the late Mr. Hume; but he, at least, saw the disadvantage of the change that was impending, and, if I remember rightly, he moved that the Colonies should be represented by a considerable number of Members. That proposal was, I believe, approved and supported by the Conservative Party; but, unfortunately, it was overborne by the prevailing influences of the hour. Again, the Reform Act of 1832 destroyed the representation of labour as such. We have the authority of no less a person than Mr. Gladstone in saying that, between the years 1832 and 1867, labour was less represented than it had been

previously to 1832. And what was the consequence? By sweeping away that direct representation of labour, you paved the way to its virtual supremacy. Once more, to sum up some of the indirect changes effected by the Reform Act of 1832, it unquestionably lowered the intellectual level of the House of Commons; it weakened the connection which had hitherto subsisted between your Lordships' House and that Assembly, and which is necessary for the practical working of the Constitution; and it led in time to an increase of expense in elections, and to much electoral corruption. Lastly, from that time forward to this, in an ever-increasing ratio, there has been an absence of that continuous policy without which no country can be long maintained in the stability of its institutions at home, or the maintenance of its honour abroad.

My Lords, all this may sound like heresy in the ears of men who have grown up in the belief that the Reform Act of 1832 was an unqualified blessing; but those who will study history dispassionately cannot doubt the facts which I have now stated. Much of it was predicted at the time; and, though the predictions were not immediately verified, they were for the most part only delayed for a time in their operation.

Such, from my point of view, and briefly summed up, were some of the results of the Reform Act of 1832. Let me now touch on the next Reform measure which has become law—I mean the Reform Act of 1867. My Lords, I was connected with the circumstances of that measure, and I have no wish to dwell more than a few minutes upon it. I can only, after the experience of 16 years, re-affirm generally the opinion which I then entertained. I think, on the one hand, that it went too far, and, on the other hand, not far enough. On the one hand, the safeguards with which it was originally surrounded disappeared in the course of discussion; on the other, the redistribution of electoral power—and my opinion was quoted last night by a noble Lord opposite on this point—was incommensurate with the franchise. The result has been, as I ventured to predict, and as many foresaw, violent oscillations in the electoral body, which has again led to a gusty temper in the people, a lower view of duty in candidates and Members, and, lastly, a tendency, which I greatly deplore, to convert the Members of the House of Commons into delegates. I adhere to the opinion I then expressed; but I think that the moral which the Reform Act of 1867, as well as that of 1832, teaches is this—that, as far as possible, in touching the Constitution we should endeavour to avoid rapid and violent shocks; that we should make changes as gradual as may be; that we should seek, as far as practicable, to provide for the representation of those diverse feelings and classes which have been and are the strength of this country; and that we should endeavour to make the House of Commons, as nearly as may be, a true mirror of the people in all its varied interests.

I come now to the Bill before the House. In a great measure that Bill is the outcome of the two previous Acts. The noble Earl who moved the second reading last night (the Earl of Kimberley) used an epithet which struck me much. He described the measure before your Lordships as a "simple" measure. Now, my Lords, if you look back to 1832, you will find that Lord John Russell and his contemporaries argued the question, at all events, on high and varied grounds of Constitutional right; if you look back to 1867 you will find that there were great Constitutional arguments used by such men as Mr. Mill, by my noble Friend opposite (Viscount Sherbrooke), who was then Mr. Lowe, by Mr. Disraeli, to say nothing of those who were Members of your Lordships' House. Whatever was the ultimate result, neither of those measures was argued or recommended on the ground of simplicity. But this Bill is eulogized because it is a simple measure. Anyone can propose a simple measure, and experience proves that simple measures are generally singularly barren of ideas. All history concurs in this—that an uniform franchise means a class Government; and that a class Government—I do not care what it may be, whether rich or poor, whether philosophers or uneducated, means a selfish Government. A great German historian has truly said that there are only two histories worth studying—the history of Rome, and the history of England. And why? Because they alone give that mixed government and Constitutional play of Parties which en-

sure the representation of the different classes and interests of a great country. Such is my view. I cannot hope that it is a very popular one; but I shall not for that reason disavow it. I have seen too much of public life to induce me to change my opinion on such grounds; nor is anything in public life worth it. But, on the other hand, I am prepared, in view of present circumstances, to accept the facts, to recognize the new position in which we are placed, and, so far as a private individual can, to work loyally under the new conditions. To me there is nothing more admirable in the whole of Sir Robert Peel's life than the course he took after the Reform Act of 1832. He had been no party to that Act. He disapproved it; he foresaw its consequences; but he frankly embraced the new order of things, and endeavoured, to the best of his power, to give effect to it.

Now, my Lords, what does this all mean with regard to the present Bill? It means this—that we accept and are ready to work loyally under the changed condition of things. It means that we are prepared to accept an extension of the franchise—I say emphatically, a large extension of the franchise, based on household suffrage; provided only it is accompanied by such a redistribution of electoral power as will give full play to all the different opinions in the country, will secure a fair representation of the different interests and classes, will in one word save all that is best in the Constitution at home and abroad.

Let me test the Bill, and see whether it at all answers to these conditions. What does this Bill do, and what does it not do? On the one hand it gives a large extension of the franchise; on the other it omits certain other things that seem to me to be essential.

It extends the suffrage largely, and I have no quarrel with it on that point. That which we give let us give frankly and ungrudgingly. On former occasions we have had the doctrine of finality paraded before us; and those who desired to be deceived have been cheated with the idea of it. But there is no such doctrine proclaimed now-a-days; and I congratulate the House that, throughout this debate, we have not gone through the hypocrisy of talking of it. At the same time, a household franchise in counties and boroughs ought, I think, to give in the eyes of all reasonable people a certain resting-place, which, in logic and in practice, should not be disturbed. I was always unable to understand how the distinction between the boroughs and the counties could be permanently tenable, and I foresaw that the time must come when the two would be equalized. I am, therefore, prepared to accept the basis of household franchise. It is a suffrage which will enfranchise the semi-urban artizan on the one hand, and the agricultural labourer on the other. I have seen enough of the artizans of the great towns to view their admission to the franchise with different eyes to those with which I should have viewed it 20 years ago. I recognize in them their many high qualities; and I trust that, as years roll on, they will become more and more the strong pillars of the Constitution; whilst, as regards the agricultural labourers, I have lived far too much among them, have known them in their homes intimately and even affectionately, have appreciated them, and believed that they would have done anything for me, as I would have done anything for them, to withhold from them that which is given to their urban and semi-urban neighbours. Therefore, I would give to them what is to be given with a free and ungrudging hand.

I have, then, no contention in regard to the extension of the suffrage which this Bill proposes. But I must refer to some points of omission in it. And, first of all, there is the question of Ireland. Your Lordships, I am sure, do not desire to embark on an Irish discussion in connection with this question. I will, therefore, only say this—that, looking at the state of Ireland, and the certain results of this Bill in Ireland, I must felicitate the Government upon what has been well described as "a tremendous act of courage." I have no fault to find with the Irish Party, or with the Irish Gentlemen in the other House on this point. I give them credit for absolute candour. They have told us what they want, and the use they intend to make of this large enfranchisement. Let not then the Government and their supporters hereafter complain of the logical and inevitable result of their action.

So much as regards Ireland, But there is another great omission in the absence of any provision for the representation of minorities. Should not minorities be represented? Whatever may be said as to fractional minorities, it is manifestly unjust that large minorities should be absolutely excluded from representation. In old and rough days, a rough rule was accepted, and the inequalities in one place were balanced by inequalities in another. But with modern ideas, and with immense constituencies, this is impossible. I say it is impossible, because it is essentially unjust, and so long as their exclusion from the rights of the Constitution remains, so long will there be a sense of injustice that will eat into men's hearts and prevent all acquiescence in any electoral system. Take, for instance, a constituency of 30,000 electors. On what conceivable principle are two Members to be elected for it, in order to represent 15,100 of its electors, and to misrepresent 14,900? Yet that is the case that may, and will, and does happen. It is flagrant and indefensible injustice.

But there is another, and a scarcely less important question, which, though the Government hope to evade and ignore it now, must before long be faced, and fairly considered—I mean the question of female suffrage. I am bound to say for myself that when you enfranchise more than 2,000,000 of persons, some of them confessedly illiterate, ignorant, and of very questionable character, I cannot understand on what ground, either of logic or justice, you propose to exclude a small section of persons, who by intelligence, by the possession of property, and by every conceivable quality of fitness, are entitled to exercise the right of voting. Women take part in municipal and school board elections; why should they not take part in Parliamentary elections? Nor can I understand the morality of retaining on the Register men who are guilty of almost every crime, who thieve, rob, break every law, who beat and ill-treat their wives, and yet refuse the suffrage to duly qualified women.

Lastly, I come to that which has been the principal subject of discussion—I mean the omission of all provision for a redistribution of electoral power. People talk about redistribution till it passes into a mere catch-word, of the meaning of which they have no very definite idea; and it is suggested that we are complaining of a mere shadow, when we say that we cannot accept the Franchise Bill without one for redistribution. I will therefore give your Lordships a pithy definition of this new contrivance for separating the extension of the franchise from redistribution. It was described by the present Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) in 1866, as—

> "The impolicy, the inconvenience, the confusion, and the mischief which are involved . . . in the mode of procedure which the Government has thought fit to adopt on this question,"—(3 *Hansard*, [182] 1163.)

My Lords, these are hard words; but they are not harder than the case justifies; and the action of the Government will lead in 1884, as it would have led in 1867, to impolicy, confusion, and public mischief for many reasons; but, perhaps, especially for this—that it is unfair to Parliament, unfair to the old voters, and unfair to the new voters. It is unfair to Parliament because, as it was argued last night, a measure of enfranchisement might be passed by one Parliament; whilst the redistribution of seats, which is really an essential part of it, might not be passed by it at all, or it is conceivable, even by the next, or the next Parliament. It is unfair to the old voters for this reason—that, in many cases, you are swamping and virtually disfranchising them by the admission of the new voters in overwhelming numbers; and I maintain it is even unfair to the new voters, because so far as the agricultural labourers are concerned, in many of the constituencies they will be enormously outnumbered by the new semi-urban voters. What you give with one hand you take away with the other. It has been calculated that the agricultural labourers to be enfranchised by this Bill will number about 500,000, whilst the semi-urban voters will represent about 1,500,000.

Now, my Lords, we are invited to this act of faith, not in the promises and engagements of one man, but of a mixed and changing body. The Government give a pledge to do a certain thing next year, provided they are still in Office, provided circumstances allow them to do so, and provided, also, that they do not change their minds. My Lords, I might quote my noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies at great length

upon this subject; and, if I did so, it would not be to convict him of inconsistency, but because I sincerely believe that his speech was, as indeed it was at the time described to be, unanswered and unanswerable; and though I doubt not that he believes he can draw a distinction between the circumstances of the time when his speech was made and the present day, I think that any impartial mind will feel that the propositions he has laid down are too broad and clear to be separated from the present state of things. In 1866 he said—

"What I contend for is simply this—that we ought to know what the constituencies are to be as regards their nature and extent before we settle the question of who is to vote in these constituencies. I contend that we ought to settle the outlines before we proceed to fill in the details. That seems to me to be the rational, the logical, the natural mode of proceeding. We can, I believe, adopt the course which I recommend without incurring any loss of time; but if we act upon the proposal of the Government, we shall, from first to last, be working in the dark. I believe that we ought to take the question of the redistribution of seats before we take the question of an extension of the franchise."—(*Ibid.*, [183] 2061.)

Let me go a step further, and say that Parliament has, up to the present time, insisted upon the union of redistribution with the extension of the franchise, and that that has been the emphatic advice of all Leaders of the Liberal Party. But we cannot suppose that they have urged this so strongly, unless they had some distinct and cogent reason. And who were those men of mark and leading? Mr. Gladstone laid down the opinion in very plain terms, both in 1859 and again in 1866; and Mr. Bright, in 1859, went so far as to say—

"I consider these differences of opinion on the subject are of trifling importance when compared with the question of the distribution of seats and Members. This is the vital point in the coming Bill, and unless it be well watched, you may get any amount of suffrage, and yet find, after all, that you have lost the substance and are playing merely with the shadow of popular representation."

Lord Hartington, in 1875, said pretty nearly the same thing. He argued strongly that Reform should be accompanied with redistribution; for "redistribution," he said, "is far the most difficult part of any Reform scheme." I say, then, that I am prepared to accept the reasoning of all these distinguished men, and that what they affirmed in 1856, 1859, 1866, and 1875, I endorse in 1884.

Well, then, my Lords, we have come, it seems to me, to a comparatively narrow question. I, for one, agree to the extension of the franchise, and on a very large scale; but I desire to see it fair and full and complete; for I cannot understand how anyone can advocate a separation of these two inseparable parts of a common measure, any more than a man who undertakes to build a house can build it without plans or specifications. But there are other parts of this question to which I must allude. I am not, my Lords, going to refer to the political Billingsgate—it is somewhat difficult to find a word to express what I mean—which has been used out-of-doors, and by men, I am sorry to say, whose education and literary studies should have offered some guarantee against coarseness and violence of language. If those are the weapons which our opponents seek to employ they are welcome to a monopoly of them. Nor shall I discuss the advice of candid friends, or the alarms of timid politicians, who see a lion in every path; nor shall I repeat the threats that have been used. They seem to me to be monotonous, stupid, and rather ridiculous, and they form a part of that wire-pulling system for the manufacture of political agitation as it is now understood in America and in this country. But I must say one word as to what we are sometimes told to expect—namely, the anger of the country, if we adopt the course proposed by my noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns). But I ask, what is there in this Bill, which can reasonably conjure up against us the anger of the country? I can quite understand the anger of political clubs and partizans; but what is it we propose to do? We ask the Government to set their whole scheme before us, before we vote on it; we should be even content for some fair compromise between their views and ours; but, failing that, we ask the country for their decision on this subject. That is the sum and substance of the whole thing; it may be a question of the House of Lords as opposed to Her Majesty's Government; it may be a question of this House being in opposition to the House of Commons for a time, but it cannot possibly be a question of the House of Lords in opposition

to the country, for it is to the judgment of the country in the last resort that we look. We appeal to Cæsar.

But what are some of the reasons which we have heard against the course proposed by my noble and learned Friend? In the first place we have been told that there has been a "mandate," as it is the fashion in Frenchified English to call the opinion of the people at the polls, given for this Bill at the last General Election. I entirely deny that; and, unless I am greatly mistaken, the case stands thus—It is true that the question of the franchise was discussed in certain constituencies; but those constituencies were comparatively few in number, and, except for some brief and occasional allusion to the subject, the Leaders of the Liberal Party said little or nothing. This does not look like a "mandate." Again, it is said that, by taking the course which is now proposed, we are creating delay, and, possibly, obstruction. That argument of delay is not a good one in the mouths of a Government who have been spendthrift of public time, and who have notoriously mismanaged Public Business. But this, at all events, is clear, that, under any circumstances, a Dissolution of Parliament is comparatively near at hand; and if we ask you to dissolve, we ask you simply to anticipate the position in which you must be placed in little more than a twelvemonth. Your Lordships were intreated last night, from the other side of the House, not to expose yourselves to misunderstanding on this subject. My Lords, none are so blind as those who will not see; none are so deaf as those who will not hear. You may be misrepresented, my Lords; but, after the explicit declarations which have been made here, you certainly cannot be misunderstood. My noble Friend (the Earl of Jersey), whose conscientious convictions are so strong that whatever he says I am satisfied is due simply to his sense of duty, whose allegiance to his Party no man will doubt, asked us why we should not read this Bill a second time, and then amend it in Committee. I will tell my noble Friend that that would come to pretty much the same thing, in the long run, as the course which is now proposed. If your Lordships are accused now of throwing out the Bill, you would then, if the Bill were amended in Committee, be accused of mutilating it and killing it indirectly. In this, as in other things, you must look facts in the face, and dare to be brave in the exercise of the functions and duties which the Constitution has imposed upon you. The real truth of the matter is this—and there is not a soul who does not know it—the case is in the hands of the Government. They have the power, even now, at the eleventh hour, if they have the will, to settle this matter in conformity with what is just and expedient, and in conformity also with that which I believe to be the almost unanimous feeling of this House. Why, then, should there be this disinclination on the part of the Government—which boasts itself to be a popular Government, led by a popular Minister, the favourite of the people—why should there be this disinclination to go back to the source of their original strength, to the fount of their earlier inspiration? Why do they falter and doubt? Have they changed their opinions in this as in so many other matters? What can be the cause of this disinclination? Is it the memory of Mid Lothian, or of the Transvaal, or of Egypt? The Prime Minister is fond of quotations from Shakespeare. May I recommend him this one—

> "My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
> And every tongue brings in a several tale,
> And every tale condemns me."

Or is it the recollection of recent elections that holds Her Majesty's Government back—the recollection of West Somersetshire, South Hampshire, Mid Surrey, North Warwickshire?

But I do not desire to enter into Party politics and recriminations. I desire rather to consider this matter on the broadest ground. I was in this House, and I remember well the declaration that was made by the Earl of Derby, when he characterized the Bill of 1867 as a leap in the dark; and I do not desire that we should make another such change under conditions of confessed ignorance and darkness. I am not myself opposed to democracy. That word, of course, means a great many different things. Ancient democracy differs largely from modern democracy; the democracy of France differs largely from the democracy of the United States, as the democracy of to-day differs from what was considered

the democracy of 1832. But I have always believed that democracy was in some form an integral part of the English Constitution. Sir Robert Walpole, on one occasion, described it as a Republic which was crowned with a Monarchy; and, if that description was at all true in his day, it is certainly correct now. But though I desire always to see democracy a part of the Constitution, I desire to see it a part only; I do not desire to see it any more than I wish to see any other class absolute and paramount. And let me say that it depends, in my opinion, very much on the gentlemen of England so to form and guide our English democracy as to keep the Constitution within its right limits; whilst equally it depends upon that democracy, whether they will have the self-control to submit to those checks which are necessary for them as well as for others. There are two alternatives before us, if we would avoid that godless and lawless chaos which is said sometimes to threaten Europe. Either you must retain your mixed government, and submit to the checks which the Constitution imposes, or you must accept the certain alternative of the decline of your popular Chamber, you must see it become year by year less and less a true mirror and representation of the people, less and less competent to perform the high functions which are given to it to discharge. What the consequences of that decline will be I do not pause to inquire; but I have heard Americans, whose opinions I value—men who, by high, legal, and political lore, and by the experience of their own Constitution, have learnt to value the Constitution of England—I have heard them say how they watched with the deepest anxiety and interest the progress of public affairs here, and how they marvelled that we could dream of throwing away the great heirlooms which have been bequeathed to us by earlier and wiser generations.

We have many great problems which have to be solved; and noble Lords were not far wrong last night, when they said that we were passing through a great political change—a change, it seems to me, as great as any recorded in English history, as great as the Reformation, the Civil War, the Revolution of 1688, and the Reform Bill of 1832. Measures such as these swell the volume and increase the difficulties of the change. Such measures are, indeed, serious; but what appears to me far more serious is the temper in which they are proposed and debated. I would, then, venture to appeal not only to the Members of this House, or of the other House of Parliament, but to all educated and intelligent men who love their country and desire its prosperity, to rise superior to the influences of the time, and to recognize that that prosperity depends, in a great measure, upon the maintenance of the old landmarks, and that the greater the power which is intrusted to the hands of the people, the greater the necessity on their part to submit to checks and to exercise self-control. The clock which I see before me, and which marks the hours of our debates, would not be a better clock if all its elaborate contrivances, its springs, and chains, and wheels were removed; it would not go truer, if it went twice as fast. The Prime Minister, the other night, gave a warning to this House. He bade this House "beware," and he used the ominous word "quarrel." It was an unfortunate, and an unprovoked attack; but it is a pity that the right hon. Gentleman stopped in his quotation where he did. The full words of the poet might have been a caution to him as well as to those whom he challenged. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "Beware
> Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,
> Bear't that th' opposed may beware of thee."

But Shakespeare's teaching is generally not quarrelsome; and had the right hon. Gentleman quoted the next two lines, the poet's text would have borne a very different interpretation—

> "Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice;
> Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment."

That, indeed, would have been worthy counsel for a man placed in the high and responsible position of the Prime Minister of England to give. I grieve that precipitation, or violence, or Party spirit should have triumphed over better and more generous impulses. But the House of Lords cannot consent to legislate under a menace. I hold it for certain, and I say it deliberately, that it would be better for us to cease to be, in the fulness of our traditions, and with unstained honour, than to pretend to exercise functions of which we are the trustees, but which we cannot fulfil.

These are the feelings with which I shall vote for the Amendment of my noble and learned Friend, not to reject this Bill, not to shelve it, not for long to delay it, but to insure for it that full, fair, and comprehensive treatment which it has been confessed by men of all Parties to deserve, and upon which I believe that the prosperity and security of the Realm depend.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I always listen to any remarks that fall from my noble Friend who has just sat down with interest and respect, because they are eloquent, thoughtful, and manifestly sincere. But I do not think it necessary to follow him through a considerable portion of the speech to which we have just listened, through the pathetic funeral oration which he delivered over the grave of the rotten boroughs which were put an end to in 1832, nor through what seemed to me the rather despondent and pessimistic remarks which he offered on the subject of popular representation and on the character of modern democracy. My noble Friend ranged over a variety of topics. He mentioned the subject of Ireland, but only to tell us that he agreed with the course which we pursued. He mentioned the representation of minorities and the question of female suffrage, both, no doubt, important topics, and very well deserving the consideration of the House, but topics which are not brought before us on the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl. My noble Friend laid down doctrines so sound on many points that I could wish he had followed them up by his vote. But it is a more agreeable duty to me to agree with my noble Friend than to find fault with him, and I do agree with him in one thing. My Lords, whatever may be the result of this debate, whatever conclusion we come to, one thing at least is both remarkable and satisfactory. We have discussed a great question of Constitutional Reform; a question of who are to be the supreme depositaries of power —for it is that; a question of adding 2,000,000 to an electoral body of 3,000,000; and on the principle at issue — so far as one can judge from the speeches that have been delivered—no difference exists. The noble and learned Earl raises no objection to an increase. It is quite true his Amendment speaks only in vague terms of a well-considered scheme, &c.; but when the Mover of a hostile Amendment declares that he is ready to concur in a scheme for extending the franchise, provided that it satisfies other conditions which he insists on, he, in effect, yields the point as to an identical franchise for town and country. Nobody has suggested—nobody is likely to suggest—any alternative proposal. It is, I think, universally admitted that if you shift the limits of the present county franchise you must place it on a level with that of the towns. A considerable difference between them cannot be kept up if there is to be any large extension of the county franchise; a small distinction between them would not be worth maintaining. Moreover, in no one of the speeches which we have heard has there been any disposition shown to represent the rural voter as unfit to exercise the same privilege as the voter in the town. I lay some stress on that, partly because I think it is to the credit of noble Lords opposite that they recognize the necessities of the case, partly because I think the very absence of any wide divergence of principle between us makes it more undesirable—more unwise, if I may venture to say so—for them to plunge into a conflict by which they can only lose, for the sake of doing themselves a little later, if they succeed, something very like what they want to hinder us from doing now. There is nothing in it new or unforeseen; ever since 1867 it has been felt by men of all Parties that it would be necessary at an early date to do something like that which we propose to do now. My Lords, I can well understand that in 1832 there should have been many men of intelligence who were prepared to run a great risk rather than submit to the Reform then proposed; it did, undoubtedly, involve some risk, and I believe that hardly any man at that time thought that the Bill which was then passed would create so little change in our national life as it has done. I can also understand the apprehension which was entertained with regard to the Bill of 1867, because that Bill gave for the first time to the wage-earning class that which they had never before possessed — a numerical preponderance in the electoral body. But when you admit that the franchise must be further extended—for that is what this Amendment does—when you

know that its further extension must involve the identity of franchise between town and country, which is the principle of this Bill, I should scarcely have thought that it was worth while to provoke what may be a violent collision between this House and the majority of the nation merely in order that, in making a change which is acknowledged to be inevitable, you should adopt one method and order of procedure rather than another. My Lords, I know it is said—"We are not setting ourselves in opposition to the expressed will of the people; we only wish to know what that will is. We do not believe that it is represented in the present House of Commons, and we wish the whole question submitted to the electors." My Lords, I shall not for a moment deny the right—the full and perfect right—of the majority of this House to take that course, if they choose. I do not see how it is to be disputed; but as to the wisdom of taking that course I have—I will not say doubts—I have a stronger opinion than in courtesy I should care here to express. My Lords, it has already been said, but it will bear saying again, that the public will not enter into the refinement of this debate. The public does not appreciate nice distinctions. It is very well to say, and I dare say it is said earnestly and sincerely—"We are not opposing Reform; we are only opposing a particular scheme which we consider incomplete." But do you think the constituencies will see it in that light? Grant that it is a misrepresentation to call us enemies to Reform; is it wise voluntarily to take up a position in which misrepresentation of that kind is inevitable? No doubt, no one who has heard or read the debate here will be likely to suppose that you object to the extended franchise; but do you suppose that the classes who have power—the present electors or those who are to be electors—read long debates? Not they. If anybody tells them that the Opposition Leaders have said they were not fit to be trusted with a vote, they will swallow it to a man. They do not go by words. All they will know about it is that the House of Lords has thrown out the Bill which was to give them votes, and all your reasons and qualifications will go for nothing. My Lords, I have heard it said that to refer to these popular judgments or prejudices is to menace your House. I do not admit it. Certainly, I have no such idea. But I do not think it is menacing a man when you tell him that a storm is coming, and that he had better not stay out-of-doors if he wishes to keep dry; and I do not think it is menacing your House if I tell you of the popular inference which will be drawn from your vote. For, my Lords, one cannot help asking the question which Mr. Cobden asked at the time of the Crimean War—"What next? And next?" You throw out this Bill. Perhaps it is offered you again. In that case you cannot yield without acknowledging that your former resistance was a mistake, and that you are giving way merely to pressure from outside. If you still resist, you will have your wish a little sooner or later—you will have a Dissolution; but you purchase that advantage, whatever its value may be, at a heavy cost to yourselves. For just at the moment when popular feeling is most important, you will have supplemented the cry for reform of the House of Commons—which is already popular enough, and will be against you—by that which I am afraid will be a still more popular cry—the cry for reform of the House of Lords. I am not saying that that demand is wise, just, or reasonable; I only say it is almost certain to be made. My Lords, I know it is urged, and I confess I have some sympathy with the feelings of those who urge it—"Why should Members of the House of Lords be expected to sacrifice their personal opinions of what is best for the public more than Members of the other House, or than electors who are not in Parliament?" I answer, it is the penalty we pay for the very considerable privileges which we enjoy. A Member of the House of Commons can take the Chiltern Hundreds and retire, or he can go to his constituency and take his chance of being turned out if he disagrees with them. In any case, he cannot for long set himself against public opinion. Either he carries it with him, or he is swept aside by it. But we are in an entirely different position. We are a permanent Body; we cannot retire; we must give our votes, "Aye" or "No," on every question of public importance that comes before us; and as I suppose that nobody here would claim for the 500 or 600 families who are represented in this House

the right of permanently controlling and vetoing popular action, it follows that we must study as best we can and act upon these indications of public opinion which satisfy us that the country has made up its mind. [*Cheers.*] I think I understand that cheer. Noble Lords opposite say — "That is all that we propose to do now." Well, if among noble Lords opposite, or anywhere else, there really is a belief that public opinion is not made up on this question, if they expect to be supported in their resistance by any considerable popular force, I can only express my humble hope that the awakening from that delusion—for delusion it is—may not be a rougher one than any of us here desire. Reference has been made to recent elections; but there is no doubt that in 1880 the constituencies had made up their minds, and I have seen no reason to believe that they have changed them since. As I have already said, I do not dispute the rights of this House. We have very large theoretical powers which we hold on the unwritten condition of not exercising them to the full. Is it for our interest to strain these powers? Grant, as I do, that they are undoubtedly ours, still that proves nothing as to the use to be made of them. An English landlord has the unquestioned legal right to turn out every tenant on his estate; but if many landlords exercised that right to the full, there would very soon be an agitation to limit their power. And if this House were to do all that it has a Constitutional right to do—well, I decline to contemplate so improbable and so unpleasant a hypothesis—but I think I know what would follow. Then it is said—"Do you mean that we are to do nothing? Are we to be content with registering the decrees of the House of Commons?" No; I do not say any such thing. I believe that in 99 cases out of 100 the revising power of this House is exercised in a manner in which the public, whether it agrees with the particular issues or not, at least acquiesces. But there is just the remaining one case in which the public will not acquiesce. You recognized that in the case of the Irish Church Bill, the Irish Land Bill, the Arrears Bill, all of them, no doubt, disliked and disapproved by a majority of this House; but all of them passed. Why should there be any shame in doing again what you did on those occasions? My Lords, the plea for refusing to consider this Bill is not, I presume, the mere abstract one that it is incomplete; but it rests on the apprehension, which noble Lords no doubt are sincere in entertaining, that if they pass this Bill there will not be leisure to deal with a Redistribution Bill before the time when the new voters will have acquired their rights. Well, is that altogether a reasonable apprehension? There are 18 months before us—that is, one ordinary Session and two autumns available if necessary. Will anyone really say that a Redistribution Bill—to the extent to which such a Bill is urgent—cannot be discussed and carried in that time? I say "to the extent," because where redistribution of seats is in question I suppose we have no right to talk of finality. That is a large question, and finality in such a matter probably means nothing short of equal electoral districts with arrangements for revising them after every few years; there is no other plan that can be final in a country where towns grow as they do here, and where population shifts. But I do not suppose that any man imagines that a change of that magnitude is likely at present. Short of that the readjustment of seats to population is a question of degree; and all that is really and urgently necessary is to divide those enormous, unwieldy, and unworkable constituencies which will be created by the admission of new voters. Surely no one contends that that is too great an undertaking for Parliament to accomplish in 18 months. But then it is doubted whether we, the Government, will take up the question, or whether, if we do, we can settle it; and then it is argued that you will have the new electors voting in the old constituencies, and you will have a constituent body such as nobody intended to create. Well, I will speak frankly on that point. I should regard such a result as inconvenient and unfortunate, as tending to produce confusion and disturbance in our political arrangements. I have no more doubt on that point than I had when a similar question arose 18 years ago. But is there any serious danger of that state of things being brought about? Who has an interest in creating it? No Party can be sure of gaining by it. No Party can be sure that it will not lose. Cer-

tainly it is not we, who have every reason to be satisfied in a Party point of view with the constituencies as they are, who would desire to modify them in this temporary and provisional fashion. What have we got to gain by putting off redistribution? Are we specially interested in the retention of small boroughs? Speaking generally, any fair scheme of redistribution must take away power from the South and give power to the industrial communities of the North. Are they specially likely to be Conservative in the sense in which the word is used on the Benches opposite? I do not wish to argue this as a Party matter; but it is notorious that, as a rule, it is the Liberal and not the Conservative candidate who inscribes a large scheme of redistribution on his programme. And why are you to suppose that, contrary to our interest, contrary to the feeling of our supporters, we should put unnecessary delays in the way of completing the work on which we are engaged? It would merely be an inconvenience to everybody, and no conceivable gain to us. But, my Lords, while I say it would be an inconvenience, while I think we ought to do all we can to avoid it, I do not see that it would produce that desperate and revolutionary state of things which the noble Earl described. He said that a Parliament so elected, with the new voters in the old constituencies, would be a convention Parliament. What does that mean? A Parliament not regularly constituted. Why not? Would it not have been elected in due course? Suppose an English Reform Bill had passed, and the Irish and Scotch Bills had fallen through, and that a Dissolution occurred in that state of things, would the noble Earl call that a convention Parliament? The argument really will not hold water. According to the noble Earl, a Parliament wholly reformed is all regular and right; a Parliament left as it is—wholly unreformed—that is all right too; but a Parliament partly reformed and partly left alone, oh, that is an anomaly not to be endured. I admit that it is inconvenient, that it is undesirable, to have a Dissolution with the new franchise and without redistributed seats; but that is all, and, put it at the worst, it is a temporary inconvenience. I cannot understand what those noble Lords mean who say that a Parliament with extended franchise and with the present constituencies would be radical and revolutionary; but if the constituencies are, to some extent, equalized, the danger will be corrected. I will not attempt to decide how far the new voters will be urban, and how far rural. In the part of the country I know best, in the Northern manufacturing districts, the two are so mixed up together that it would be utterly hopeless to try and separate them. But I think my noble Friend is almost alone in the opinion which he expressed just now, that of those who are to be enfranchised a majority will not be agricultural labourers. My Lords, the noble and learned Earl who spoke last night was good enough to say he believes we are sincere in our intention to bring in a Redistribution Bill, but that accidents may prevent us from carrying it. Well, that is true; but you might say the same thing when the Chancellor of the Exchequer makes up his Budget for the year. He calculates what the expenses of the year are likely to be; but a war or some great disaster might intervene and entirely upset his calculations. Are you not to have a Budget once a-year? You cannot estimate with absolute certainty for 12 months. You must be content with something less than absolute certainty in this, as in most human affairs. The noble and learned Earl found fault with us because, having the intention of bringing in a Bill of this kind, and knowing the people desired it, we did not undertake it for four years. I do not know that that is now very material; we might plead the state of Ireland and other troubles as a reason; but I think most people will understand that, inasmuch as a change in the franchise implies an early Dissolution, it was not the business of a Government which had the full support of the present Parliament, and which might reasonably hope to get much useful work out of it, to take steps which should bring it prematurely to an end. The noble and learned Earl used one argument, which, I think, he must feel, on consideration, had more in it of rhetoric than of reason. He said—"Suppose a new Parliament elected by the new voters in the old constituencies, are you sure that you will ever get redistribution at all? Will not the Members object to disturb

an arrangement which has given them their seats?" Well, that is reasonable, if you suppose them absolute masters of the situation; but is there no such thing as public opinion? Does he think the public would not care to move in the matter, and that the Members would be left free to do as they pleased? I am surprised that the noble and learned Earl could believe in such a theory, and I do not think that many will be found to agree with him. But for the pressure of public opinion, how many of the great measures of the last 0 years would have been passed? You are pressing forward redistribution because you believe the public wants it, and in the same breath the noble and learned Earl tells us that the public will not move in the matter—that the provisional constituencies created by the Franchise Bill will become permanent because nobody cares to disturb them. If anybody likes to believe that they may. Then the noble Earl referred to a debate in 1874, in which Mr. Disraeli objected to deal with the franchise, on the Motion of Mr. Trevelyan, because he said the two subjects ought not to be separated; and he also added that the subject was not one that could be dealt with by a private Member. Well, the latter objection does not apply now. And as to not dealing with one of these subjects alone, we do not intend to do it. There is no question as to the necessity of dealing with both; the only question is how and when. Then I am asked—"If you acknowledge the inconvenience of the one Bill coming into operation without the other, why not make statutory provision against it?" Well, in the first place, you do not ask us to do that. I am not now prepared to say whether any arrangement of the kind was ever possible, or would have satisfied the majority of your Lordships; but if the only object of the Amendment was to secure delay, surely the reasonable course would have been to read this Bill a second time, thereby affirming its principle, and then to endeavour to insert the provision which you want in Committee. The noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) who spoke last, said that one course was to kill the Bill outright, and the other was to do it indirectly. But surely an alteration of a Bill in Committee is one thing; a hostile Amendment on the second reading is quite another. And noble Lords opposite, if their Amendment were rejected, would still be free to take what course they thought best at a later stage. It may be contended that no arrangement of the kind could be made in view of the feeling which exists in "another place." Possibly; but, at any rate, this House, by taking the course I have indicated, would have put itself in a sounder position, and would have avoided a good deal of misrepresentation to which it will now be exposed. But, my Lords, I go further; and I contend that no legal security of that kind can be given—however much I, for one, should desire to give it—without creating great and obvious inconvenience. You cannot keep the new voters, whose rights you have sanctioned, indefinitely out of the exercise of these rights. Suppose a Redistribution Bill rejected again and again, year after year, can you suspend the exercise of a new franchise indefinitely? My Lords, it would be absolutely new in politics, as far as I know, to give power to this House, or to either House of Parliament, to nullify retrospectively an Act which both Houses have passed by throwing out a Bill which deals with a different, though, no doubt, a closely connected subject. It would be, moreover, a direct inducement held out to those who dislike the Franchise Bill on its own account to neutralize it by throwing out a Redistribution Bill. It would be increasing the difficulties which surround that latter Bill, which are great enough already. And it would be, when all is said and done, a proviso easily evaded if evasion were desired, for you cannot define in a Statute what will constitute a Redistribution Bill for the purposes of that Statute, and a Bill dealing with three or four boroughs would be enough to satisfy legal requirements, while obviously it would be illusory as a measure of redistribution. My Lords, the complaint of noble Lords opposite, which, no doubt, has some foundation, is this—that Parliament will be compelled to pass the Redistribution Bill within definite limits of time. Well, I admit the objection. It is not a desirable thing to do if you can help it. But we proposed it, as the least inconvenient, as the least evil in a matter where no course that you can take is entirely free from objection. If

you bring in the two Bills simultaneously, you insure their failure. If you hang up the one till the other is disposed of, you are open to the objections which I have just mentioned. The only alternative left is to allow an ample but a definite time before the expiration of which the work of redistribution must be completed. That is what we have done; and the question I ask is, whether it is in the public interest so much the worst course of the three that we should be justified in wasting two years by the rejection of this Bill, with the consequence that the new voters, who might have entered on their privileges with the feeling that those privileges had been freely conceded, will now come to vote under the impression that this House, and the interests which it represents, have done everything in their power to delay their admission? I read with great pleasure a paragraph in yesterday's papers showing the feeling that exists among Conservatives. There is an extract from a speech made by Mr. Ecroyd, addressing a meeting of Conservatives at Wigan, in which that Gentleman said that he had long been in favour of the assimilation of the county and borough franchise, and the extension of the boundaries of populous districts; and although he should have preferred that the Bill which had passed through the House of Commons by large majorities had been accompanied by a measure of redistribution, he did not think that any delay should be interposed by the House of Lords to prevent its becoming the law of the land. That is the opinion of a respected Member of the Conservative Party, and I suspect a good many others are of the same mind. We know there is not absolute unanimity among the Opposition in this House—and it does not look as if there were in the other. My Lords, I am very reluctant when a great public issue is being tried to take up even a few minutes of your time with merely personal matters. I have always avoided personal explanations, and should do so now; but I have been so often referred to in this discussion in reference to the part which I took on a somewhat similar question in 1866 that it would be hardly respectful to your Lordships if I were not to notice the matter. My Lords, it is argued that the position which I took up in 1866 is identical with that which the noble and learned Earl holds now. Well, if upon a question of procedure, a question not of what shall be done, but of what is the most convenient method of doing it, I had altered my opinion in the course of 18 years, I hope I should have sense enough not to be ashamed to say so. Or, if retaining my own opinion unchanged, I had found, as I should have found, that everybody who wanted the Bill to pass was against me, and that only those were for me who might reasonably be supposed not to object to its being lost, I think that any man so circumstanced might fairly and honourably waive his own view in favour of that which he found was taken by everyone else on his own side. Again, my Lords, it is quite open to me to contend, as I do contend, that, under the conditions introduced by this Bill, the questions of franchise and redistribution are far less closely connected than they were in 1866. I think that can be easily shown. So long as you have a different franchise for the borough and the county the number of persons enfranchised—which is the very essence of the franchise question—depends largely on what you do in the way of creating or destroying boroughs. Every borough created calls so many new voters into existence. Every borough disfranchised suppresses a certain number of voters actually existing. You might enlarge the existing constituencies by a third or a fourth, without altering the legal qualifications of voters, merely by extending the boundaries of boroughs, and putting large ones in the place of small. But when once you have established an identical franchise for county and borough, the whole state of the case is changed. No shifting of boundaries will add a single voter or take away one. Redistribution will always remain a question of immense importance, but it will not be connected with the question of franchise as closely as before. But, my Lords, there is a much simpler way of looking at the matter, and one which, to my mind, is conclusive. The question is not what you may think most desirable ideally, but what it is possible to do. I do not deny that I should like very well to see the whole subject dealt with in one Bill; that is the most complete and logical and satisfactory way of proceeding. But what chance is there of its being adopted?

My Lords, the House of Commons in 1884 is not what it was in 1866. At that earlier date, Obstruction as an organized system was unknown; no Party or set of men existed who habitually endeavoured to defeat all legislation by delay. We all know what is the case now. Even standing alone, the Franchise Bill did not reach this House till the end of June. What chance would it have had with a Redistribution Bill tacked on to it, and the possibility of raising a debate on every single borough dealt with? It may be said—"You could have carried a complete Bill if you had sacrificed every other measure, and stuck to that alone." Well, I do not believe it. I do not believe that human nature would have endured—not even Parliamentary nature, which is very enduring—confinement to a single subject night after night through an entire Session. At any rate, those who know the House of Commons best believe it to have been impossible; and as the Cabinet could and can have no possible object in view, except to bring forward its scheme in the shape which was most likely to be acceptable, I think you may credit us with having acted solely on a conviction of the necessities of the situation; and I do not think you would accept the ingenious conclusion of a noble Earl who spoke last night, who feared there might not be time to deal with redistribution, and, by way of saving time, proposed that we should start by undoing what had been done, begin again from the beginning, and, in order to make sure of the House of Commons having leisure to attend to redistribution, throw on it the additional burden of passing a Franchise Bill again. The art how not to do it never was brought to greater perfection than in that proposal. My Lords, I have detained you longer than I had intended. I have stated my reasons for thinking the decision to which this House will come unfortunate and unwise. Only one last word. If by any chance your decision were to alter, if you did give way on this question, there would be in every Radical and Democratic Club in the country, not exultation, but long faces and lamentations over an opportunity missed; if, on the contrary, you persevere, as probably you will, you will have given a victory to your bitterest enemies, and I believe that what you do will be regretted by the sincerest friends of this House.

LORD BRABOURNE said, their Lordships had hoped to hear some answer to his own celebrated speech in 1866 from the noble Earl who had just sat down; but, although he had asked to be excused while making personal remarks, he had been unable to reply to that unanswerable speech. Ever since his (Lord Brabourne's) entry into Parliament he had never given a vote which was so disagreeable to himself as the vote which he would give that evening. He should have refrained from voting altogether if he had not felt it was the duty of every Member of either branch of the Legislature when such an important measure as the present was before it not to shrink from the honest expression of the opinion which he deliberately held. Ever since he had been a Member of Parliament he had supported the extension of the franchise in the direction contemplated by this Bill. He had no fear of the result of this extension; he was not afraid of his fellow-countrymen, and in the general discretion with which they would exercise that franchise. He believed the wider the basis upon which the Constitution of the country rested the safer their institutions would be, and the more secure would be the future of the country. But to enunciate abstract principles was one thing; it was a different thing to put them to practical application. He ventured to say that he could show to their Lordships, if it was required, that it was not only possible, but that it was reaonable and natural, that the men who earnestly desired the extension of the franchise might yet be profoundly dissatisfied at the manner in which it had been presented to Parliament this year. The Government had told their Lordships that there was not time to produce the Franchise and the Redistribution Bills together, and that they preferred to take them in consecutive Sessions; but if the question of Parliamentary Reform was such a great and pressing question, as he did not doubt but it was, surely it was the duty of a Government to take it up, to press it forward, postponing and putting aside every other attempt at legislation in order to bring the question to a satisfactory conclusion. Would not the time which the Government had given to the consideration of the London

Government Bill, the Merchant Shipping Bill, and half-a-hundred other measures have been better devoted to a discussion of a perfect scheme of Parliamentary Reform? In the year 1867 the Liberal Party had not raised the cry that the Conservative Government were not going far enough in extending the franchise; but their great complaint was of the miserably inadequate measure of redistribution which was then proposed; and he (Lord Brabourne) well remembered attending a meeting at the house of the present Prime Minister, at which this was the great topic of discourse. He appealed to their Lordships to judge whether the men who desired a complete system of Parliamentary Reform would not have chosen to take the most difficult part first, and to have dealt with the question of the redistribution of seats before the extension of the franchise. And let their Lordships mark what would have been the result. The people who were about to be enfranchised would have been willing to wait until this preliminary step had been taken, which was so obviously fair and reasonable—the knowledge that they were so waiting would have made it the object of both political Parties to settle the redistribution scheme so that no unnecessary delay in the enfranchisement should be imputed to them, and as soon as it had been settled neither Party would have had any interest in delay. But he maintained that if this Bill were passed it would be the direct interest of the Liberal Party to avoid and postpone the question of redistribution of seats. ["No!"] A noble Lord cried "No!" but what was the fact? If this Franchise Bill passed without redistribution, the voters in the unrepresented towns, where the strength of the Liberal Party was supposed to lie, would, in the event of a General Election, in many counties practically return the Members who were now returned by the more Conservative dwellers in county districts. This was the answer to the remark of the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll), that if this Bill passed, the large county constituencies would rebel against any attempt to give an undue share of Members to the large towns. They would have no power to rebel or protest, for they would be swamped by the unrepresented towns. They talked of being desirous of enfranchising the agricultural labourer; but, in these cases, if landlord, tenant, and labourer all combined, they would be swamped by the urban element, and unless there was a fair redistribution and a grouping of large towns, their measure of enfranchisement would practically disfranchise large classes and important interests in the community. Now, let their Lordships calmly consider the enormous importance of the issue before them. They could not deal with this franchise question alone. It was impossible to treat it as if it was only a question of giving political rights to those who did not at present possess them. They could not give those rights, simply and solely, without seriously affecting the rights of others. They were dealing with the whole Constitution of the country, which was made up of checks and balances of compromises and counterpoises, the object of which was that all classes of the community should share political power, but that no one class should possess it in an absolutely preponderating degree. The inevitable progress of events had led them to a point at which a preponderating power was likely to be given to one class, and at such a time it specially behoved them to review their whole representative system, so that their fair representation might be secured to those classes who might be prejudicially affected by so large an addition to the electoral roll. Moreover, there were other points intimately connected with this question. There was the question of the representation of minorities. Then there was that question which could no longer be put aside with a joke or a sneer—the question of the admission to the franchise of duly qualified persons of the other sex. There was also the most important question whether 100,000 men cooped up within the walls of a town were to be entitled to greater representation than a similar number scattered over a wider area; and also whether, in the division of constituencies, population alone was to be taken as the basis of division, or whether possession of property and contribution to the taxation of the country were to be taken into account. But upon all these points the opinions of the Government were unknown, and their Lordships were quite in the dark as to what the real nature of the redistribution scheme was to be. It was quite true that his noble Friend (The Earl of Kimberley)

had vehemently declared last night that he was opposed to electoral districts and a mere population basis, and that, sooner than consent to this, he would prefer that the Bill and the Government should perish together. But, on the other hand, they had the declaration of another Member of the Government (Mr. Chamberlain) that he was in favour of electoral districts and payment of Members; and they could only ask themselves—"Under which King?" The condition of the Government reminded him (Lord Brabourne) of the anecdote of a gentleman who was looking at some plate supposed to be silver, but who, after a close inspection, turned away in disgust, exclaiming—"By Jove, its only Brummagem after all!" So it was that they heard moderate sentiments from his noble Friend, from the Marquess of Hartington and others who were supposed to be quiet, safe, honest Whigs; but when they closely scrutinized the measures of the Government, they found themselves obliged to exclaim—"By Jove, only Brummagem, after all!" It was the noisy section of the supporters of the Government who had the most influence, and who and what were they? In the early part of the present year, he had read in the columns of *The Daily News* a report of the meeting of the Radical Conference, composed of delegates from a number of Provincial towns. They passed a resolution condemning private ownership in land as "unjust in principle and inconsistent with the welfare of the community," and their chairman stated that—

"Among the many reforms which Radicals now had to agitate for until they got them, were the disestablishment of the Church, the House of Lords, and at last the Monarchy."

And their resolution upon the franchise question was in favour of—

"The complete and equal enfranchisement of the people, regardless of sex, and representation upon the basis of population."

Well, but the persons who composed this meeting were an important section of the supporters of the Government. The whole value of the franchise depended upon the manner in which it was to be distributed. It was true that if they were to pass this Bill without any provision for redistribution, the Government said they would bring forward and pass a Redistribution Bill next year. He believed in the sincerity of the Government in promising to bring in a Redistribution Bill next Session. He did not doubt their intention, but he doubted their power to carry out their intention. And if the Government did bring in a Redistribution Bill, he feared that the Radical Party would make the Government introduce such a Bill that this House would have to choose between passing a Bill of which it did not approve, or having a General Election without any Redistribution Bill at all. In fact, Parliament would legislate with its hands tied behind its back, and when full and fair consideration would be an impossibility. And now, having found fault with the proceedings of the Government, he (Lord Brabourne) would venture, with all diffidence, to criticize the tactics of the Opposition. It appeared to him that it was altogether a mistake to move an Amendment to the Bill at this stage, as it might be misinterpreted as meaning an opposition to the principle of the Bill. Say what they would, the old Parliamentary practice was that upon the second reading of a Bill you voted upon its principle; and however much you declared that you approved that principle, people in the country would look at the actual fact that you voted against the second reading. It would, in his opinion, have been far better to have assented to the second reading, and moved a suspending Amendment in Committee, which the Government might have accepted or rejected upon their responsibility. He bitterly felt having to say "No" to the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 persons; but he must either say "No," or vote for that which he considered a great evil—namely, a Franchise Bill unaccompanied by redistribution. He did not, of course, say that the Government wished for such a result; but it was certainly the case that the course taken by the Government was the one most calculated to bring the two Houses of Parliament into collision. It was the Government who had placed their Lordships in the dilemma in which they now found themselves, and upon them must rest the responsibility of the consequences. The Government might have done what they pleased in the other House, where they had a majority so faithful to the Prime Minister that it never went into the Lobby against him, except when his own vote was in one Lobby, and his wishes in the other. As

a young Member of that House, he did not feel called upon to refer to the derogatory language that had been used towards their Lordships; but he felt that there was no one who heard him who would not agree with him that it would be far better for that House to be swept off the face of the earth than that they should shrink from giving a conscientious opinion on any question which came before them. Gladly would he have voted for the second reading of the Bill; still more glad would he have been if it had passed *nem con.* But he felt compelled, under the circumstances, very reluctantly, to vote in favour of the Amendment. The question now would be whether or no the country could be humbugged into the belief that their Lordships wished to refuse the franchise to the unenfranchised. Every effort would be made to misrepresent them; the Radical Clubs, of which the Colonial Secretary (the Earl of Derby) seemed to stand so much in awe, might denounce them; but he believed that in the long run the calm, good sense of the country would recognize the true position of affairs, and that a course which was undoubtedly a straightforward and honest course would eventually be proved to be one not altogether of political unwisdom.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I cannot but regret the extreme anguish which the noble Lord (Lord Brabourne) described himself as feeling at being obliged on this occasion to vote in a different Lobby from Her Majesty's Government. When I remember how frequently this has, unfortunately, been the case, I can only look on the noble Lord's coronet as a crown of thorns; because, ever since he has had a seat in this House, it has been his consistent and miserable fate to vote against Her Majesty's Government. The noble Lord said he could not bear to shut the door on these 2,000,000 men whom the Bill proposes to enfranchise; but I can comfort him by the assurance that he will not shut the door upon them; because whatever the vote of this evening may be—and I regret, from certain ominous signs on the Benches opposite, that it will not be favourable to the cause I espouse—the result of to-night's Division will not be to reject, but only to retard, the great measure of emancipation now before your Lordships. ["Hear, hear!"]

Lord Brabourne

I am glad to hear the cheers that come from the Benches opposite, and I will ask noble Lords to consider whether the retarding of a measure of this sort, in the manner in which it is sought to retard it, is altogether the most just and practicable method of proceeding? As far as I can gather from the debate, there is no difference of opinion whatever as to the merits of the Bill which is before your Lordships; and what seems to be the unfortunate part of the case is, that, having arrived at this unanimous opinion, your Lordships are equally resolved, by a powerful majority, to reject the Bill. Outside this House there are a great many rude, honest, simple, ignorant people who are unable, and will be unable, to understand how that state of things has arisen. We on this side do not regard this measure merely as one of expediency; we regard it as a measure of expediency, it is true, but we regard it as a measure of justice as well—a long-deferred measure of high justice to give this boon to 2,000,000 of our fellow-countrymen. But with us it is not only a question of expediency and justice, it is a question of possibility. I venture to say that anyone who has regarded the state of Business in the House of Commons during the last few years will see that it would have been a matter of impossibility to attempt to pass a Redistribution Bill in connection with the Franchise Bill. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) touched on this point in his able speech to-night, which I venture to say will prove as rich a quarry of argument on this question as noble Lords opposite have found his speech of 1866; and he referred to what some, I believe, call Obstruction, but which I would rather call the delay of debate, in the other House. Every Member whose seat might have been affected by the measure of redistribution would have been able to raise a distinct discussion on the point; so that, in this one measure of redistribution, there would have been opportunities for Obstruction which could not have been resisted. Allow me to go a step further. The matters to be discussed when redistribution is considered, are not merely technical, but Imperial. In any Redistribution Bill to be passed under present circumstances, questions must be raised which touch the root of

the administration of the Empire, and which call up almost every question that has been before the House of Commons in the four years we have passed through since the General Election.

There is the case of Ireland. Some maintain that it is over-represented; some maintain that the over-representation is not so great as to make it worth interfering with; some maintain that its distance from London justifies a larger measure of representation for Ireland than is given to other parts of the United Kingdom. But every one of these questions would be raised on the first breath of a measure of redistribution; and, what is more, you will have raised the whole question of justice to Ireland, which has been so predominant a question for the last four years.

Then there is the case of Scotland. The case of Scotland is not so clamant as that of Ireland; but Scotland demands and is entitled to a larger representation; and we may be sure that the flock of faithful sheep who come from Scotland would not be very willing that their claim should be overlooked. And when you come to ask whence the addition to Scotland is to be made, you find yourselves face to face with questions of the most vital importance—questions as to how these Members are to be obtained —whether by addition to the numbers of the House of Commons, or some other way.

Then there are the questions of proportional representation, the question of the representation of minorities — all these are vital to redistribution. The noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns) enumerated these points much better than I can do; but the strange part of his argument was this — that he has drawn from this enumeration a conclusion the very opposite of that which I draw. He seemed to think that because there were so many difficulties and perplexities, and so many opportunities of interminable discussion, therefore it was necessary that the Redistribution Bill and the Franchise Bill should be brought in together, and free play given to all these disadvantages. There are one or two other points connected with this point of redistribution which the noble and learned Earl has raised. It is said that you are unwilling to make this large addition to the voting power of the country without a large measure of redistribution as well. I will test that by a simple argument. The question of redistribution as a part of this Bill was settled on the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) on the second reading of the Bill in the other House. It was then put an end to, finally and for ever, in the House of Commons by a majority of 130. There was no more question after that of redistribution forming part of the Franchise Bill. But at the eleventh hour, at the last stage of the Bill, what did the Front Opposition Bench in the House of Commons do? Led by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Stafford Northcote), supported by the noble Lord (Lord John Manners), they brought forward a proposition, and argued it with all the strength in their power, to add 500,000 voters to the 2,000,000 new voters proposed by the Bill—I mean the women vote—and this, without the slightest provision for redistribution. The question of redistribution was dead and gone; it was on the shelf; it was hung up; but that did not prevent the Front Opposition Bench in the House of Commons from raising this question. The noble and learned Earl further said that, if the Government passed this Bill, they might not, after all, from various circumstances, fulfil their pledge to introduce a measure of redistribution next year. I am sure that was not meant as an insult; but I can conceive no greater insult to a body of men like Her Majesty's Government, than the idea that they are coming here with false professions. I tell noble Lords opposite that should that breach of pledge occur, I would join with them, and half the Members on this side of the House would join with them, in any Vote of Censure they might bring forward for breach of faith.

But the noble and learned Earl felt a panic, lest the scheme of redistribution should be rejected, and a new Parliament should be elected on the new franchise, which would be so satisfied with the present state of things, that it might decline altogether to entertain the question of redistribution. I do not deny that, when one is well off, one is content to leave things alone. That is, perhaps, why noble Lords on the Front Ministerial Bench do not listen to the frantic demands that are made on them to appeal to the country by noble Lords

opposite. But the measure to be introduced would not rest entirely on the discretion of Parliament. I think you will find that the great constituencies which are unrepresented will take good care that the question of redistribution is not allowed to slumber. The borough of Wednesbury, with 20,000 electors, returning only one Member, will not be willing that the borough of Portarlington, with 142 electors, should have the same representation. Yorkshire which, with a population of 2,800,000, returns 32 Members, will remember that Huntingdonshire and Cumberland, with a population of 120,000, return six; it will remember that those counties, with not a 20th part of its population, have nearly a fifth of its representation; and it will take care that this anomaly shall not continue. I do not think noble Lords need be under any apprehension on this head. If the places I have mentioned would not take care that redistribution was remembered, the great City of London, with 5,000,000 inhabitants, and the Kingdom of Scotland, from which I come, will equally take care that redistribution is not forgotten. I will only make one further remark on this subject, and it is this—if there were to be an Election under this Bill without redistribution, I am in the happy position which is shared by the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven) who spoke last night—I have so much confidence in the great mass of my fellow-countrymen, that I am not in the least afraid of their returning a House which would not be worthy of the British House of Commons. That, however, is a question of individual feeling, and I shall not say anything further upon it.

The noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) and other speakers have reproached the Government, because they represented this to be a pressing matter, and yet did not introduce it four years ago. The answer to that seems to me to be one of the most elementary kind. The present Government were returned to Parliament with a very complete programme of work to be done. Would it have been wise, or possible, on their part to have taken first that part of their programme which alone necessitated a Dissolution?

I go now from redistribution to another great stumbling-block, which has been raised by noble Lords opposite as one reason why they cannot vote for the Bill. They have not stated it publicly in so many words; but they have shown a degree of irritation on the subject, which makes me feel that it has a great deal to do with their attitude. I mean the speech of Mr. Gladstone in moving the third reading of this Bill. I venture to say that I do not think any speech ever delivered in Parliament—and I have heard many speeches very much misunderstood—I do not think any speech has been so completely and absolutely misunderstood as that speech of Mr. Gladstone's. I venture to say that, so far from being meant in the sense in which it has been taken in this House, that speech was meant in a strictly Conservative sense. There is no one who has the privilege and honour of Mr. Gladstone's acquaintance who does not know the essentially Conservative bases on which Mr. Gladstone's political opinions rest—[*Laughter*]—noble Lords may laugh; but, perhaps, they have not had the same opportunities of knowing that I have—and I venture to say, from what I know of him, and from reading the speech, that that speech was meant not to threaten the House of Lords in the slightest degree, but to prevent a collision between the two Houses, which no statesman, much less a Prime Minister, would ever wish to force. But I take it that the policy of the Government in regard to this matter should be judged, not exclusively with reference to Mr. Gladstone's speech, but as a whole; and I do not think the Government can be accused of any special wish to injure the constitution of this House. No one who was in this House a few weeks ago, when I had the honour of proposing, not a modification of the constitution of this House, not even an external inquiry, but only a Committee of your Lordships' House to inquire into the best means of promoting the efficiency of this House, can forget the conduct of the Government on that occasion. Some of my Leaders on the Front Bench, after vainly seeking for guidance from the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), left the House before the Division was taken, amidst the acclamations of an enthusiastic, but bewildered Assembly. But there was one noble Earl, a Member of the Government, who had the courage of his

opinions, and who, gathering together the scattered apparatus of Government, or what wandering votes he could collect, hurried into the Lobby, not to support the unfortunate Motion which I had the misfortune to bring forward, but to assist in its destruction. Who was that noble Earl? Why, he was the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley), who moved the second reading of this Bill last night, in a speech of singular ability; and when noble Lords profess to tremble at the menaces of Mr. Gladstone, they should recollect the great fund of security afforded them by our Front Bench in this House. But, as a matter of fact, these complaints of menace are as old as the hills. I have not had the privilege of a seat in this House so very long; but I never recollect any important question arising that there was not a flutter of this kind amongst your Lordships, and it was said that Mr. Gladstone, or Mr. Bright, or Mr. Somebody Else had said something which would render it impossible for your Lordships to vote according to your consciences or judgments; and that you must exercise a great and wise independence, and show what opinion you have of those reckless Demagogues, and how thoroughly independent you are. That seems to me a sort of independence which springs from reaction; but I venture to think that the highest courage of all is shown, when menaces are offered, by disregarding them, and by taking the course you would have taken if they had never been uttered. It requires, I am told, great courage to fight a duel. I believe it is one of the most disagreeable sensations possible to have to get up at 4 o'clock in the morning to become a target for some impassioned fellow-creature. But it requires much greater courage to refuse to fight that duel; and I confess it is precisely that sort of courage which I should like to see animate the noble Lords opposite when discussing the late speech of the Prime Minister.

These are, absolutely, the only arguments which have been brought forward to support this most abstract Resolution which is now under our consideration. It is not contended by anybody, I think, that this matter was not before the constituencies at the last General Election. In the Mid Lothian speeches, indeed, you will find only one single reference to the county suffrage; but it is an important one. Mr. Gladstone said—

> "The question has been so entirely before the country that it is almost impossible to say anything new about it; but so far as I am concerned, I hope and believe that it will form one of the earliest measures which a new Liberal Government will undertake."

And I venture to say, when it comes to the fourth Session of a new Parliament, that the Government have faithfully and earnestly redeemed that pledge. As to the House of Commons, it passed the Bill so unanimously, that it spent a whole afternoon in discussing whether two or three Gentlemen said "No" in the Division on the third reading. And, therefore, considering that the question was so entirely before the country at the last Election; that the present Government had an enormous majority at that Election; and that the Bill comes up to this House with the almost unanimous voice of the House of Commons, I am utterly at a loss to understand the arguments upon which the nobl and learned Earl opposite founds his Resolution.

But there is another very important question—a question which I cannot escape from myself, and which has not yet been raised in this debate. It is this—every Member of this House, who has spoken upon this Bill, has taken it for granted that this House has a perfectly indefeasible right to reject it. I will not deny, for one moment, the abstract, and, if I may so term it, the black-letter right of the House of Lords to reject this Bill; but I do deny that the House of Lords has any moral justification for rejecting this Bill on the second reading. What is our interest in this Bill? We have an interest, as all British subjects have an interest, in this Bill; and, as a part of the Legislature, we have an interest in the good government of the country; but I venture to say that, as regards this present display of our interest in the good government of the country, our position is materially affected by three considerations. The first is this—if we had no voters on the Register like the voters we are preparing to introduce, I should say that there might be some reason for delaying this Bill, from the *locus standi* of our interest in the good government of the country; but we have hundreds and thousands of tried and tested voters of the same kind as those we wish to in-

troduce. Therefore, we cannot say that this is a reckless experiment in legislation. In the next place, I think we shall have an arguable case if we were rejecting, instead of delaying, this Bill. In the third place, I believe we should have justification, if we were about to reject it, as being opposed to all Reform, not merely dictating, as we are prepared to do this evening, the exact order and method of procedure in which the House of Commons is to reform its own constitution. What is our interest in this Bill as compared with another important class of Bills which we are not allowed to touch—I mean Money Bills? This House is supposed to represent property; but the House of Commons may pass a legislative measure to-morrow profoundly and injuriously affecting the position and property of every Member of this House; they may pass a graduated Income Tax, or they may mortgage the whole future of this country by an enormous loan; but when a Bill comes up to this House embodying these proposals this House can only bow to it, and accept it. We have what I have called black-letter privileges even on this subject, I believe; but we should not be so foolish as to disinter them. In the year 1860, indeed, there was an appeal made to the right of the House of Lords to reject Money Bills; but I do not think that that is a right which is likely to survive the reception which it met with on that occasion. If that is our impotence in matters so directly affecting us as Representatives of property, what are we to do in a matter which does not concern us at all? This is not a matter of money. This is a matter that does not concern us directly at all. It concerns us only indirectly. It has occupied and it concerns the House of Commons in the most absolute and direct manner. Let me take a parallel case, and then, perhaps, you will understand what is the position of the House of Commons. Suppose we were to pass a Bill to reform ourselves, and, passing it by acclamation, with only two or three dissentients, we sent it down to the House of Commons, and that when it reached the House of Commons it was met by a lengthy Resolution, and was turned out on the second reading — what would be our feelings in regard to the Bill to reform our own procedure? Yet I cannot see any great difference between the case I have mentioned and the case of the House of Lords with regard to this Bill.

You can well meet me with this argument—that the House of Lords, in 1831, did reject the Reform Bill of that day; but that is a fatal precedent. Think what a storm it aroused. Think how near we were to the brink of a revolution. But the cases are not at all parallel. The legislation of 1831 was not the completion of a measure of enfranchisement already partly begun. It was a totally new, almost a revolutionary measure, brought into a House totally unaccustomed to Reform Bills; and it came up to this House as a thing to be duly weighed and considered before it was passed. There is also another essential difference. The House of Lords was then directly represented in the House of Commons by means of pocket boroughs. By that Bill there were 142 seats disfranchised; while the great majority of the Members for those seats were nominated by Members of this House; and, when the House of Lords rejected the Bill of 1831, they were rejecting it not merely on Constitutional grounds, but were defending their own rights of property in these seats. They preserved these seats by their vote in 1831; but, had they continued in that course, they would have lost all that property and a great deal more by the revolution which would have inevitably followed their action. I am not asking you, my Lords, to limit your Prerogative; but, if this House is to be strong, its authority should be founded, not on the letter of the law, but on good sense and on practical considerations. You need not, if you chose, be crowding these Benches at all to-night; we might decide the matter by the wager of single combat; we might depute the noble and learned Earl to support his Amendment, and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India to oppose it, and keep the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack to see fair play; you would have a legal quorum and would be within your legal rights, and you might decide the fate of the Bill in that manner; but I ask you if such a proceeding would be satisfactory to the country or yourselves?

You strengthen your Prerogative by narrowing it to what is useful and practical. I do not, in the least, mean to deny your right to do anything with

this Bill that you choose. I think an abstract right is a very useful thing to possess; but, surely, it is much more useful if it is associated with some power of carrying it into effect. And this leads me to ask—What is it that you have the power to effect by passing this Resolution, and by what means do you propose to effect it? What is the Archimedean lever by which you propose to disturb the balance of the world? Who is behind you? Are you sure of yourselves? There have been symptoms of weakening even on the Benches opposite. I know that in all human probability you will have a majority. The "Fiery Cross" has been sent out; the army is there—or thereabouts; and I have no doubt, by the time the division is called, the army will appear. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll), in the able and eloquent, though somewhat abstract, argument which he addressed to your Lordships last night, made a spirited defence of those whom he termed the country Peers, and drew a picture of them, studying politics in rural retirement, surrounded by an attached peasantry, and, when the tocsin sounded, hurrying from these rustic retreats, redolent of the library and the hayfield, ready to confirm any decision which might be arrived at by the Front Opposition Bench. I do not blame the noble Lords for non-attendance, nor for any disinclination or aversion that they may feel to politics. But it is one of the inherent disadvantages of this House that, whether we like it or not, by an accident of birth we are compelled to take an interest in politics, and that is why the country Peers are summoned to appear in this House on great nights. It does not matter so much what we ourselves think of the country Peers. What we have to consider is, what may be the opinion outside this House as to the character of these votes? When you analyze the large majority, and find that it is composed of those who have not habitually attended this House, do you feel that that is a weapon which you can, with any confidence, employ in a conflict with the great majority of the country, or of the House of Commons?

But what is it that, by the employment of this instrument, good, bad, or indifferent, you hope to gain? You cannot prevent this Bill from passing. In fact, we have had a unanimous expression of a wish from every Peer who has spoken that he was most anxious that it should pass, but that he was under the unfortunate necessity of voting against it. My Lords, you cannot prevent this Bill passing. You cannot even turn out the Government. If anything is certain, the one thing certain is, that by this action you will greatly strengthen Her Majesty's Government. Whatever misfortunes they may have had to encounter, whatever mistakes they may have committed—and there have been something like half-a-dozen Votes of Censure proposed in this Session—you pass a wet sponge over the slate by the Resolution of this evening, and the Government goes to the country—it does not go to the country in the technical sense, but it presents this issue—"Are you prepared to have this measure rejected by the House of Lords?" I am not a Member of the Government; but if I were, I should pray for nothing more earnestly than this—that noble Lords would give the opportunity which you are anxious to give them by your vote this evening.

You cannot even secure that other appeal to the country. I know that the wish is father to the thought; and it has been thought that you could secure that appeal. I saw some not very obscure indications of that in the speech of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) who led off this afternoon; but you cannot obtain this appeal to the country. It is quite true that we gathered from the cheers of the noble Marquess that there is to be a second rejection of this Bill when it comes before the House again. It is possible that then you may secure this appeal to the country. But are you quite sure of your army with regard to the second rejection? I am not at all sure, after the months that we are about to pass through before this Bill comes up again, that the army will not have melted away. Some will have listened to the dictates of reason; some will be satisfied with one rejection; some will have married wives and bought oxen, and done the other things of which we are told in Scripture. There will be a falling away; and if the Bill is thrown out a second time, it will be by a majority which will not at all strengthen the position of the noble Marquess. The noble Marquess knows himself—nobody better—what it

is to lead a storming party to the breach, and find himself alone. There is a sinister sameness in the results of these attacks. I implore him now, before it is too late, to reflect on the character of the army he is to lead. If he relies on the second rejection of this Bill to give him the appeal which he covets—and, as I think, covets in the most mistaken and unfortunate manner—I do not feel quite sure that he is more right in his anticipations than he has been on previous occasions.

My Lords, having considered what you cannot effect, allow me to put before you one or two things that you can effect by your vote. If your vote is uncertain in some respects, it is absolutely certain in other respects. There will be an agitation in this country of a violent and terrible kind. I am not speaking in any sense in the language of menace; I am only predicting the sure and positive results from which I myself recoil. I cannot help noticing the signs we have had of an agitation of a most deplorable nature. It was only the other day that a Friend of mine, a guide and instructor of the youth of this country, went to a public meeting, and said that, unfortunately, only one Member of this House had been hanged in the last two centuries; but he did not know how many deserved to be hanged. He did not explain how this miscarriage of justice had taken place; but he hinted, not obscurely, that capital punishment ought to be the lot of most of us. I quite admit this was a *reductio ad absurdum;* I do not think the House of Lords is weakened by language of that sort. But that is only the prognostic of an agitation which would be odious and horrible in its character, but which will not be only an attack on individuals, which would not stop at individuals, but would proceed to generalities, and would attack every Member and the foundations of this House. There is one more result which is absolutely certain from an agitation of this kind. You will have, if we may gather from the experience of 1867, not a less, but a more violent measure of Reform forced upon you by the agitation which you are about to encourage. That is the experience of 1866 and 1867; and whether the more violent measure be passed, as on a former occasion, by noble Lords opposite, I venture to predict it would go further, and be wider than the Bill before the House.

There is, however, another consequence of which I implore your Lordships to think. I do not think that trade, or commerce, or agriculture is in the state that their warmest friends could wish. But there is no such certainty as this—that the great disturbance they must suffer from the agitation, of which you may see the beginning, but of which I deny that any noble Lord opposite can see the limit, will be most injurious to them. Let me quote the weighty words of the citizens of London in the year 1831; they bear so much on the present occasion. They besought their

> "Lordships to consider that the majorities by which the House of Commons has pronounced its own reform have been triumphant and overwhelming; that the rejection or the mutilation of a measure thus unanimously welcomed, and already half-assured, must spread universal disappointment and dismay; and as their daily support depends upon the undisturbed prosecution of their industry, they contemplate with unfeigned alarm the possibility of discontent and exasperation to such a degree as would paralyse commerce, deprive the labouring population of employment, and fatally endanger public credit. They therefore respectfully, but earnestly, implore their Lordships to avert these perilous consequences."

These words are not one whit less appropriate now than they were in 1831.

And now, I want to ask your Lordships this practical question. Are you thinking most of the interests of your Party, or of the interests of this House? I put aside the question of the country, because I give to noble Lords opposite the fullest credit for doing the best they can in the interests of the country. I ask if you are doing the wisest thing, not with regard to your Party—for I am afraid noble Lords opposite would not take my advice on questions of Party strategy—but whether you are doing the wisest thing with regard to this House? You are placing this House, this ancient Institution, in a position for which it is most unsuited and most unfitted—I mean the risky and unsuitable position of trying to dam a torrent of popular feeling. You may have a thing which is valuable of itself, but you may put it to a very bad use. A connoisseur paid £4,500 the other day for an ancient, elaborate, costly horn. That would be a very bad instrument for poking the fire with. But that is precisely what

you are about to do on this occasion. You are using an Institution of the most ancient and most valuable kind to stir up a conflagration of which neither you nor I can pretend to see the limits.

Let me lay another consideration before you. You are about to put yourselves in antagonism with an army as large as that of Xerxes—2,000,000 strong—2,000,000 of persons determined to have this vote—and in the breach to resist these 2,000,000, there is an army about as large as that which defended Thermopylæ. But the army at Thermopylæ had singular advantages which this House has not. It had natural advantages in its fighting ground, which I do not think noble Lords opposite possess, because they are fighting in a plain, without reinforcements, or supports of any kind. You may say, as was said in reference to another military transaction, *C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.* But what will be the feeling of this host of 2,000,000 of men whom you are trying to keep out? You cannot substantially retard the enfranchisement which they desire. They will have the vote in 1886, whether you pass this Resolution or not. They consider it a birthright born of the General Election, and the decision of the House of Commons. I am afraid they will not understand your fine discrimination as to votes being valueless without redistribution. I am afraid they will see the fatal flaw which underlay the whole of the noble and learned Earl's ingenious speech. He said—"Oh, it is nothing to get a vote—it is the question of redistribution which is important." But the point is this, not what noble Lords here think as to the value of the vote, but what the 2,000,000 who want the vote think about it, and whether the millions who have the vote already think it absolutely valueless without an ingenious arrangement of redistribution. My Lords, this House is in want of friends. There is no institution in this country which does not want friends at one time or another. You might admit 2,000,000 friends, you insist on admitting 2,000,000 enemies. Now, there are two classes of voters who will be admitted by this Bill. There are the agricultural classes, who have a fair right to look to the Conservative Party as their friends—who have always looked upon the Conservative Party as their friends, and who, I am afraid, will not understand thn action of noble Lords opposite, who appear determined to retard their enjoyment of the franchise. They will consider your action as a sign of mistrust; they will not understand your reluctance to give them the vote. If you reckon on them for the future, you will have some difficulty in explaining how you came to pass an Amendment disappointing them on the present occasion. Then there is the non-agricultural class. Each time those who belong to that class cross the legal line which parts the boroughs from the counties, they will reflect upon the fact that they might have enjoyed a vote if it had not been for the action of your Lordships. So often as they meet voters who live within the magic line, they will say—"There is no difference between us; but we are not voters, while they are; and this stigma is attached to us by the House of Lords." And I venture to ask your Lordships whether it is a blessing or a curse that they will offer upon this House?

I think I have laid before you considerations which cannot be disregarded by any House, however powerful or authoritative it may be. If the people of this country be with you, you are justified in the course you are going to take to-night. If the House of Commons does not represent the people of this country, you are justified in the course you are going to take to-night. If the 3,000,000 of voters who already possess the suffrage are anxious to preserve the artificial legal distinction between the town and the country, then, my Lords, you are justified in the course you are going to take to-night. If the 2,000,000 non-electors who are reckoning upon the promises and the votes of the House of Commons, and upon the practical unanimity with which the Bill has passed, feel that they are not entitled to the vote which you are about to deny them, and are prepared to kiss the rod with which you chastise them, you are justified in the course you are going to take to-night. But, my Lords, is it on such hopes and on such prognostications that you are about to face the storms of popular prejudice and popular indignation? The crisis is grave. We stand by a precipice, if we are not hurrying to it; and I cannot solace myself with any of those honeyed expres-

sions about our authority, and our standing in the country, which afford so much consolation to the noble and learned Earl. I see a situation as grave as the unwisdom of a Leader and the misguided strength of a Party in this House are able to produce. And, therefore, I think that, when we consider what we have at stake to-night, we have a right to appeal to the more independent Members of this House. I do not pretend to say that we have at stake to-night the existence of this House, because I do not think so; but we have at stake that without which existence is not valuable or tolerable—the weight and the authority which are given by wise decisions and by sympathy with the nation, that nation for which we legislate, but which governs us. I venture to appeal to the independent Members of this House to pause before they vote for the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl. I was interested in the defence of the Cross Benches which came from the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) who has sat so long during his Parliamentary career on the Front Bench, and I am quite willing to indorse all that he said. But I appeal to these crowded Cross Benches, which are always calling for enlargement—to those who can regard politics without being influenced by mere temporary Party prejudices—I appeal to them to pause before they endorse the action of the noble and learned Earl. My Lords, if I may make another appeal, it will be to those right reverend Prelates who in this House represent a faith, and who preach a gospel which is not merely a message of peace and goodwill to the world, but which is also the highest and the purest conception of democracy yet vouchsafed to mankind. I appeal to them to assist us in giving this great privilege to 2,000,000 of our countrymen, and I appeal to them to preserve this House from the storms and anxieties that we must face if we pass this Resolution. I do not say that I regard this Motion as a wanton one—wanton is too strong a word. I have no right, either from my standing or my age, to use any such expression. But I have the right to ask your Lordships, on every consideration, public, private, and personal, which can influence an ancient and illustrious Senate; in the interests of your Order, of your authority, and of your Party, to pause before you pass a Resolution which may strike a fatal blow at their existence.

THE DUKE OF RUTLAND said, the noble Earl who spoke last (the Earl of Rosebery) seemed to forget that there were two sides to the House, and that there were independent men—at any rate, he hoped so—on the Government side of the House as well as on the side of the Opposition. He did not know, therefore, why the noble Earl did not appeal to the Benches on the Ministerial side to give an independent vote, as well as to noble Lords on the Opposition Benches. The noble Earl had declared the Bill to be a great measure of justice. He (the Duke of Rutland) should like to ask the noble Earl one question—he had asked them many. If the Bill involved a question of justice, how was it the Government of the Party to which he belonged, though it had a large majority at its back, had allowed the year 1880 to pass, the year 1881, the year 1882, and the year 1883, without urging on Parliament the necessity of taking into consideration this question of justice? One great advantage that had accrued from the debate was that misrepresentation had been gradually cleared away, until now it was admitted that there was not a single noble Lord who was opposed to the extension of the franchise. He had observed that when the whole wage-earning and labouring classes of a country obtained political power the first thing they did was to demand protection for their own industries. The other night the noble Lord the President of the Council (Lord Carlingford) occupied the chair at the Cobden Club dinner. He was much mistaken if the noble Lord did not feel on that occasion that if the Franchise Bill passed, and if the labouring classes were enfranchised, Free Trade would be in jeopardy, and that the industrial classes would insist upon a return to Protection. The noble Lord who presided at the Cobden Club dinner, not knowing what to say, told an anecdote of a Blue Ribbon man who was found drunk excusing himself by saying that although he was a total abstainer he was no bigot—which was more than the Club could say, for it held that it was right while all the nations of Europe were wrong; and the like bigotry was exhibited on this question. His objection to the present Bill was that em-

bodied in the Amendment of the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns), that it was not accompanied by the safeguard of redistribution. Redistribution was promised them; but what security was there, if their Lordships passed this Bill, that a Redistribution Bill would be passed next year, or the year after; or, even if one were introduced, what security was there that it would be a fair and honest Bill? Neither the Prime Minister nor the noble Earl who moved the second reading of the Bill (the Earl of Kimberley) had given any satisfactory indication of what the redistribution would be. He (the Duke of Rutland) totally and emphatically denied that the Conservative Peers were opposed to the will of the people. They were merely seeking to give the people a means of expressing their will as to the course proposed. Each Party said it had the country with it. Now, which was likely to be right—the Conservatives who wanted to test that point—or the Government who were afraid to do so? Reference had been made to the Conservative tendencies of the Prime Minister; but he was not the whole Cabinet. In a journal supposed to be inspired by one of the leading followers of the Prime Minister, it was stated that—

"The House of Lords might continue to exist as a House of respectable dummies, just as Gog and Magog were allowed to occupy niches in the Guildhall, and would remain there as curious relics of the past, even though the government of the City were entirely changed. If, however, the Lords declined to accept the position of waxwork figures, and prove themselves more than negatively obstructive, they would have to be melted down and their wax run into another mould."

That was from a paper called *Truth*. He should be sorry to see his noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Rosebery), who was such an ornament to that House, sitting there as a dummy, wrapped in his scarlet robe, and not having the power of speech or action. Why, nothing could be so lamentable. He would much rather see him melted down and his wax running into the gutter. He hoped their Lordships would do what they thought right, regardless of any sarcasms which might be cast upon them. He believed they would almost unanimously decide to give freedom of speech and liberty of action to the electors and the people, who would thus once more have occasion to exclaim—"Thank God we have a House of Lords."

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE observed, that he was greatly surprised at the tactics which the Party opposite seemed inclined to adopt in reference to this question. The noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns), who had spoken on the previous day, was very indignant with the Secretary of State for India, because he suggested that there must be something at the back of the Amendment, and that what was really aimed at was neither more nor less than a Dissolution of Parliament. But what said the noble Earl who opened the debate that night? He derided and ridiculed the idea of the anger of the country, and asked why they should fear it if they rejected this Bill? On the contrary, said the noble Earl, they appealed to the verdict of the country and to public opinion. And then he went on to twit Her Majesty's Government with their unwillingness to face a Dissolution. He said it was strange that a popular Government, with a popular Minister at its head, should be unwilling to face the constituencies. He (the Earl of Dalhousie) listened with no little astonishment to such a declaration—he might say such a revelation—after the disclaimer of the noble and learned Earl on the previous night. He should like to ask which of these two views was correct? They could not both be correct, for they were absolutely at variance with each other. If the House was to be logical, if their Lordships really did approve of the extension of the franchise to the counties—which, after all, was the great principle of the Bill—then the proper and natural thing for them to do would be to pass the second reading of the Bill, and so amend it in Committee as to insure that it would not come into operation until a measure of redistribution was passed. He was sure it was a very important matter, at all events from the point of view of noble Lords opposite, that when they were about to enter into a grave conflict with the House of Commons—and, as he thought, with the people of this country—they should take the greatest possible pains to avoid anything like a misunderstanding of their attitude. It would be very unfortunate if the people of the country did not clearly understand the attitude of their Lordships' House; and with the facts

which it was proposed that this House shall now place before them, he (the Earl of Dalhousie) must say that he thought it highly improbable that they would interpret the failure of this Bill in the sense in which noble Lords opposite seemed to expect. The noble and learned Earl who moved the Resolution was very emphatic on this point of Parliamentary tactics, for it was nothing more. He observed that he understood it to be said by some people, why was this Bill not amended so as to prevent it coming into operation until a Redistribution Bill was passed; and the noble Earl's answer was, that he did not propose such an Amendment, because it had been already rejected in the House of Commons, and would certainly be refused in their Lordships' House; while, moreover, it would be merely postponing the final issue to a somewhat later date. But even if that were so, would it not be wise for that House to take up a sound, logical, and, so far as was possible, a defensible position on that question. Noble Lords opposite were much amused when the Under Secretary of State for War suggested that they might, possibly, be denounced on the platforms throughout the country. If, however, they rejected, in the manner now proposed, that Bill, which had passed through all its stages in the other House by such large majorities, and which was there read a third time without a dissentient voice, it would be very difficult for any friend of the House of Lords to make a good defence of its action before the country. The statement that the two things—enfranchisement and redistribution—should go together, was in the nature of an abstract proposition. No one disputed the desirableness of combining the two things. It was extremely desirable. The only objection to that course was that it was impossible, and in the progress of the present Bill they had had proof of the utter impossibility of adopting it. The Bill now before the House had occupied 24 nights of prolonged discussion in the other House. It was introduced into the House of Commons in February, and had finally reached their Lordships at the end of June; and did any sane man believe that if redistribution had been tacked on to it, the Bill would have had any chance of reaching that House in the present Session? Some noble Lords might think that that might be a very good reason for tacking redistribution to the Franchise Bill; but, at all events, no one had ventured to express that view, or anything like it. As to the inconvenience and hardship which might result from the passing of the Bill without redistribution, in the event of a General Election taking place before a measure of redistribution could be passed, he must point out that such inconvenience would only be temporary, and, so far as it might exist, it would only have the effect of pressing forward a Bill which noble Lords opposite professed to be so anxious to obtain. If they passed the present Bill they would give a practical proof to the country of their anxiety to see the franchise given to the counties; and the influence of their Lordships would thus be very much greater in dealing with redistribution than if they summarily rejected the Bill on the second reading. As to the matter of precedents for the course now pursued by the Government, on which many speakers had laid great stress, he thought there were obvious reasons for the Government departing from them. It was said that formerly they had had separate Reform Bills for England, Scotland, and Ireland, each accompanied with its measure of redistribution. Owing to the recent disturbed state of Ireland, it was, he believed, extremely desirable that that country should be treated on precisely the same footing as the other portions of the United Kingdom, and that no ground should be given for the people of Ireland saying that they had not received justice from Parliament. Supposing separate Bills had been introduced dealing with England, Ireland, and Scotland separately, it was not at all impossible that the Bill dealing with Ireland might have fallen through, or have been so amended as to place Ireland at a disadvantage as compared with the subjects of the United Kingdom. He had heard it said, too, that the people of England did not greatly care about the Bill now before the House, and that there had been no strong agitation in its favour such as there was in the year 1832. One reason for that was that the people knew the Government were thoroughly in earnest on the matter, and that they felt confident that the enfranchisement of the rural popu-

lation could not be long delayed. It seemed to him absolutely childish to argue that the people of this country did not want the Bill, or that the question was not raised at the time of the last General Election. If there was one domestic measure to which he believed every single Liberal candidate was then pledged it was the extension of the franchise. In the last Parliament the Liberal Party voted as one man in favour of Mr. Trevelyan's Resolution; and how, therefore, the noble Earl who opened the debate that night could say what he had said on this point passed his comprehension. The people knew very well when they elected the present Parliament that the Liberal Party was pledged by its previous action to extend the franchise to the counties. He could see no reason why the people should change their mind in regard to a great Constitutional measure of this kind. He could not for the life of him imagine what could make them deem a measure which they strenuously supported four years ago to be no longer desirable. Again, their Lordships would do well to remember that that particular Bill was one which referred exclusively to the constitution of the House of Commons, and affected the representative rights of the people by whom the other House was elected. Did their Lordships think they were choosing their battle-ground wisely in opposing the second reading of such a Bill as that? Did they think that, in the long run, they would win? If not, were they content that the ancient House of Peers should be made the stalking-horse of the Conservative Party, for that was what it came to? He did not know what might be the end of the question which it seemed noble Lords opposite were determined to raise; but, sitting on the Liberal side of the House, he would say, if they must come in conflict with the House of Commons, let them choose their ground with wisdom; let them take up good vantage ground; let them have some reason to hope that public opinion would support them; at all events, let them have a just and good cause; and then, if they failed, posterity might perhaps shed a tear over the grave of the House of Lords. If they looked back to history, and judged the present situation by the light of history, they would at once perceive how the House of Lords was weakened by its futile resistance to the Reform Bill of 1832. Many men of moderate opinions doubted at that time whether the House of Lords should continue to exist; and it took a great many years, under the able guidance of Lord Aberdeen, Lord Lyndhurst, and the Duke of Wellington, with the indirect assistance of Sir Robert Peel, before the House recovered its position in the estimation of the English people. He thought the situation was very similar to the situation of those days, except in one particular—namely, that the spirit of the age was against the House of Lords. If they lost ground now, they might depend upon it that they would never regain it. There was nothing which the extreme Radical Party in the country disliked so much as wise and moderate action on the part of their Lordships' House. He had himself a good many friends and acquaintances among the Radical Party in the House of Commons, and he knew pretty well what they thought on the matter. He knew at that moment that the enemies of that House were positively dancing for joy at the prospect that their Lordships would reject this Bill. Returning to the House on the previous evening he met a few Radical Members in the Lobby; they were in high spirits, and he ventured to inquire the reason of their delight, and also how things were going on in their Lordships' House, from which place they had just come. "Oh," they said, "nothing could be better; the Lords evidently intend rejecting the Bill;" and one of them added—"The rejection of that Bill will make my seat quite safe, and will be a glorious question for us to go to the country upon; we shall return with a large majority. We do not wish to abolish the House of Lords"—this, no doubt, out of consideration for his (the Earl of Dalhousie's) feelings — "but we shall give it a shock from which it will not recover." That was the view of a sensible and able man who represented a very large borough in the county of Lancaster, and who was a fair sample of the bone and sinew of the Radical Party. From their point of view that was a correct view of the situation; and he therefore asked their Lordships was it wise to play into such hands? What did they expect to gain by this Party movement, even if they fought out the battle to the bitter end? All their

Lordships could hope to gain would be that at the next General Election the contest would be fought out on the present Register. The Conservative Party might gain a few seats if that occurred. Recent elections seemed to render that contingency not improbable; and he had no doubt they would come back with a somewhat better following in the House of Commons than they at present had; but would their Lordships, for a gain so trivial, so insignificant, so fleeting and temporary in its character, consent to do that which would permanently weaken the authority and influence of the House of Lords? That was a "penny wise and a pound foolish" sort of policy. He would ask their Lordships to consider the matter from another point of view. It was admitted on all hands that the present Franchise Bill was a moderate measure. The "one man one vote" principle did not appear in it. If their Lordships rejected the Bill, did they think it likely that they would ever again see so moderate a Reform Bill? It was, he believed, certain, judging from the events which the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) had brought under the notice of the House, that in framing this measure the views of the Radical section of the Government did not prevail; but did they not think it likely that, if a strong agitation were to be got up on the Bill now before their Lordships, and on the action which their Lordships' House was now asked to take in regard to it, the Prime Minister might be compelled to yield to the advanced section of the Liberal Party? Again, as to the question of redistribution, they knew in a general way the lines on which such a measure would proceed if brought in by the present Administration. They knew the views of the Prime Minister on the question, and they heard last night the views of the Secretary of State for India. In any Government where the present Prime Minister was supreme, or in which the noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) held Office, it was certain that the Redistribution Bill would be of a moderate character. If, however, the question were relegated to a future Parliament, it was impossible to say how it might be dealt with, or in what circumstances it might be passed. It was very chivalrous, no doubt, to talk about the House of Lords sacrificing its popularity and its influence for the sake of the country; but how did the matter stand if the House of Lords not only sacrificed itself, but sacrificed the country too? Would it be any benefit to the country to be plunged for months into a state of violent agitation and political excitement? He could understand the Radicals thinking so, and he believed most of them did; but he could hardly believe that to be the view of the Party opposite. A struggle of that kind once begun could only have one end in these days, and that not a favourable one for their Lordships. Could noble Lords not see that the course proposed to be taken would weaken the influence of the House, and that their action would necessitate the bringing in of a more drastic measure of Reform than the present Bill? The experience of 1866 threw some light on that part of the question. For his own part, he did not suppose that the influence of their Lordships' House could continue for ever, in the face of an advancing Democracy, to be as great as it was at that moment. He did not know that it was desirable that it should. But he would far rather, for their own sakes, for the sake of their own reputation for statesmanship, moderation, and good sense, that the diminution of that influence took place by the natural process of time and circumstances than that by a great political blunder they should commit political suicide.

THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH, who was very indistinctly heard, said, it was one of the highest duties of that House to perform the functions of a Court of Review. If, after full consideration of this Bill, they found it to be an incomplete measure, wanting just that which had been termed the pith and marrow of any Reform Bill — namely, redistribution — would they be justified in accepting it with all its imperfections? It was quite true that there was a general unanimity as to the principle of extending the franchise; but there was equal unanimity in describing the present Bill as an imperfect measure. The noble Earl who introduced the Bill told the House so, and added that he should have liked to have dealt with redistribution in the same Bill. It was an imperfect Bill, and their Lordships would not be doing right in accepting it as such. He lived in a part of the country where there were family houses and vast tracts of land acquired by

men through their own industry; men who had conferred unspeakable blessings on a vast number of the homes of the working classes. These men were very proud of their position, and proud of their political power; and they would view with alarm the prospect of obliteration and of becoming political nonentities by the enormous and overpowering majority of votes which this simple Bill would pour into numerous constituencies. They were threatened with agitation, and he had no doubt agitation would follow the rejection of this Bill. They were also told that they were running their heads against a wall, and inviting a collision with the other House of Parliament. He was old enough to remember that the two Houses had collided before on several occasions, and no great damage had ensued. He only wished that all collisions were as harmless. They could judge of the means which would be used to stir up agitation on the rejection of this Bill; but their Lordships would be very much mistaken if they thought that all working men were such excitable beings. They would say, if the House of Lords was to be intimidated by threats, what was the use of it? The Government would be reminded of pledges broken and promises laid aside in the interests of Party. They would be reminded of the women occupiers whose case they refused to decide on its merits, and they would hear a good deal about the blood-stained sands of the Soudan, and about their action in Egypt. There was an institution which he desired to see swept away, and that was the institution of Party cries, to which the Liberals clung with a Toryism which was surprising; and they used them with a power which was alarming. In support of their policy they had forgotten entirely both their principles and their pledges. The supporters of the Amendment before the House did not fear agitation, because they knew who would get the worst of the contest. Those who were excited against their Lordships' House should remember from what quarter the Amendment came. The noble and learned Earl who had proposed it did not take his seat in that Chamber as an hereditary privilege. His position was the result of his industry, talent, and honesty; and a proposal coming from a person in such a high position won by such qualities could not fail to impress the country. He admitted that the question before the House bristled with difficulties on all sides, and to some extent with danger, and he did not know what a poor Peer was to do. If the Opposition were to allow the Bill to pass the stage of second reading unchallenged, and were then to propose in Committee an Amendment likely to upset the Bill, they would be charged, and he thought rightly charged, with insincerity. They were told they were to enter into a conflict; but he did not think it would be so alarming as some noble Lords seemed to apprehend. He did not believe their Lordships would get the worst of the fight if it came to that. Let them in that conflict bear in mind the good old English adage—"Honesty is the best policy." Let them take their stand upon their Constitutional right to amend or to refuse ill-considered, imperfect legislation; and depend upon it, the country would give them credit, at any rate, for their motives, and, in his belief, would afford them a very considerable amount of support.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY contended that very little risk of harm was involved in the possibility of an Election taking place next year before the introduction of a scheme of redistribution. The risk was that electors in small boroughs would have their voting power reduced to one-fortieth or one-eightieth of its present value. That was not a very cogent argument to adduce against the Bill, when the promises of the Government to introduce a measure of redistribution next Session were borne in mind. Most of the arguments that had come from the other side of the House dealt with the question of representation, and the manner in which the voting power was to be distributed, but had nothing to do with the question of equalization of the county and borough franchise. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) had spoken as if only 500,000 of the 2,000,000 persons to be enfranchised belonged to rural districts, and the remaining 1,500,000 belonged to urban districts. He thought there must be some mistake about those figures; but he admitted that various classes would be introduced by the new Bill, and that—though he believed agricultural labourers were fit to exercise the franchise—if all the new electors had belonged to the agricultural class, or to any other single class, he

would have hesitated to vote for the second reading of this Bill. With respect to the statements that a menace had been addressed to the Crown, he did not believe that any menace was intended. There might be a quarrel. But, in the words of Shakespeare, "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just;" and if there was to be a quarrel, those who voted for the second reading of the Bill would, he believed, have justice and right on their side.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY, rising with a number of other noble Lords, appealed to be heard, on the ground that he had risen several times before. He quoted extracts from speeches of the Prime Minister to show that the right hon. Gentleman formerly expressed a strong opinion in favour of accompanying a Franchise Bill with a Bill for a redistribution of seats. Having quoted the words of the Prime Minister with reference to the Redistribution Bill promised for next year, he asked whether it did not appear from the description of it given by the right hon. Gentleman himself, that the Bill was to be of the most colossal form? Was it honest, then, on the part of the Prime Minister, in this fifth Session of Parliament, to ask their Lordships to read a fragmentary Bill, simply extending the franchise, which they were all prepared to do, when next year they were to have a Bill covering all the ground to which he had referred? He would only allude to one of the 11 points which Mr. Gladstone had described as, in his opinion, necessary principles of a Redistribution Bill. The Prime Minister took his stand on the principle that Ireland should have the same number of Members as at present. There was no justification for such a proposal, whether wealth, numbers, or any other qualification was taken into account. While giving the Government credit for sincerity in wishing to bring in an enormous Redistribution Bill next year, he would ask whether they had the power to do so; and unless they could show that they had not only the will, but the power, he maintained that their Lordships would not be justified in passing a measure dealing simply with the franchise. He heartily supported the Amendment.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, the only remarks which he should address to their Lordships would have reference to the position of their Lordships' House with regard to the debate. All that he intended to have said with regard to the Bill had already been eloquently stated. Whatever might be said as to the conclusion at which their Lordships might arrive, this, at all events, would be said—that on the occasion of a great debate like this their Lordships could rise to the position of the debate, and could conduct it in a manner which would compare not unfavourably with similar debates in "another place." Every Member of their Lordships' House, he felt, had a distinct interest in these proceedings and in the position which was taken up by the House; and he wished to say, in simple terms, exactly what he thought with regard to the course which their Lordships might think fit to take. All the speeches that had been delivered had been made in one tone only, and even noble Lords on the Opposition Benches had refrained from opposing the principle of the Bill. Noble Lords opposite, however, although they had spoken in favour of the principle of the Bill, had come to the conclusion to vote against it. There was really no difference between the two sides of the House with reference to the principle of the Bill; and, that being so, the noble and learned Earl who moved the Amendment was facing a great responsibility; he was declining to accept the measure, not because he disliked it on its own merits, but because he refused the guarantees which the Government had given on the subject of redistribution, which guarantees the other House had considered satisfactory. Was not the responsibility which the noble and learned Earl asked their Lordships to assume of a very serious character? Were they who sat in that House to decline to ask that which the country itself would ask—namely, what was the duty of their Lordships' House as a Second Chamber under present circumstances? Bills had often been passed through that House of which the majority of their Lordships had disapproved, and that course had been characterized as a surrender. But to him such conduct bore an entirely different interpretation. It seemed to him that the House on those occasions had shown that it thoroughly understood its position as a Second Chamber. The speech of the Prime Minister on the third reading of the

Bill in the other House, with reference to the action of their Lordships, had been commented upon. He frankly said that he wished that speech had never been made; but he was fully persuaded that in making it the only desire of the Prime Minister was that the Bill should not fail to pass their Lordships' House. On the other hand, it would always stand as an instance in which the Prime Minister used language which they must all admit was of a threatening character towards that House, when a measure which was under discussion had not even been submitted to their Lordships. In performing their duty on that occasion, he hoped their Lordships would consider what really was the true interest of the House of Lords. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) had said this matter was in the hands of the Government; but had the Opposition ever approached the Government on that matter? Had any overture been made to his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs? Was it not an extraordinary thing to say that, whereas they were favourable to the principle of the Bill, yet because in "another place" an offer was refused, therefore they thought it unnecessary to make an offer in that House? If he thought there was the slightest chance of obtaining any support from the House, he would move the adjournment of the debate; because he could not believe that the House was prepared, without further consideration, absolutely to reject the Bill. He believed that there was a spirit of compromise in that House far stronger than they were entitled to suppose from any expression which had been given to such a sentiment; and he could not think that the House would place itself in a false position by refusing, by a large majority, to go into Committee. He could not believe that they would throw out the Bill. He hoped other speakers would take the tone he had adopted. If anyone would move the adjournment of the debate, he should only be too anxious to support that Motion, and he should do it for this reason. Having sat in the House for many years, and having listened attentively to all the great debates there, he never remembered a situation which had appeared to him so difficult to retreat from, and for which there appeared to him so little of excuse.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he would not have trespassed upon the House at so late an hour; but he had listened anxiously to all the speeches made on the chance of their affecting the conclusion to which, after anxious thought, he had come as to the vote which it was his duty to give. He well remembered the astonishment with which in "another place," 30 years ago, he heard the author of the Reform Bill say 20 years had elapsed since it was passed, and it was time to consider another. That was in 1852, after the noble Lord had said in 1848 that the machine was working well, and there was no occasion for Reform. After a succession of Bills they were again called upon to reform the Constitution. This constant pulling to pieces of the machine appeared to him very doubtful policy in an ancient Constitution such as theirs, which had given them more liberty, and, upon the whole, greater security for property, than any Constitution which the world had ever seen. But in the wisdom of Parliament it was again desirable to put the machine in the smelting pot. Now, what were the grounds that were given for this change? They had heard from several speakers that this question of the extension of the franchise was prominently before the constituencies of the Kingdom at the General Election, and was then practically decided by them. He ventured absolutely to dispute that fact. He had applied to a most valuable institution, called the Universal Knowledge and Information Office, in Bloomsbury, which had been instituted by Lord Truro, and had obtained some figures which showed that of the Liberals who were returned at the last Election 153 referred to the extension of the franchise, and 73 who were not returned referred to it. Six Conservative candidates who were returned referred to it, and 23 who were not returned referred to it; 28 Home Rulers who were returned referred to it, and 12 who were not returned referred to it. The general result was that less than one-third of the whole Members of the House of Commons referred to the question of electoral Reform. The argument, therefore, entirely failed that the constituencies had already decided the question. It was said that there were anomalies in their system; but their Constitution was the slow growth of

ages, and it was full of anomalies which did not interfere with its vigour. The argument that the franchise was a right, and that to withhold it was an injustice, was not used in former days, was not used by Lord John Russell; he spoke of the right to freedom, to security for property, and to be well governed. That sacred doctrine was now abandoned. The justice which Parliament owed to the unenfranchised and to all was that they should have freedom and security, and Parliament had to consider the benefit of the nation at large; still, as the question stood, it was inevitable that this Bill should pass. Without saying anything offensive of the new voters, it was, nevertheless, true that it was not unlikely that they would be made more or less the tools of interested Democratic agitators; and in these days, when Socialistic doctrines were heard of in public meetings, and for the last 14 years had found their place in the measures of the Government of the day, there was great danger in bringing suddenly into the Constitution 2,000,000 of men who would be made the tools of designing agitators. He would, however, vote for the second reading of the Bill, provided a guarantee was given for a redistribution of seats. But the question he had to put that night was whether, feeling as he did much doubt and anxiety as to the result of this measure upon the Constitution, upon liberty, and upon property in this country, it was not his duty to vote for the Amendment of his noble and learned Friend? After much anxious thought the conclusion he had come to was that it was his duty not only not to vote for the Amendment, but to vote for the second reading of the Bill. And why? The Bill was accepted in principle. It was accepted in principle in the other House by both Parties; its principle was accepted in the Amendment of his noble and learned Friend; and the only question was, whether or not the Bill should be accompanied by redistribution? He was bound to say that, having listened to the speech of his noble and learned Friend who moved the Amendment, he felt that the arguments he adduced in favour of redistribution being concurrent with the enfranchisement of the new voters were absolutely unanswerable. But, still, that speech appeared to him wholly to give the go-by to the alternative which remained—namely, that instead of throwing out the Bill they should pass its second reading, and after that do what his noble and learned Friend wished, only in a different way. Let them, either by a clause in the Bill or by an Instruction to the Committee, insure that the Bill would not become an operative Act except in conjunction with a measure for the redistribution of seats. That appeared to him to be a legitimate course, and an alternative for their Lordships to adopt. The Secretary of State for the Colonies had in his speech shadowed out what appeared to be something like holding out the hand to noble Lords opposite to him, and seemed to say that if they only read the Bill a second time they would consider the question so to tie up the measure as that it should not come into operation without redistribution of seats. No doubt, afterwards, the noble Earl, with his nicely-balanced mind, rather whittled away his previous statement; but he was not without hope that if they received any favourable indication from the Conservative Leaders in that House the Government might be inclined to adopt some step of that kind which might get all parties out of a serious difficulty. But he was afraid that there was little chance of the second reading of the Bill being carried. He dreaded the consequences to a certain extent; because he knew that there was likely to arise in the country an agitation, the effect of which would be hurtful in the extreme to the best interests of this country—hurtful also to the Conservative Party, but highly beneficial to Her Majesty's Government. He did not believe it would add to their difficulty in regard to the question of Reform; but under cover of that Reform agitation, and under cover of that attack which, they might depend upon it, was impending over their Lordships' House, the Government would escape, he would not say from censure and condemnation, but from that hostile criticism, which their administration of the affairs of this great country, whether they looked to Ireland, to India, to South Africa, or to Egypt, had brought, or ought to bring, upon them. It was solely in the interests of the Constitution, for the sake of peace in this country, for the sake of their Lordships' House, and, if he might add, in the interests of true Conservatism

—because he could not conceive a greater evil happening to the Conservative Party than that it should go forth to those who were about to be enfranchised that their non-enfranchisement was due to the action of that Party—in the interests of true Conservatism he earnestly prayed that a majority of their Lordships might give a second reading to that Bill.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said, he would not presume to repeat any of the arguments which had been nobly urged on both sides of the House in support of the Bill; but as he felt called upon to vote he believed it was his duty to say a word upon the subject. Like others on both sides of the House, he could have wished that redistribution had been included in the measure of enfranchisement; but the arguments which had been stated convinced him that it was at present impossible to prepare a measure of redistribution. He could not think that having to wait for redistribution was a sufficient reason for stopping the progress of that Bill. To stop it now, when it was evident that it might be amended in Committee and a clause inserted to secure redistribution, was tantamount to denying the principle of the Bill. He could not believe that the principle of the Bill was, after all, to be denied. It was conceded long ago; it had been re-affirmed now by all, and this was really only a measure for the expansion of a reform entered into long ago, and one which had become an essential part of the Constitution. Nor could he think it was intended to contradict the principle of the Bill, when the Bill itself was so moderate, when the country was so moderate about it, and when all the speeches made on both sides of the House had also been so moderate. There was one point which he thought ought not to have been introduced into the debate, and that was the expression of a fear of the consequences of this Bill. He could not say that he entered into the feeling of danger either way. He trusted the good sense of the country. The good sense of the country had brought them onward to where they stood at that moment. If it was said there was danger in passing that Bill it could only be meant that a Democracy would be created or reinforced; and, on the other hand, they were told, and told truly, that if they resisted the passing of the measure the Democracy would be provoked. So that whichever course they took Democracy was the spectre, and, as he believed, only a spectre. They were told that the country was Democratic now. If that were so, what would have been the difference in their Constitution, their habits, and in the behaviour of their people, if they had not been as Democratic as they were? Many ideas looked very revolutionary when first introduced, yet turned out to be the best measures which the country worked by. Nay, almost all the best things must necessarily look revolutionary when first introduced. If ours was a Democracy, it was a Democracy leavened with many saving principles. Their Lordships would remember the story of the rising waters of the Alban Lake, and of the overflow constructed for them by the early Kings. That work remained to this day under the name of the *Emissario*, and afforded a safe outlet for the water. In the same way there might be no danger from the rising of Democracy; but there certainly would be from badly managed banks. However, if the noble and learned Lord (Lord Fitzgerald), who had referred to his Predecessor's perils in 1832, should ever find himself, though for no fault of his own, endangered here, he would promise him a safe conduct over the Thames. He trusted their Lordships would act on the motto of one of their Members, *Che sara sara*, and let that be which must be. Let them do their duty, and the danger, if there were any, could be met when it came. A noble appeal had been made the night before to the independent Members of the House which it did the heart good to listen to. It was pointed out that that House ought all to consist of independent Members. If that House ought to be free, as it ought, then the Church ought in that House to be the very freest and most independent part of all. The Churchmen present in that House were—it was impressed upon them by their very dress, the very place assigned for their seats—not bound to any Party; they were markedly in the position of independent Members. He would dare to say let there be no thought of danger in this House. Many things which the House held dear depended upon the Church being independent. The Church trusted the people. How could they refrain from desiring to elevate the people by giving to them that

principle of independence upon which so much of progress depended? They were their flocks; they had taught them and educated them; and it was their business, and always would be, to elevate those classes by all the means in their power. He knew from converse with them what these people were. They were very much like other people. Let them not heed what agitators said and threatened to do. When working men were Churchmen there were no such Churchmen. At that moment he believed that Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, and the East End of London were the very best possible witnesses of what the sympathy of the Church for those orders of their people could do. At that moment, in the very stronghold where Mr. Bradlaugh was enshrined in the hearts of so many people—most mistakenly as a kind of unknown idol—there was in that very place another large body of workmen with a Committee of 300 building themselves a church. Other and wiser men of the same class which supported him were erecting a great church of their own; they had listened to the voice of the Church, and knew it to be in sympathy with them. The Church must go on giving heart and sympathy to those people, and he earnestly hoped and prayed that their Lordships might do the same; that they might, with clear minds, allow this second reading to take place, and then set to work with all energy to frame a measure of redistribution which all admitted to be just as necessary and as much desired as enfranchisement.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, in rising to take part in this great debate, on which I feel that issues of the most momentous character depend, I must plead guilty to a certain sense of unreality which almost depresses and discourages me when I think of the difference between the real question which your Lordships have to determine to-night — the question whether this Bill, enfranchising 2,000,000 of your countrymen, shall be read a second time or not—and the form of the Motion of the noble and learned Earl, which tenders a technical issue, merely as to the proper mode of procedure for the attainment of that object. My Lords, I must endeavour to deal with the Motion of the noble and learned Earl; but in doing so I feel that it is like fencing with a shadow, and that the real enemy is in the background. What are the two propositions contained in the Motion? I will postpone the noble and learned Earl's Preamble. I shall have some words to say about that afterwards; but the two propositions are—first, that there shall be no enfranchisement unless accompanied by redistribution; and, secondly, that if your Lordships can prevent it, there shall be no General Election in the interval between enfranchisement and redistribution. Now, my Lords, it has been said, by more than one speaker, that the arguments advanced for those propositions by the noble and learned Earl, who we all know has advanced them with as much skill as any man could, and the like arguments adduced on a former occasion by the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), now one of my Colleagues, are unanswerable. I do not care to enter into nice academical discussions about abstract arguments and theories, when we have to do with such practical issues as those on the present occasion; but, to the statement that they are unanswerable, I oppose the statement that they are arguments on which it is impossible to act—impossible politically, impossible in the light of past experience, impossible in present circumstances. My Lords, I recollect when I was at school a preacher in whose annual sermon on certain occasions we were told, among other things, that what is impossible cannot be done. That is the first answer which I make to the first proposition of the noble and learned Earl—the thing cannot be done; and I venture, differing here from him, to say that the whole light of past experience, as well as the force of present circumstances, shows us that it cannot be done. I grant that between the great events of 1831 and 1832 and the circumstances of the present time there are wide and important differences. I only hope and trust that the course which your Lordships may take to-night will not tend to make those differences less than at present they seem to be; but there were circumstances, independent of the great public excitement and public danger which accompanied the first Reform Bill, there were circumstances in the history of that measure which are not without an important bearing upon the question of the practicability of the proposition of the noble and learned Earl. That is the only great

The Archbishop of Canterbury

measure in which anyone has yet attempted to combine on a large scale, for England only—but I will not dwell upon that—all the branches of this great subject—enfranchisement and redistribution—and what the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1866 said was as necessary a part of the entire scheme as redistribution itself, the adjustment of boundaries. Well, my Lords, those were times in which, when the House of Commons addressed itself to any great work, it had, at least, the command of its own resources and of its own time. But even then what was the time occupied in getting that great measure through all its difficulties, and what was the nature of those difficulties, and from what source did they arise? It took three Sessions of two Parliaments. The first Bill of 1831 was wrecked by a Motion on one of the points of redistribution. Then, although the country had with one voice returned an immense majority to the new Parliament pledged to vote for the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill—still, to get through that measure with the mass of detail and the number of questions necessarily involved in such an entire scheme, the second Bill took in Committee of the House of Commons 40 days of continuous Sittings, and was not passed until the end of September. It was then sent up to your Lordships' House; and your Lordships, in that Session, and in those circumstances, rejected it by a large majority. There was a Prorogation of one month. It was brought in again; it passed again for several months through the same course in the House of Commons of continued Sittings for a vast number of days, and it came up to the House of Lords for the third time, when it was all but wrecked at the cost of violent revolution. On what point was it almost wrecked? Upon the Amendment of Lord Lyndhurst, which singularly enough not only turned upon the question of redistribution, but upon a proposition virtually the reverse of that now tendered by the noble and learned Earl. Lord Lyndhurst, having before this House a Bill which included all those subjects, made and carried a Motion to postpone the part relating to redistribution until the enfranchising clauses should have been carried, recognizing this principle—a principle unquestionably true and unquestionably practical—that you must know what your franchise is to be as the basis for your redistribution. We know what the sequel of that was. I pass now from that; and I only hope that your Lordships will not unnecessarily, at all events, bring back again those days and the dangers which it took so much to overcome. Then I come to the next step in this history. In 1866 we had a situation somewhat similar. The Government were very well aware that they had no chance of carrying a measure which included both franchise and redistribution; still, desiring to meet as far as they could the plausible and reasonable desire to deal with the whole subject in one view, as far as that might be practicable, they brought in their Bill for the enlargement of the franchise, and afterwards promised also to lay upon the Table a Bill for redistribution. Then Earl Grosvenor moved his well-known Amendment, which bears a strong family likeness to the Amendment on the present occasion—an Amendment which declared that it was inexpedient to discuss the question of the franchise until the House was in possession of the entire scheme of redistribution; and my noble Friend, who was then Lord Stanley, reversing the proposition of Lord Lyndhurst, said the Government had made a mistake, and had commenced at the wrong end, and that the question of redistribution ought to be taken first. Well, my Lords, those were criticisms addressed not to the House of Lords, but to the House of Commons; and the House of Commons was not then willing to extend the franchise, or to pledge itself to an extension of the franchise, unless it could at the same time consider and settle those other points. Earl Grosvenor's Amendment was lost by five; but in Committee an Amendment opposed to the Bill on a question relating to the franchise was moved by Lord Dunkellin, and carried. Now, what is the moral to be drawn from the fate of that measure? That if you mix up these things together, each part of the measure is played off against the other—redistribution against franchise, and franchise against redistribution; and the consequence is that you cannot, under any ordinary political circumstances, extricate yourselves from the difficulties in which you are entangled by the attempt to deal with so large and so complicated a

matter, not in its natural order, but all at once. Nothing proved this better than the sequel, which occurred in 1867. One would have thought that when the men came into Office who had supported Earl Grosvenor's Amendment, and had laid down those propositions in the House of Commons, they would have brought forward some "well-considered and complete scheme." Those who remember the singular occurrences of the early part of 1867 can form their own opinion as to whether there was any such scheme. I will not dwell on that point; but it shows how easy it is to lay down rules for other people, which, when you come to act upon them yourself, break down under your feet. At last a Bill was produced in 1867. That Bill, in its progress through the House of Commons, took from the 18th of March to the 22nd of July. As to whether it was a "well-considered measure," I shall say nothing; but certainly it came out of Committee a very different Bill from what it went in. Was it a complete Bill? Did it deal with the question of redistribution in a large and complete way—in the sort of way in which we are now expected to deal with redistribution? It created 38 new seats, without wholly disfranchising any borough, however small; those seats being provided, partly by the appropriation of a few which were previously in abeyance, and partly by taking away one Member from certain constituencies which had before returned two Members. As has been well said, the effect of connecting redistribution with the franchise on that occasion was that the redistribution was of a very trifling and merely temporary character. A good many things have happened since 1867. There were at that time not so many speakers in the House of Commons, not so many Questions were asked, the machinery of legislation moved much more smoothly and easily, there was no systematic "Obstruction." There has since been a general change in the habits of business of the House of Commons, the effect of which is that the Government have now much less command over the time of the House, and less power of obtaining the time necessary for carrying great measures. Under such circumstances, to introduce such a Bill as the noble and learned Earl makes a *sine quâ non* would be regarded, I believe, by almost every sane man except the noble and learned Earl himself, as inconsistent with a sincere desire to pass it into law. Next Session, as the noble and learned Earl reminded your Lordships, we shall have to consider important questions arising out of the termination of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act. Some time must be allowed for the consideration of Irish affairs. Nobody, I suppose, can be so sanguine as to hope that the affairs of Egypt will then be in such a position as no longer to give any occasion for discussion or debate. Under such circumstances, to insist on doing at once two things which can be done separately is certainly not a very practical proposal. But the matter does not rest there. Even the present Bill of 13 clauses, which are of so reasonable a character that they seem at this moment to receive universal consent, not even your Lordships having bestowed upon them adverse criticism, took from, I think, the 28th of February until the very end of June. The future redistribution ought to be large, and the Prime Minister has not improperly compared it to the measure of 1832 rather than that of 1867; and what possibility would there have been of carrying a measure, including the whole of that great subject, with I suppose boundaries also, if the Government had attempted to do so? It has been suggested that we should re-introduce a Bill next Session made up of the present Franchise Bill with a redistribution scheme added. The franchise part of the scheme would not, it is said, demand any discussion. A greater fallacy could not be put before your Lordships. The very point of this whole discussion is that you refuse to deal with the franchise at all until you know what you are going to do with regard to redistribution. And the Franchise Bill would be rediscussed with special regard to the new light in which it might appear by the side of the Redistribution Bill. Even in the course of this debate, although there has been some appearance of unanimity with regard to the general principle of the extension of the franchise, several noble Lords have shown that there are large questions with regard to the extension of the franchise, on which they have objections in reserve. This is the case with regard to Ireland. It is also the

case with regard to the minority vote, and to female suffrage. The House of Commons, in 1866, when the two schemes were presented simultaneously, decided that it would not proceed with one without the other; but the House of Commons has now, by a majority of 130 in a House of between 500 and 600 Members, decided against the proposition now made by the noble and learned Earl. Surely, when the responsible Government feels it impossible to deal in the way proposed with this matter, and when the House of Commons, by that enormous majority, has decided against that way of dealing with it, and that without any reason whatever to suppose that there was any sinister motive behind their decision —is it not too much to say that these propositions which are brought forward in the Motion of the noble and learned Earl belong any longer to the region of practical politics? They appear to me more suited to the Senate of Laputa than to your Lordships' House. I ask, What are the dictates of practical reason in this matter? If you are agreed upon the extension of the franchise, surely the dictates of practical reason are, to do it as best you can, and do it when you can—to effect that extension of the suffrage, upon which you are agreed, without, at the same time, encumbering and embarrassing yourselves with much more intricate and much more difficult questions which will have to be settled afterwards. For I maintain, if you look not to the arguments that have been adduced, but to the good sense of the question—I say the true relations between the two subjects are these—enfranchisement when made will give you the proper basis for redistribution. It will give you, as far as the numerical element goes, the lines on which that redistribution should proceed, it will indicate the natural course of redistribution, and point out, as a guide post, the direction in which you ought to move. And, my Lords, I venture to say that if your Lordships had taken an opposite course to that which you are now invited to take, if you had passed the second reading of this Bill, and had done all that you could, cordially and generously, and with confidence in Parliament and in the people, to pass it into law, you would have stood in a position of enormous advantage, if any Ministry had been so forgetful of its duty as afterwards to propose to you a measure of redistribution framed for selfish or Party purposes upon lines not consistent with just deductions from the enlargement of the franchise. I believe the lines of redistribution would have gone far to settle themselves; or, at all events, had it been otherwise, there would have been no difficulties which might not have been overcome by those who approached their consideration and discussion in a fair and reasonable spirit; and if anyone attempted to deal with them otherwise, then there might have been an opportunity for your Lordships to vindicate your independence and exercise your legitimate power. What do your Lordships think that the 2,000,000 of people who were to be enfranchised by this Bill will say, if it is thrown out? They want the vote; and if you refuse to pass this Bill they will know that you are refusing it to them. I cannot understand what is meant by the argument that, unless the enlargement of the franchise is accompanied by redistribution, you take away from the rural householder what you profess to give him, by diminishing his voting power, or the value of his vote; the idea being, apparently, that in a greatly enlarged constituency some classes might be swamped by others. Is it seriously believed that this is a consequence which makes the rural householders unwilling to be enfranchised without redistribution? Is it not the necessary condition of the franchise, under all circumstances, that everyone shall have his fair share of power, his fair chance of being, at one time or another, in a majority, varying as majorities do from time to time; and not that the constituencies shall, or ever can, be so arranged as to secure that one side or the other shall be in a constant majority? Do noble Lords forget that they have always been living, since the Acts of 1832 and 1867, under the very conditions which they now represent as so unreasonable? We have not got electoral districts; we have got boroughs with only 1,000 voters or less, and we have got constituencies, like Liverpool and Manchester, with 50,000 or 60,000 voters. I grant that you have given them three Members; but, so far from that making each man's voting power greater in those constituencies, it makes it less; because where the mi-

nority vote exists you get two Members on one side and one upon the other, and therefore the majority has only one. Next, I come to the point which seems to have most influence upon the minds of noble Lords—namely, the terror of a possible intervening Election. The noble and learned Earl says that a General Election might take place with the old distribution and the new constituencies, and that the ensuing Parliament would not be elected by men intended to be the permanent depositaries of political power. But if an Election by the enlarged constituencies would be an Election by a body who were only the temporary depositaries of power, would not exactly the same thing happen if you were to succeed in forcing a Dissolution now, and in getting an Election by the present restricted constituencies, which you admit ought to be enlarged, and which, therefore, are not intended to be the permanent depositaries of power? You know what is the attitude and what are the views of the Government upon this matter. They think it very desirable that the enlargement of the franchise should be followed by a proper measure of redistribution. They have not withheld from the knowledge either of this House or of the House of Commons their general views as to what the outline and principles of that measure of redistribution should be. They have pledged themselves, as far as men can control events, that if this Bill is passed they will introduce a Redistribution Bill in the coming Session. If your Lordships are satisfied with that measure it will be passed, and there will be an end of all the difficulty. If your Lordships are dissatisfied with it you can throw it out, in which case it will not be our fault that redistribution is postponed; or you may amend it in Committee, and if such a course does not end, as it usually has done, in a reasonable accommodation between the two Houses, your Lordships may not have yourselves to blame. I should be sorry, for the sake of the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition personally, as well as for the sake of the great interests which are in his power, if I thought that he was always going to take up a line of *à priori* suspicion against the future action of Governments and Parliaments, and to presume, with regard to measures not yet before the House, and not perfected, that they will be unfair, and that this House will not be permitted in Committee to deal reasonably with them, and that they cannot be the subject of reasonable accommodation between the two Houses. I agree that it would be in the power of this House, by rejecting such a Bill, or by insisting on provisions to which the House of Commons could not assent, to make the passing of a Redistribution Bill impossible; and it might happen, through no fault of the Government, that an Election might take place by the enlarged constituency. Even if Parliament were dissolved upon the Franchise Bill, and if this House were then to give way, it does not follow that there might not be another Dissolution before a Redistribution Bill was passed; so that the thing which noble Lords seem so much to fear might even then happen. But I cannot for the life of me see where the harm would be of a General Election by the enlarged constituency, which, I think, as far as the popular interests are concerned, would be likely to give an impulse to redistribution. It is possible that noble Lords on the Front Opposition Bench may think they have gauged the intentions of the proposed new voters in the existing constituencies, and have come to the conclusion that the result of such an Election would be favourable to the Party now in power. I really think too highly of your Lordships, of your patriotism and public spirit, to believe that you could regard this, even if such calculations could be trusted, as a cause sufficient to induce you to reject a measure of this sort. This brings me to the Preamble of the noble and learned Earl's Amendment, which declares if the House adopts his Resolution that it is prepared—

"To concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise," but "does not think it right to assent to the second reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom,"

unless accompanied by a Redistribution Bill, and so on. I have heard what the noble and learned Earl said, and what most of those said who followed him. They argued that your Lordships were not asked to dissent from the principle of the Bill, and the noble Earl who opened the debate to-night said that the

object was not to reject the Bill, or even to shelve the Bill, or to delay it. My Lords, this is the very first time in the history of either House of Parliament in which either House has been asked, on that stage of a Bill of the highest public importance which properly raises the question of its principle, to attempt to decline the responsibility of rejecting it, or shelving it, or delaying it by bringing forward a Resolution which professes to lean to the object in view, but says that it shall not be accomplished, except upon conditions at the time certainly impossible, and which, considering the difficulties of the subject, and the necessity of satisfying, not your Lordships only, but the House of Commons and the country, may be equally impossible at any future time. You have been told by many speakers who have preceded me in this debate that the country at large will not understand your reasons; and more especially that the 2,000,000 who are to be enfranchised will not understand them. What they will understand is the practical effect of your Lordships' vote. What they will not understand, and will discount pretty freely, are the reasons which are alleged for the Resolution of the noble and learned Earl. We are indebted to the noble and learned Earl in a speech which he made, I believe on the war in Afghanistan, for a phrase which has often since been used, "the policy of the ostrich," a creature which has been supposed to put its eyes under the sand, and to think that no one will see it. The noble and learned Earl has now adopted "the policy of the ostrich." I agree with the noble Earl who opened this night's debate—that "none are so blind as those who will not see;" and I fear that noble Lords on the Opposition side are at present in that condition. There are a great many persons in this country who will regard your Lordships' action with feelings like those described in the well-known lines—

> "Perhaps it was right to dissemble your love,
> But why did you kick me downstairs?"

Of course, there are occasions on which your Lordships would have not only a technical, but a moral, right to reject measures brought before you; but is this an occasion on which you should incur that responsibility, an occasion on which you profess to agree with the principle of the Bill submitted to you? Is this an occasion for imperilling the respect, honour, dignity, and estimation of your Lordships' House by rejecting, on grounds relating, not to its own merits, but to the order and time of procedure, as to another distinct though connected subject, a Bill of first-rate importance, which specially concerns the House of Commons, and in regard to which that House has expressed the contrary opinion by enormous majorities? If it were not for the respect which I have for those from whom this Amendment comes, I should be tempted to say that it is very much like gambling away the highest interests of the country. If your Lordships reject this Bill, you will be playing into the hands of those who desire to push beyond moderate limits both franchise and redistribution; you will be introducing that "beginning of strife," which is "as the letting out water;" and you will be giving to violent and extreme men an opportunity of setting class against class, and interest against interest, and of attacking and vilifying Constitutional functions, the authority and the name of your Lordships' House. You will be doing even worse than this. You will be turning many men, otherwise disposed to be moderate, into violent courses: young men especially, on whom much of the future of this country may depend. A noble Earl (Earl Cadogan), and some others on the same side, have said that they set no value at all upon the existence of this House, unless it is free to take such a course as that to which the noble and learned Earl now invites it. That shows how extremes can meet. I am not such a Radical as to agree with that opinion. Those who value, as I do, the just and legitimate position and office of this House will not be delighted to see it brought into jeopardy without a cause. The hereditary constitution of this House can only be justified on the principle that it is independent of mere Party influences, and likely, on important occasions, to exercise a dispassionate judgment, in the interest of public security, and of the stability of our Constitutional system. If it allows its independence to be subordinate to Party discipline, to the commands of Party Leaders, to the Party interests of the moment, then your authority and power are imperilled. In closing, I may

perhaps be permitted to make an allusion to what was said by the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) last night with respect to myself. I have had no experience of the Cross Benches; but the noble Duke did not exceed the truth when he described me as being no violent Party man. I have never been that—many people might, perhaps, like me better if I were. It may be due to various causes—to early training, perhaps to some coldness or dulness of temperament, or to the habit of looking at all sides of all questions, formed by my professional life; perhaps, also, to the fact that I have always had the happiness to possess friends among those with whom I did not politically agree. And I am one of those who think that the government of the world and the issues of great events, after all, do not depend wholly or mainly upon politicians or Parliaments. These considerations have always restrained me from intentionally giving to Party what was due to public interests. I cannot now be far from the close of my political life; and whatever the results of this measure, it is probable I shall not long be in a situation to be greatly benefited or injured by them, otherwise than as a citizen. I refer to these considerations because the noble and learned Earl, towards the close of his speech, said—

> "I feel persuaded that you will not be deterred by threats from supporting this Amendment if you approve of it, and that, on the other hand, you will not be provoked, as some might be, by threats to support the Amendment unless it has your entire approval."

I may therefore claim the authority of the noble and learned Earl, and I may at the same time fairly ask you to believe that I am not myself acting upon a principle different from that which I endeavour to press upon your Lordships, when I entreat you to rise, upon this occasion, above the level of Party. If this were the last time I could address your Lordships, I should feel bound to appeal to you to separate yourselves from this most ill-advised proceeding, and not to compromise the House by rejecting a measure the principle of which you profess to approve.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, at this late period of the evening I should not venture to long address to your Lordships any observations which might seem to be a mere repetition of those that have been made before, if it had not been for some of the arguments used by the most rev. Primate (the Archbishop of Canterbury). As it appears to me that the irrelevancy of the reasoning he employed may seem to impute to others who differ from him that they do not agree with him in the excellent sentiments he expressed, it is necessary I should guard myself on that point. In my judgment, the statements of the most rev. Primate were admirable in themselves, but were wholly unconnected with the issue before the House. We, too, have the same admiration for the working men that he has; we, too, believe that with a due and proper consideration for that redistribution, that allotment of power which alone can furnish a fair and true representation of the people, they may, with perfect safety to the great interests of this country, be entrusted with the franchise if they desire to have it. Upon that point there has been no adverse opinion expressed or felt by the Conservative Party. I am in a condition to know what are the opinions of Conservatives, not only within these walls, but in various parts of the country; and there has never been any adverse feeling to the extension of the suffrage on the ground of the presumed incapacity or unfitness of those to whom it has to be extended. Such a feeling has not been avowed—has not been felt by the Conservative Party in this House or out of it. But the issue turns on a totally different question. The question is—How is political power to be so distributed that all classes may receive their due position in the State, that all interests may be respected, that a true mirror of the actual numerical condition of opinions in this country may be produced within the walls of the other House of Parliament, in order that minorities may be able to receive that just power of expressing their opinions, which is essential to the just protection of their interests, and which belongs, as one of its characteristics, to the first idea of true and genuine representation? We must not for a moment forget—although this debate may almost have banished the fact from our minds—that we are asked to assent to a measure which is absolutely unprecedented in the history of this country. Never before has any Government attempted—certainly, never before, at all events,

has any Government succeeded in dealing—with the question of the extension of the franchise without dealing at the same time with the question of redistribution; and never before have we been asked to admit a number of new voters within the pale of the Constitution without provision being made for redistribution of the power so conferred upon them. We have been told that such a perfect measure has never been passed; but that is a mere play upon words. What is a perfect measure? What you mean by a perfect measure is one that involves the representation of Scotland and Ireland; but you can deal with the representation of England without affecting the representation of Scotland; and you can deal with the representation of Scotland without affecting that of Ireland; but you cannot settle the extension of the franchise without profoundly affecting in every part of the country the question of the redistribution of seats. Extension of the franchise and redistribution are absolutely bound together, and they mutually affect each other. Now, what are the practical results that are to flow from this measure? The noble and learned Earl who has just sat down (the Lord Chancellor) treats the matter as though it were of no importance, and as if it were one merely of large or small constituencies, and as though it does not matter two straws whether, after the passing of this Extension of the Franchise Bill, we went to an Election on the old constituencies or the new. That is a very important point for our consideration, and it is instructive for us to consider the effect that that remark of the noble and learned Earl may have upon the supporters of the Government. It throws considerable light upon the absence of any great zeal on their part with regard to the question of redistribution, and upon the likelihood, or otherwise, of their pushing the question during the present Session. I am bound to say that, if the views of the noble and learned Earl, and of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley), on this point are shared by their Colleagues, that it is not necessary to push the question of redistribution next year—the only year which remains to the other House in which they can pass a Redistribution Bill—we may form a very good estimate of what the conduct of the supporters of the Government is likely to be, especially if the Government themselves are inclined to stand by, and do not attempt to prevent their followers from going into the Lobby to negative the promises which they have made. Therefore, the fact that the noble and learned Earl does not regard it as a matter of great importance that a Redistribution Bill should be passed next year is one that ought not to be lightly passed over. But the question is not one of mere theory. The hour is far too late for me to attempt to enter into details; but the fact remains that, from the first creation of our Parliamentary system, there has been a broad and strong distinction between counties and boroughs, and between the rural and the urban parts of the country. We may not always be able to define that distinction with precision, and we may not be able always to say where the one begins and the other ends—that is, the character of natural as contrasted with artificial distinctions. But the distinction between them is real, and is bound up with our everyday life in town and country, and has existed in our Constitution from the first. This Bill deals with those constituencies which have up to this moment been rural constituencies, and it projects into them a vast mass of purely urban electors; and the result of that projection will be that, in a very considerable number of cases, the balance of power will remain, not with the rural, but with the urban electors; and that upon all points on which the interests of the one class are opposed to those of the other the effect of the Bill will be to efface the opinion of the rural portions of the counties and to prevent them from having due representation. Do not say that this is done in justice to the interests of the urban portions of the country, for they have representation already very largely—even more largely, more abundantly and superfluously, than any numerical theory as to their mere numbers of electors can justify. Therefore, you are going not only to leave them what they have, but to give them this additional representation at the expense of, and to the destruction of, the rural element. Another result of your action will be this—there has always been great difficulty in highly developed representative systems, in which democratic theories have a large preponderance, to

secure the adequate representation of minorities. In the old times there was no such difficulty, for there were always a great variety of interests represented; and the result was that the minorities always found themselves adequately represented. But this Bill altogether overlooks the representation of minorities, and the further you go in the direction of a dead and mechanical uniformity, the more you expose minorities to the danger of having their opinions altogether overlooked. That is what you are doing by this Bill. In these constituencies into which you propose to project a large mass of urban voters, you have minorities which find considerable representation. By minorities I do not mean the rich, or the landowners merely, but the middle classes. Lord Hartington, speaking on the 25th of March last, saved me a great deal of trouble upon this point as to proving what the effect of the Bill would be upon one very important interest of the country, for he said—

"It may be that this measure, if passed into law, will terminate the supremacy which up to now has been exercised in the county elections by the tenant farmers. The tenant farmers as an interest will cease to exist."

Well, my Lords, is not that an interest worthy of being protected? Is it, as the noble and learned Earl tells us, a mere technical reason which induces us to step forward to protect from utter, absolute, and final effacement the representation of a class which probably has done more than any other to give to the English character its solid and sterling qualities? It is not only to England that these two great objections apply. It is not only in England that minorities of special portions of the population will be effaced. No doubt, your Lordships have heard and studied the very interesting speech made by my noble Friend the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Waterford), who so often represents the affairs of Ireland in this House with such ability. He pointed out that the effects which here will be anomalous and injurious, in Ireland would be fatal to the existence of a great class, and that a class upon which the supremacy of England and the integrity of the Empire largely depends. He showed, if I remember his figures right, that, whereas there is a loyal minority of something like 1,500,000, if this Bill passes as it is now, 95 or 96 per cent of the representation of Ireland will pass into hands to which the epithet loyal cannot be applied. My Lords, it is a commonplace of discussion on these questions to tell us that our prophecies in the past were gloomy, and that they have not been fulfilled. In reference to England, that may seem, in some measure, true. If it is true, it is a very great and happy tribute to the qualities of our countrymen. But in respect to Ireland, it is, unfortunately, not true. In this House we warned you 10 years ago of what would be the result of giving the ballot to Ireland. We warned you, and we did the best to carry our warning into effect, that the passing of that measure would take power out of the hands of those who love the English connection and put it in the hands of those who did not love it. Have we been right, or have we been wrong? Has not the result amply justified the very gloomiest warnings that we uttered 10 years ago? The same warnings that we uttered then we now utter to you again. This measure, in its present incomplete and inchoate form, has, among other things, this disadvantage—that it seriously menaces the integrity of the Empire. I have pointed out, sketchily, I am afraid, but quite as lengthily as I can venture doing now, the danger that we apprehend from the passing of the measure in this form. How are we to meet those dangers? Noble Lords opposite tell us that they intend to pass a Redistribution Bill, and that they will be able to fulfil their intentions. But before referring to them, allow me to say one sentence in regard to a small school of opinion existing between the two great Parties in this House—the school of opinion characteristically represented by the noble Earl who sits on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss). He is of opinion that we can pass this Bill; that we can put in a clause which will prevent its having effect until a redistribution scheme is carried; and that, in that way, we shall conjure the dangers to which I have referred. My Lords, we have had considerable experience in this House of what comes of Amendments of that nature. We know perfectly well — the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) will not contradict it—that the Government—we know it from the noble Earl opposite the Secretary of State for

the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) that the Government entirely declines to admit any such clause into their Bill. We know it from what the noble Earl has said. We know it from the emphatic language of the Prime Minister. He said that any such Proviso would end in giving ashes instead of fruit to the populations we are intending to enfranchise. Well, the consideration that I wish to address to that small school of opinion to which I have referred is that, whatever happens, their action will end as ours will do in the failure of the Bill. And do they really believe that, when it comes to discussion in the country, any one of those demagogues of whom we hear so much, and of whom so many persons profess to be afraid, will draw a distinction between the House of Lords destroying the Bill by a Resolution and the House of Lords destroying it by adhering to an Amendment which the Government have, beforehand, announced that they are absolutely resolved to reject? It is idle to suppose that any distinction whatever will be drawn between those two methods of proceeding; but I will draw the attention of my noble Friend to this consideration—that while they, by withdrawing their vote, may injure, and, in a contingency which I trust is not probable, might destroy our power, by our method of conjuring the evils to which I have referred, they cannot possibly themselves obviate these evils. The distrust of any such measure in Committee is too strong on this side to allow of any hope that such proposals, if they were made, would pass in Committee. The Government would certainly resist them, and they would certainly not be ultimately adhered to. The only consequence of parting from us on this mere question of procedure, in attaining the object we have in common, is that we shall allow the common enemy to step in and secure the prizes. But, my Lords, that school of opinion is entirely dying away. Noble Lords opposite have given no encouragement to that idea. The main controversy is, are they able to guarantee to us, by their mere promise, that this Redistribution Bill shall pass along with this Enfranchisement Bill? My Lords, the question of their willingness is, of course, one that I cannot, and should not for a moment, dream of contesting. Nobody on this side of the House has suggested, and I trust that they will not, that there is anything but the most perfect honesty in the intentions which noble Lords opposite express of carrying a Redistribution Bill next year. We have always found them loyal adversaries, and I am quite sure none of us suspect them of any backwardness, or of concealing their thoughts in this respect. The only question is, have they power to fulfil the promise which they make? Well, we all know that they have not had much power over their proceedings for the last four years. Why, then, should we think they have the power now? We are told that it is a matter of absolute impossibility—that was the word used with great emphasis by the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack—to pass a measure of redistribution and a measure of enfranchisement in the same year; but this measure of enfranchisement has taken 23 Sittings, and I believe there is no doubt that more than half of those were occupied in discussing, in one form or another, whether redistribution should or should not be mixed up with it. Therefore, if the two Bills had been brought in together, there would have been an addition of 11 Sittings to the consideration of the work of redistribution. Eleven Sittings, when the Government take all the nights as they do at this time, mean less than three weeks; so that we arrive at this result—that it is absolutely impossible to pass a Redistribution Bill *plus* the three weeks; but that it is the easiest and most certain thing in the world to pass a Redistribution Bill without those three weeks. They make all the difference; they make all the difference between absolute impossibility and absolute certainty. But the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies, I thought, in a cruel and heartless spirit, talked of two autumns that he, sitting very comfortably in this House, was willing to throw on the shoulders of his Colleagues in the other House. He must be anxious to make promotion in the ranks of the Government. At all events, those two autumns which he so generously gives us might, at least, have furnished us with the three weeks which makes the whole difference between entire certainty and absolute impossibility. My Lords, it really is not necessary to argue

Everyone acquainted with the present condition of Parties in the House of Commons knows the power that has been obtained by a particular section connected with the neighbouring Isle, as well as the general course of Business and habits of the House, makes it certain no Government, not even the most powerful, can insure, as a matter of absolute certainty, that a Redistribution Bill should be passed before the Dissolution. But even if it were passed, should we be any better? My Lords, what we want is, not only a Redistribution Bill, but a Redistribution Bill that we can handle; something which, if manifestly unjust, we should be able to modify. But how should we be able to modify it, if we had this pistol put to our heads—"Unless you pass this Bill, you shall have no Bill at all; and you go to the country with a new enfranchisement on the old constituencies?" We shall have no power over such a Bill; and, therefore, not even if they were able absolutely to promise, they could not, if they once allowed this measure to pass out of their and our hands, engage to us that we should have a free hand in modifying the details of redistribution. But, my Lords, when we are told that terrible evils are to result from the course of events, we are tempted to ask whose fault is it? If all those horrible things are to come in consequence of this Bill not passing, why does not some Member of the Government get up and say—"We will put you a clause into the Bill which shall prevent this measure coming into operation until the Redistribution Bill is passed?" If they did that, then the difficulty would be at an end; and if they refuse to do that, on them, and not on us, the responsibility of any consequences will rest. My Lords, I ask myself what cause is there, what reason is stated, why we should not take the course it is proposed to do—what harm should we do? Well, we shall disappoint, we are told, 2,000,000 of people who have made up their minds that this thing is their right. Well, if they have made up their minds, they have done so in a very short time, because we heard nothing of this imperative necessity last year. The noble Earl—so many noble Earls have spoken, that he has himself noticed the difficulty of distinguishing between them, but I will call him the noble Earl the patron of Mid Lothian (the Earl of Rosebery)—told us that this measure was not merely one of expediency—that it was a matter of justice; and he went on to say that the franchise was the birthright of these 2,000,000 persons, their birthright, born of the votes of the House of Commons and the pledges of the Election of 1880. I will lay aside that very queer parentage; I did not know before this that birthrights were born. But, be that as it may, I wish to point out that it has become a birthright—I think the noble Earl called it an eternal birthright—within a very recent period—merely some few weeks. We do not desire, we have not the slightest wish to deny, this birthright to those who claim it, and all that can result from our action is delay—delay which will have the very wholesome and salutary effect of enabling the proper complement to this measure to be passed. Then we are told that delay is such a frightful thing—that it will bring down unnumbered curses on our heads. If that be so, if such haste is required in this matter, why have the Government been doing nothing with regard to it during the last four years? The noble Earl opposite has answered that question in a manner that is certainly creditable for its candour, if not for its conclusiveness. He says—"You could not expect a Government, with a large majority, to bring in a Bill which would render it necessary to dissolve Parliament." There it appears that we have got the truth of the case—that we are not in the presence of any great conscientious scruples, that we are not fighting for eternal birthrights, or great and splendid principles. We are not contending for a great principle of political expediency; it is merely a question of Parliamentary tactics, and a recognition of the fact that a Government which has a majority does not wish for a Dissolution in order to lose that majority—that has been the reason that for four years past these 2,000,000 of people have been kept pining for their birthright, and have been subject to this intolerable hardship. And yet we are told, because, in the interest of good legislation, we seek to maintain the precedents from which no one has ever before departed, and we ask for one year s delay, that we shall bring down the skies and shake the Constitution of England to its centre. That, after all, has

been the gist and burden of the speeches made on the other side of the House. We have heard of nothing but references to the interests of this House, and the dangers to this House, and of the terrible calamities that are impending over us. The noble Earl to whom I have already referred (the Earl of Rosebery) talked of torrents, and tempests, and precipices, and a great many other terrible things, in the midst of which we are to find ourselves if we reject this Bill. The noble and learned Lord of Appeal (Lord Fitzgerald) condescended to go more into detail, and he warned us to remember the fires of Bristol and Northampton. He told us that, I think in 1832, the Archbishop of Canterbury had to escape in a boat, in order to avoid the consequences of voting against the Reform Bill. Whatever else the result of that anecdote may have been, it appears, at any rate, to have had its effect on the mind of the present Archbishop. The noble and learned Lord told us, I think, that the result of these events was so terrible, that this House had been specially built by the side of the river, in order that the Members of the Conservative majority might, on emergencies, escape by the penny steamboats while the people were thundering on the other side. These were very inflammatory suggestions of the noble and learned Lord; and there is a story now current in the House—I will not vouch for its truth, however—that, at the time the noble and learned Lord was making this speech, there was standing at the Bar a distinguished Member of the Irish Party, one who in the vicissitudes of his career and in the pursuit of those projects which he esteemed to be a duty, had contrived to get inside an Irish prison, and his observation on hearing the speech of the noble and learned Lord regarding Bristol and Northampton, and the Archbishop escaping by the back-door in order to get aboard a penny boat, was this—"If I had made that speech in Ireland, they would have locked me up for exciting to murder and outrage." It was certainly quite possible. The noble Earl the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Spencer), whom I see opposite, looks very grim. He has no power on this side of the water; but I would recommend the noble and learned Lord to change the style of his oratory before he ventures to Ireland again. It seems to me that the observation of the distinguished Irishman to which I have referred has, at least, this in its justification — that all the incendiary language which I have heard yet against the House of Lords has been uttered within these walls, and the only attempt to stir up agitation of a serious kind has proceeded from the Benches opposite. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies made the observation that we were coming into an obvious collision between this House and the vast majority of the people of England. Now, he seemed to have an impression, while dwelling upon that subject, that he was a little open to the charge that he himself was menacing the House of Lords, and, in order to clear himself of that imputation, he said—"I am no more uttering a menace than a man who sees a heavy rain storm before him and calls your attention to the fact." I do not think that gave an accurate simile. I should say that he was more like a man who had previously placed a row of small boys with stones in their hands, some distance off, at a particular spot in the road, and then proceeded to warn you, in a spirit of friendship, that if you went down the road you would probably have stones thrown at you. That is, perhaps, a more exact description of the position of the noble Earl. There are a number of very dirty boys, and some very learned dirty boys, who are employed—I will not say by noble Lords themselves, but at all events employed by the subordinates of noble Lords opposite—for the purpose of vilifying this House and agitating against it; and that is the real answer to all these stories that we shall be misunderstood. It was well said by my noble Friend near me that if we are not misrepresented we shall not be misunderstood. Misunderstanding, if it comes, will come in consequence of the deliberate, persistent, and unscrupulous efforts of those taking the side of Her Majesty's Government. Well, they say—"This misunderstanding is a terrible thing. Your motives may be perfectly pure, your action perfectly Constitutional; but if you are misunderstood all is over." But if there is an organized body whose function it is to take care to see that we shall be misunderstood, I do not see under what conditions our legislative functions can be carried on, or in what way they

are to be left to us. I have been a long time in this House; but, on every important question on which this House has proposed to exercise an independent judgment, we have always had this ghastly array of misunderstandings and popular indignation placed before us. It is a miserable—I was going to use a word belonging to the vocabulary of my adversaries, and call it trick—but it is a miserable contrivance, this constant representation of the dangers to the House of Lords. My Lords, we have heard and are told much about the dangers this House is running. I heard, with the greatest pleasure, the speech of the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll) with respect to the position of this House. We have, as he says, great privileges, and those privileges are balanced by large disabilities; but whatever may be the outcome and balance of those two considerations, which undoubtedly weigh with many, I feel sure that, upon the view of our privileges as presented to us by noble Lords opposite, nobody, no man who values his manhood and his self-respect, and no man who prizes his intellectual freedom, would wish to retain the privileges of the House upon the terms upon which they offer them to us. Just consider what the position is in regard to which all these grandiloquent threats are hurled at our heads. We have to deal with a proposal absolutely unprecedented—a proposal which affects the whole future of the legislation of this country. It threatens to efface some of the most important classes of the country, whose voices, as expressed by their Representatives, have hitherto been heard at Westminster, and it threatens to crush minorities; and it is here, for the first time, we ask to know the whole plan; and we ask, if we may not know the whole plan, at least that such delay may be granted that the people may be consulted upon the question, and the results of this vast change. We are told that even this humble and moderate exercise of independence is sufficient to call down destruction on our heads. I do not believe a word of it; but if it were true, I should say that the powers entrusted to this House were fettered by conditions so humiliating that no man of honour could accept them. I will not, at this hour, detain your Lordships further, though the subject is endless. I will only say this—that the arguments which are addressed to us having reference to existing agitations, or to impending processions and demonstrations, seem to me to be the idlest of all. We know perfectly that demonstrations and expressions of anger can be produced to order by our adversaries so long as the balance at their bankers remains unexhausted. We know that there are plenty of Radicals in this country; and if it pleases them to walk up and down the roads, and spend their Sundays in the Parks, and to do other things from which they may derive wholesome exercise, and exhibit themselves in the open air, we know that that gives no indication whatever of the real opinion of the majority of the constituencies, which is the only opinion for which we care, and by which we are bound. Some noble Lord reproached us, saying that we wished to force a Dissolution; but he reproached us wrongfully. Apart from this question, we had no wish to force a Dissolution. If I could separate the patriotic from the Party view, I should say, though it is a ghastly thing to say, that matters were going on charmingly in Egypt. The longer the Government have that matter in hand, the more hopeless will be the muddle they will make of it, and the more completely will they discredit themselves in the eyes of the people. As a mere Party matter, we have no desire to force a Dissolution; but we do, with reference to this great revolution in the machinery for electing the Members of the House of Commons—we do urge upon the Government, not only the prudence, but the justice of consulting the people. We do urge upon them that they have no right to make these vast Constitutional changes without formally consulting the opinions of those by whose authority they really, in the long run, make them, and whose interests will be specially affected. I know what the answer to that will be. We shall be accused of desiring to keep these electors off the franchise. We shall be accused of distrusting those whom it is proposed to add to the franchise. I repudiate all such charges. They are utterly unjustified by anything we have done, or by any opinions we have expressed. We are taking the course which is the true safeguard of the liberties of the people,

and of the institutions of the country, in the presence of vast proposals wholly unprecedented, in the presence of a proposal for a change which is admitted to be so tremendous, that it exceeds the effects of the Revolution of 1688. In the presence of such vast proposals we appeal to the people. We have no fear of the humiliation with which we are threatened. We do not shrink from bowing to the opinion of the people, whatever that opinion may be. If it is their judgment that there should be enfranchisement without redistribution, I should be very much surprised; but I should not attempt to dispute their decision. But now that the people have in no real sense been consulted, when they had, at the last General Election, no notion of what was coming upon them, I feel that we are bound, as guardians of their interests, to call upon the Government to appeal to the people, and by the result of that appeal we will abide.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I believe that you have so far confidence in me as to believe when I promise not to be long that I shall keep my word. I agree that it would be wearisome to your Lordships, and not very beneficial to the cause in which we are interested, to repeat *ad nauseum* the arguments which have been already used. You will, however, perhaps, allow me to make a few observations in concluding a debate with regard to which I do not use any mere common phrase of compliment when I say that it will not only maintain, but increase the reputation of your Lordships' House as regards its power of discussing important questions. With regard to the debate of yesterday, I must acknowledge that the speeches made on the other side were remarkable for the moderate and conciliatory tone in which they were made. The only defect which I observed in them was almost a want of reality, and of earnestness in many of them. They were not quite in consonance with the Amendment before the House of the noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns). That Amendment implies a distinct insinuation that the measure introduced by the Government is not well-considered—so much so, that an Amendment has been placed on our Minutes to rectify it. Well, I have listened to the discussion, and I really am not aware, with a slight exception to which I shall presently allude, of any criticism that would apply to the measure itself. It is quite true that the noble and learned Earl made some objection to the extension of the franchise to Ireland; and he was followed in that objection with much more energy by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Waterford). But I appeal to your Lordships whether the arguments then used can, in the slightest degree, weigh against those brought forward by my noble Friend (the Earl of Kimberley), and by the noble and learned Earl who sits upon the Woolsack? Compare the arguments of the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) with those of the noble Viscount behind me (Viscount Powerscourt), and the noble and learned Lord (Lord Fitzgerald), and, above all, with the very excellent and solid argument in favour of the extension of the franchise to Ireland of the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven), who put it in the strongest possible manner, though he followed up his general argument in support of the Bill by saying that he would vote against it to-night. The noble Marquess made use of one of the most extraordinary arguments I ever heard; because he said that when, 10 years ago, we applied the ballot to Ireland, we took away from the landlords of that country the power of coercing their tenants to vote against their convictions and wishes. We can well stand up against such a charge. But for the rest, so far from any criticism being made on the Bill, the noble Earl on the Opposition Front Bench (Earl Cadogan) admitted that it was moderate in principle and Conservative in character. How, then, are you better to consider it? Are you to make it violent in character, and Radical and Democratic in tone? Otherwise, I do not see how you are to improve it. My Lords, there was one argument used—not, perhaps, so much an argument as a well-known phrase brought in pretty often, at least a dozen times, in the course of the debate—that this was a leap in the dark. It has been said that it was all very well to leap in the dark once; but that was no reason for leaping into an unfathomable abyss now. I think there is no doubt if a Leader asks his supporters to follow him in a leap in the dark, it requires some recklessness, and a great deal of courage, to join in the performance. But when the darkness has dispersed, and the jump has

been taken, and the jumper finds himself safe on firm ground, and much better for the exercise, it does not require much courage or rashness to make the same leap in similar circumstances. If there is any unfathomable abyss at all, I think it is one the House is now asked to throw itself into. The noble and learned Earl said that the concession which Her Majesty's Government had made, by fixing a date in the Bill, was illusory; because, in any case, they could not have secured an earlier date. That is an entire mistake. There was no reason why, in bringing in the Bill in February, Her Majesty's Government should not have a reasonable expectation of passing it before the end of June; and if that had been the case, then there would be no difficulty. If, on the contrary, your Lordships pass this Bill now, we are quite ready to bring in a Registration Bill if necessary, which it would be absolutely our duty to do, and which I think it would be impossible, under the circumstances, for noble Lords to reject. In the first place, the Bill was introduced to come into operation as soon as it was passed; and, almost from the outset, the Prime Minister made a promise that we should do our best to introduce and pass a Redistribution Bill during the next Session. Afterwards, there was a proposal for a fixed date. That proposal was most distasteful to many of the most earnest supporters of the Bill; but the Prime Minister received it favourably, in deference to the Conservative Members, and especially in deference to this House. He felt that it was right for Parliament to record its desire that there should be time for the passage of a Redistribution Bill before the other came into operation; and he stated, in the most positive manner, when the clause upon the subject was introduced, that it became a covenant with Parliament that the Government would do that which he had indicated. There is not the slightest doubt about the intention of the Government to do that which they have promised. They feel in the strongest way; and I am empowered by my Colleagues to say that if there be any neglect, omission, or caprice on their part—if they fail to do their utmost next year to introduce and pass a Redistribution Bill—they will be open to the gravest charge of an absolute breach of faith. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) made an eloquent defence of the Cross Bench mind. I agree with a great deal that he said; but one little difficulty I have is that the Cross Bench mind does not always follow the same groove; for instance, a noble Lord to-day (Lord Brabourne), perfectly consistent with all his conduct ever since he has had a seat in this House, in a speech which he made against the Government, and which was perfectly consistent with his vote, declared strongly in favour of the Amendment. I will not say one word more as to the action of the noble Lord. I should be afraid of diluting the feelings of condolence which were raised by the speech of the noble Earl who followed (the Earl of Rosebery) as to the numerous sacrifices the noble Lord is always making to his conscience. Another noble Lord made a speech the greater part of which was in favour of the Bill, though he said he should vote the other way. Another, who mixed up in his speech severe remarks against the Government, said, at the end of it, that he was prepared to vote in favour of the Bill. If the debate of yesterday had something of the sound of a muffled drum, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) began the debate to-day with some of the higher notes of the trumpet. The noble Marquess who followed in the course of the evening (the Marquess of Salisbury) brought out some of the strongest and fullest notes of that warlike instrument. He made a magnificent speech, of that fighting quality which is perfectly sure to be cheered to the echo at the moment, but which may possibly be remembered hereafter. One of the most remarkable speeches I have heard delivered in this House was from the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery), who, I think, may be complimented on the share he had in the Mid Lothian campaign. His was a blast which not only filled this House, but which will reach the furthest confines of the United Kingdom. Now I have a painful duty to perform, because I am going to say something in disagreement, not only with noble Lords opposite, but in disagreement with all my Friends on this side of the House. The noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns), with some warmth, repudiated the observation of the noble Earl behind me (the Earl of Kimberley) that there

was something behind the Amendment. He said there is nothing of the sort. But, singularly enough, two noble Lords on the Front Bench—the noble Earl and the noble Marquess—have absolutely contradicted the noble and learned Earl. They have raised a cry, and said that what they wanted was a Dissolution, and that is a very large thing behind the Amendment. It is not the first time the announcement has been made; it has been made in electioneering speeches. I have very great doubt whether it is a perfectly Constitutional doctrine that the House of Lords has the right to arrogate to itself the strongest Prerogative right of the Crown—of dictating the time of the Dissolution. It has been asserted by several speakers that it is the greatest mistake in the world to think that the Conservative Party are in the least opposed to the extension of the franchise, and each one of my noble Friends has entirely accepted that assurance. I also am quite ready to accept it; but, at the same time, I feel a difficulty in arguing the matter with persons who may be a little more incredulous than myself, because I have not the slightest assistance in this debate to justify my firm confidence in that assertion. The noble and learned Earl quoted a most statesmanlike passage from a speech of the late Lord Beaconsfield in favour of combining the county with the borough franchise. But that was made 10 years ago. May I ask what any Conservative Government have done since, either by action or by speech, to further that statesmanlike statement of Mr. Disraeli? I am perfectly unconscious of their having done anything. In the remarks made by the Leaders of the Conservative Party at the present moment, I do not find any confirmation of the statement made by the noble Marquess. I think if people will read the speeches made before the Sitting of Parliament, they will only strengthen them in that opinion. Take the one by Sir R. Assheton Cross, when he said that no proof whatever had been given of the fitness of those 2,000,000 people for the franchise. Lord John Manners made a speech in which he admitted that the exclusion of those 2,000,000 was an anomaly; but he said it was an anomaly which was necessary for this ancient nation; in fact, he defended this anomaly as part of the British Constitution. Then I come to the noble Marquess himself. During the last few months he has used two arguments. One was that the new voters would swamp the farmers, whom he considered to be the strength of the Conservative Party; if so, their admission must be distasteful to him. He further said there was not the slightest wish on the part of the agricultural labourer to be admitted to the franchise, and that, being thus indifferent, he was perfectly certain to become the victim and the prey of artful and agitating democrats. These arguments are perfectly inconsistent with the assertion that the whole Conservative Party are dying to extend the franchise, and what I have heard in the debate does not produce that impression. The objection was taken that we were extending the occupation franchise. But who introduced the principle? I think it was the Marquess of Chandos, and afterwards it was the Conservative Party who introduced the £12 occupation franchise. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) extremely objects to any warning; but still he thought fit to give a warning to my most rev. Friend the Primate for the speech he made this evening. It is a singular fact that whenever the Lord Archbishop or a Bishop happens to give an opinion or a vote on a political question contrary to his own, nobody is so severe upon them as the noble Marquess. To my mind, however, the Lord Archbishop's opinion, supported, as it is, by the majority of those sitting round him, is an element of great weight, and not to be disregarded. I am perfectly sure that the line which he has taken, based upon the feeling that the business of a pastor is not connected with any particular class, but with all classes in the country, is one that does him honour. I am afraid that my noble Friend below the Gangway (the Earl of Rosebery) is a little angry with me, when he told me, with some little natural indignation, that we were not quite agreed on the subject of the appointment of a certain Committee to consider the efficiency of your Lordships' House the other day. I never, however, pretended that this House is the very best possible House in the very best possible world, or that it is entirely free from defects; but my only objec-

tion to the appointment of that Committee was that it would not be judicious to appoint one without placing before it some definite proposal; and that certainly the present time would not be opportune for appointing such a Committee. For my own part, all my memories, all my associations, are connected with this House; and my most sincere wish has always been to prevent and to compose any difference arising between the two Houses of Parliament. I do not think that it is right that your Lordships should treat as something like an insult any advice which may be given to you by anybody without your walls. Great indignation has been exhibited with regard to what has been called Mr. Gladstone's threat to your Lordships' House. But it has been stated, and I believe with absolute truth, by the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) that Mr. Gladstone only wished to avoid a conflict between the two Chambers. It is said that he gave his advice perfectly unprovoked. But is that statement exactly accurate? We have had the noble Marquess running about the country giving his own opinion in a strong way, and good reasons why your Lordships should reject this Bill; and we have read accounts, which have never been contradicted, of meetings at the noble Marquess's house, where it was decided to reject this Bill, at a time when it had not come before your Lordships, when it had not even gone through Committee in the House of Commons, and when, consequently, it was impossible for us to know what shape it would assume. On the other hand, in that very House of Commons, we had a Member of the late Government saying that this measure was as dead as a doornail, because the House of Lords would never pass it. Under those circumstances, it was impossible for Mr. Gladstone, full of years, full of experience, full of knowledge, and who had worked so hard on this Bill, both in and out of Parliament, not to say what he did in regard to a measure which, as it has been described, was so temperate in its character and so Conservative in its tone; and a few words from me will show how true that description of it is. As the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) said, there had been a cry for certain things—for the abolition of all ancient franchises, for the abolition of the property vote, for the principle for one man to have one vote, and for electoral districts. The result is, that you have a Bill before you which retains all the ancient franchises, which retains the property vote, and which introduces a new franchise of a decidedly Conservative character — namely, the service franchise; and although we are determined to put an end to the very bad practice of creating fagot votes, although we have done away with rent-charges, except in peculiar circumstances, and have refused more than one vote to one tenement, yet we retain the right of existing fagot voters. The noble Marquess did not use the word "jerry-mandering" in the House, although he did so in the country; but his whole insinuation was that it was the intention of the Government to deal with the question of redistribution in a manner to serve Party purposes. My Lords, we demand to be judged by what we have done. In all the four or five months' debates in the House of Commons on this measure, not the slightest Party feeling has been shown by the Government in framing such a Bill as that which is now before you. I read yesterday, in a short letter in *The Times*, an observation from one Member of your Lordships' House (Earl Grey), whose age prevents him from being present; and certainly he will not be accused by any of your Lordships of any undue or partial leaning towards Her Majesty's Government. What does the noble Earl say in that letter? That he views with alarm, or rather with consternation, the course that your Lordships are going to pursue, and the Amendment which was moved here yesterday; and he adds that the very words of that Amendment take away the only reason you have for rejecting this Bill. My Lords, I do really trust, even at this late period, that your Lordships will think for yourselves on this subject; and in that case I feel that you will then come to a truly statesmanlike and judicious decision on this great occasion.

On Question, "Whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand part of the Motion?"

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Resolved in the *negative.*

Moved to *resolve*—

("That this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, does not think it right to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom, but which is not accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return Members as to ensure a true and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme.")—(*The Earl Cairns.*)

Moved as an amendment to the foregoing resolution to leave out ("a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise") and to insert ("the principles of representation contained in this Bill.")—(*The Earl of Dunraven.*)

EARL CAIRNS said, he had no objection, as far as he was concerned.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Said resolution, as amended, *agreed to.*

BISHOPRIC OF BRISTOL BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to provide for the disunion of the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol, and the constitution of a separate Bishopric of Bristol—Was *presented* by The Lord Archbishop of CANTERBURY; read 1ª. (No. 181.)

House adjourned at half past one o'clock A.M., to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 8th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—*Resolutions* [July 7] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [278].

Second Reading — London Government [171] [Third Night], *debate adjourned.*

Committee—*Report* — Colonial Prisoners Removal * [257]; Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Amendment * [265].

Report—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (the Labourers Act) (Enniscorthy, &c.) * [236]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * [240].

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) * [239]; Local Government Provisional Order (Salt Works and Cement) * [216], and *passed.* [New Title.]

Withdrawn—Land (Perpetual Grants) * [156].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

OUSE (LOWER) IMPROVEMENT BILL.

[*Lords.*]

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Amendments made.

MR. C. H. WILSON, in moving, as an Amendment, in Schedule 1, page 44, last line, to insert, after the word "burthen," the words "and river craft to and from Hull, passing out of or into any canal of the undertakers," said, that the Aire and Calder Canal Company, who were owners of the port of Goole, had brought in a Bill to enable them to deepen and improve the lower navigation of the River Ouse, so as to enable vessels of a larger burden to enter the port of Goole. The port of Hull was lower down the Humber, and carried on a similar trade. The difference was that the port of Hull was older, and possessed extensive docks with deep water, capable of accommodating large seagoing vessels. On account of the more dangerous character of the navigation up the River Humber, from the Ouse to Goole, the size of the vessels trading to that port was limited, and consequently their capacity was restricted. The result was, that large vessels discharged their cargoes at Hull, where such cargoes were shifted into lighters, which went up the Humber and up the Ouse, until they reached the dock entrance of the port of Goole, belonging to the Aire and Calder Navigation Company. There were probably many hon. Members of the House who were well acquainted with the estuary of the Humber, and must know that for small river craft there was small need of any improvement; so that the improvement proposed to be carried out by means of this Bill was solely for the accommodation of a larger class of vessels, which, it was hoped, would be attracted to the port of Goole. At present, the small river craft took every description of cargo to Goole, for conveyance along the Aire and Calder Canal and its tributaries to the inland towns, and it also brought back export cargoes and very large quantities of coals for local use in Hull, and also for export and for the use of the steamers. To show the importance of the traffic, he would take the item of coals alone, and he might mention that, in four years, the quantity of coals brought into Hull by river craft was about 2,500,000 tons. It would, therefore, be seen that the taxing powers imposed by this Bill were of considerable importance to the traders and owners of craft upon the Humber, who wished their vessels to be free in the future, as they were now, from all taxation from which they would derive no benefit whatever. It appeared that the Aire and Calder Navigation Company proposed to spend a certain amount of money for the improvement of the port of Goole, which was now almost, practically, a free port. Of course, in the case of Liverpool and other ports, having an extensive system of docks, which had been constructed at an enormous expense, heavy dock dues were charged; and if the Aire and Calder Navigation Company wished to improve the port of Goole, it was in the power of the proprietors of that port to charge dock dues, and so recoup themselves for the expense they incurred in the improvement of the Lower Ouse; but why should the river craft, to which the River Ouse had always been free, be taxed for improvements from which they received no benefit whatever? It might be said that this was not the proper time to bring this question forward, but that it ought to have been brought forward when the Bill was in Committee, and dealt with there. That was quite true, but, unfortunately, this was the only opportunity which had been afforded of bringing this question before Parliament. The Corporation of Hull had endeavoured to obtain a *locus standi* before the Committee to whom the Bill was referred; but as it was considered to be merely a matter of engineering, and not a matter of finance, they were accordingly refused a *locus standi*. Petitions had been deposited both by the Corporation of Hull and the Hull Chamber of Commerce, who were strongly opposed to this tax being placed on the commerce of Hull by a rival port for purposes from which the town and people of Hull not only received no advantage, but which would inflict positive injury upon a port which was one of the oldest ports of the country at the present time, and, he believed, the third port of the country. Probably,

by Parliamentary usage, there might be some other means of dealing with the matter, and he had endeavoured to make himself acquainted with them; but, up to the present moment, he had failed to discover what other means there were which the Petitioners could have made use of. He was told that the Bill ought to have been recommitted. If so, it was too late to have it recommitted now; but, in view of the justice of the opposition, he might say that the City of York, which was higher up the river, had, by some means or other, wrung from the promoters of the Bill the concession that their craft were not to be taxed. He was also told, and he believed it was in the Bill, that the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company, whose craft came by way of the Keadly Canal, and went round by Selby, was also to be exempted from this taxation. On inquiring why Hull was to be taxed, the only answer he could obtain from the promoters of the undertaking was this—that it was an arrangement made with the shipowners, and those shipowners, as far as he understood it, were competing shipowners at Goole. If this improvement was made, and a large amount was received from the taxation levied upon the river craft, the dues now paid by the shipowners at Goole would be proportionately lightened. This would affect the shipowners at Goole in two ways. In the first place, the port of Goole would obtain great advantage from the improvement of the navigation of the River Ouse, which, at present, was very dangerous, and which resulted every now and then in a steamer getting ashore in the Ouse and breaking her back, which entailed very heavy expense upon the owners. But if ships hereafter were not to contend with these dangers, and were to be free from the possibility of breaking their backs, and to be got safely up to Goole, what did that mean? It meant that a large class of vessels, which now used the port of Hull, and which had used it from time immemorial, would be diverted from Hull to the competing port of Goole; so that not only was this new tax to be imposed, but the trade itself was to be taken away, and the livelihood of the owners of the river craft was to be destroyed, because, instead of ships discharging at Hull, and putting their cargoes into the river craft to be worked up the River Ouse to the port of Goole, instead of doing that, the ships themselves would be able to go to the improved port of Goole and carry their cargoes direct. He had no objection to that; but what he did say was this—as a Representative of the interests of the port of Hull—that it was most unfair that an attempt should now be made, not only to destroy the trade, but also to impose a tax upon it, and, as he might call it, in an underhand way to destroy the trade by pretending that the advantages given to traders to Goole direct was no advantage at all. He had made it his business to ascertain from the owners of the river craft, if they were likely to obtain any advantage at all from the improvements which the promoters alleged they were about to effect. They informed him that they could now get up the River Ouse at nearly every state of the tide; and, although a deepening of the river and its improvement might be of advantage to the owners of large vessels, it would be of very little advantage to them. All they had to do now was to start a little earlier in the tide, or to bring their vessels a little lower down the river, and they would not gain anything, in point of time, from the proposed improvement. There was one other point which he desired to bring to the notice of the House. He had seen the Chairman of the Aire and Calder Navigation Company standing in the Lobby, at the door of the House, distributing papers to hon. Members as they entered, containing reasons for opposing the Amendment which he (Mr. C. H. Wilson) had placed upon the Paper. When he applied for one of them, he was told that he might have one after half-past 4. Now, he thought it was a matter of public importance that any reasons in favour of a Bill, given to any Member in the Lobby of the House, should be given to every Member. He submitted that it was unfair to bring into the House a paper assigning reasons against the Amendment proposed to be moved by a Member of the House if, at the same time, that paper was not to be made known to the Member who proposed to move the Amendment. He should very much deplore the rejection of this Amendment, either from want of local knowledge on the part of Members of the House, or

from any lack of ability on his part in putting the matter clearly before the House. He thought it would be an act of justice to the port he represented to exempt it from the operation of the taxation proposed to be imposed upon it by this Bill; and he begged respectfully to move the Amendment which stood in his name upon the Paper.

Amendment proposed,

In Schedule 1, page 44, last line, by inserting, after the word "burthen," the words "and river craft to and from Hull passing out of or into any canal of the undertakers."—(*Mr. Charles Wilson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. NEWZAM-NICHOLSON said, he wished to amend the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson), by inserting, after the word "Hull," the words "or from the River Trent." The observations which had been made by the hon. Member for Hull applied with equal force to vessels navigating the River Trent. The River Trent found its way into the Humber, and it was navigated for a considerable distance by craft of from 60 to 70 tons burden. The owners of these vessels felt that they would not receive the slightest benefit from the improvement of the navigation of the Ouse, and yet they were to have a toll imposed upon them of ½*d.* a ton if they required to go up to Goole or York, or elsewhere. He submitted to the House that it would be most unfair to impose upon these persons a toll from which they received not the slightest benefit, more particularly when it was taken into consideration that the navigation from time immemorial had been free. He did not attempt to deny that the port of Goole would receive very great advantages from this Bill for the improvement of the Lower Ouse; but he did deny most strongly, and he was supported in that denial by the speech of the hon. Member for Hull, that many other persons engaged in navigating the Trent and the Humber would derive the slightest advantage. It was impossible that the craft owned by the small owners could receive benefit from this Bill, seeing that they were able at present to navigate the river at all states of the tide. What applied to Hull applied even still more strongly to the River Trent, and to the numerous vessels engaged in carrying coal from the Yorkshire coal fields to Nottingham, Newark, Gainsborough, and other places on the Trent. He trusted that, if the House consented to pass the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson), they would also accept the Amendment he begged now to move, to exclude craft navigating the River Trent from the operation of the Toll Clause of the Bill.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, by inserting, after the word "Hull," the words "or from the River Trent."—(*Mr. Newzam-Nicholson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'or from the River Trent' be inserted in the said proposed Amendment."

MR. KNIGHT said, that, as Chairman of the Committee to which the Bill had been referred, he thought it was somewhat hard that this provision in the Bill should be objected to now, seeing that it had passed the House of Lords without any Petition against it, and that it had also passed through a Committee of the House of Commons without opposition. The facts were simply these. Large improvements would be effected in the River Ouse by the Aire and Calder Navigation Company by this Bill, which had already passed the House of Lords, and received the sanction of a Committee of the House of Commons. It was proposed to impose a toll of ½*d.* a-ton on vessels passing into or out of any dock or basin at Goole, or any canal belonging to the Company. The toll, however, was only levied upon vessels exceeding 10 tons burden, and vessels under 10 tons were excluded, because it was thought that the improved navigation would not do them much good; but, for larger vessels, the improved navigation up to Goole would be of enormous value in providing additional safety. If a toll of ½*d.* a-ton were objected to on the part of the port of Hull, it ought to have been appeared against when the Bill was in the House of Lords, and when it came before a Committee of the House of Commons—either one or both. It was quite contrary to the practice of Parliament to leave it until the consideration of the Report upon the Bill, and then to raise objections of this

nature. He might say that the question was incidentally brought forward in the Committee of the House of Commons by what he might call a "fluke." It appeared that although the Bill, without any objection being raised, allowed a toll of ½*d.* per ton to be imposed upon the vessels going into Goole, in order to enter the Aire and Calder Canal, by going in a roundabout way some 20 miles further, vessels might be able to evade the toll. The Committee therefore inserted in the Bill the branch canal by which that could be done, so that the ½*d.* toll must still be paid, as was, no doubt, originally intended by the Committees of both Houses of Parliament. The Committee in the House of Commons, however, when a dispute was raised as to whether this branch canal should pay the ½*d.* toll or not, gave a sort of *locus standi* to certain persons to be heard in opposition, and in that way the question was raised. It was exactly as if a turnpike had been placed upon the main road, and it was found that, by going four or five miles round, the turnpike toll could be evaded, and, to prevent the evasion, a subsidiary gate was authorized to be put up, in order to catch anybody who attempted to evade the payment of the toll. It was the same with regard to this ½*d.* toll; and although the toll question was not petitioned against in either House of Parliament, it was brought forward in the Committee of the House of Commons on that subsidiary ground. It was very much against the practice of Parliament to alter charges which had been thoroughly considered by a Committee, and which had not been opposed in either House. He therefore hoped that, in this instance, the House would abide by the decision of its Committee, which he believed to be an exceedingly fair one. His own opinion was that all the shipowners whose vessels went up the Ouse to Goole would derive a considerable amount of benefit from the improvement of the navigation. For these reasons, he trusted the House would not agree to the Amendment.

Mr. NORWOOD said, that, with all due submission to the hon. Member who had just addressed the House (Mr. Knight), he thought the facts of the case were scarcely as they had been represented by the hon. Member. The hon. Member seemed to imply that there had been no opposition to the taxation proposed by the Bill. As a matter of fact, the Corporation of the town of Hull, anxious to protect the commercial interests of the port, did petition against the Bill. Their Petition was, however, rejected by the Court of Referees, who ruled that they had no *locus standi* whatever, on behalf of the traders of the port of Hull, which would enable them to appear before the Select Committee upon the Bill, in order to defend the rights of the town they represented. The matter was a very simple one. The port of Goole was situated on the River Ouse, close to Hull. The navigation of the Ouse was of an intricate and unsatisfactory character, and the people connected with the port of Goole naturally desired to improve that navigation. To that desire on the part of the port of Goole the people of Hull made not the slightest objection. If the people of Goole were able to improve the navigation, so as to enable large sea-going vessels to reach that port, it would be a "dog-in-the-manger" policy on the part of Hull to say that they should not have that advantage. But what did the promoters of the Bill do? In order to raise the revenues that were necessary to improve the navigation of the river, and to enable large vessels to enter the port of Goole, they proposed to levy a toll on the small barges, which had carried on a trade from time immemorial, right through the canal, to places on the Western Coast which were thus placed in direct communication with Hull. There were hundreds or even thousands of these small barges of from 70 or 80 tons each engaged in that trade. The proposals of the promoters of the Bill was to levy a tax of ½*d.* per ton on all vessels of more than 10 tons burden, which, of course, would include the small barges engaged in carrying coal. So far, the owners of those vessels had not had an opportunity of protecting themselves against this tax. They had not been afforded an opportunity of appearing before a Committee, and they had never been able to raise their voices until that day, when, of course, the opportunity was much more limited than if they could have appeared by counsel before the Committee. If they had been able to do that, and the decision of the Committee had been against them, neither his hon. Colleague nor himself

would have troubled the House with any question arising out of the matter. This was the only opportunity they had, and they felt they would be altogether neglecting their duty to their constituents, and that they would be submitting tacitly to the imposition of a tax of a serious and onerous character indeed, if they permitted the Bill to pass unchallenged. The tax was altogether a new one; but no new accommodation whatever was given to these barges under the provisions of the Bill. No doubt, the larger vessels would derive benefit, and there was no reason why they should not pay any tax that was necessary in order to secure that benefit; but the barges, in whose interests he was now addressing the House, derived no benefit whatever from deepening the water. The water had always been deep enough for the purposes of these barges, and he would appeal to the fairness of the House to give the owners relief; and the only further remark he would make was, that as they had never had an opportunity of laying their case, as traders of Hull, before a Committee, they were compelled to appeal for justice and consideration at the hands of the House itself.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that as this matter very closely affected the interests of a number of his constituents, he would ask the indulgence of the House for a few moments. He thought the point lay in a nutshell. The Aire and Calder Navigation Company were about to expend a certain sum of money in carrying out what, no doubt, were very useful improvements in the River Ouse; but those improvements in the River Ouse would be of no benefit whatever to the small craft which now frequented the port of Goole. The portion of the community on whose behalf he appealed were those who were interested in the traffic of the River Trent. The River Trent was not capable of affording accommodation to vessels of sufficient capacity to obtain any benefit from the proposed improvement scheme. Therefore it appeared, on the face of it, that a great hardship would be done to those who derived no benefit whatever from the augmented expenditure, and it was most unreasonable that they should be called upon to pay any increased taxation. Therefore, he thought that the Amendment proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for Newark (Mr. Newzam-Nicholson)—that the River Trent should be omitted in the same way it was proposed to omit the river craft plying to and from Hull, from these additional imports—was only a fair and reasonable proposal. The House would see that it must be a great hardship for this small river traffic, which was for the great advantage of the commercial districts he represented, to have this impediment placed in its way, while it derived no advantage whatever from the expenditure proposed to be sanctioned under the Bill. He would only say, in conclusion, that the promoters of the Bill had established a most wholesome precedent for the course which his hon. Friend the Member for Newark and himself now asked the House to adopt. They had, in the case of the Keadly Canal, virtually granted the terms now asked for by the River Trent. He presumed that the owners of that canal had placed themselves in a position which enabled them to exact terms, and the promoters had thought it advisable to come to an agreement with them. He trusted that the House would place those in whose interests he was now speaking in the same position, and, therefore, he had great pleasure in supporting his hon. Friend's Amendment.

COLONEL GERARD SMITH said, he rose to say a few words in support of the Amendment which had been moved by one of the hon. Members for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson), and he endorsed, in every respect, what had been stated by the senior Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) in regard to what had taken place in reference to the Corporation of Hull. It had been remarked by the hon. Member for West Worcestershire (Mr. Knight) that very little interest had been excited in the matter, and that the question of tolls only came before the Committee as a subsidiary question. He could, however, assure the hon. Member and the House that among the traders and merchants of Hull this matter had excited considerable interest, that public meetings had been held, and that the Corporation and merchants had decided to oppose the Bill in every way, and to take every means in their power to obtain a *locus standi* before the Committee. He had a word to say about the decision which the Court of Referees had come to on the question of

locus standi. In his opinion, it was an erroneous judgment, because it was a decision which prevented an important and a struggling trade from saying what could be said on their behalf against a tax sought to be imposed upon them unfairly. It seemed to him that the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) was perfectly right in saying that this was the only opportunity they had had of bringing the matter before the House and endeavouring to obtain an alteration of the provisions of the Bill. He must confess that he had at first thought the people who were interested in the navigation of the River Trent were treated in an exceptionally favourable way; but he now understood that the hon. Member for Newark (Mr. Newzam-Nicholson) also complained of the treatment to which the traders of that river were subjected; and he was quite sure that the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson), who had moved the Amendment, would be willing to do equal justice to the Trent, and to incorporate in his Amendment words to the same effect as those which had been proposed by the hon. Member opposite. The words, however, should be "or to or from the River Trent," in order to place the Amendment on all fours with that which had been moved in regard to Hull. The way in which the trade was carried on was simply this. In order to avoid the high rates charged by the railways at Hull, a great deal of the stuff which came in ships was thrown into lighters and sent up the River Humber through the port of Goole to the Aire and Calder Canal. By this means the merchants effected a great saving by avoiding the charges of the Railway Companies; and, of course, the competition between the Canal and the Railway Companies enabled cargoes to be carried at favourable rates. He would ask what it was the House would do if they declined to accept this Amendment? They would virtually impose a serious tax upon a struggling trade; and they would, in point of fact, force the goods now conveyed by lighters to the Canal into the hands of the Railway Companies at higher rates. The result of that would be to destroy that competition between the railways and the canals which Parliament had always approved of and encouraged. With regard to the allegation that the merchants and traders of Hull had deposited no Petition, he would remind the House that this trade was carried on by men of small capital. It was a trade that was encouraged by the circumstances he had mentioned, and which met with support from the merchants and traders of whom his hon. Friend the Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson) was one. Indeed, it would be a very serious matter on the part of the House if anything were done to stop this trade. There were other matters upon which the Committee of *locus standi* might very well have allowed the Corporation of Hull to have appeared upon. For his own part, he doubted very much whether the hon. Member for Newark would not find the provisions of this Bill a very serious matter. His own opinion was that the improvements proposed to be carried on would very materially damage the navigation of the River Trent, and he entertained strong doubts whether they would not seriously and permanently damage the navigation of the Humber. All he desired to do now was to protect the trade, and to see that no unfair advantage was taken, and that no unjust tax was imposed on the trade of Hull for the benefit of the port of Goole. He knew the competition which existed between the ports of Hull and Goole. Nobody knew it better than he did; but it was an honourable competition, or, at least, it had been hitherto. It would, however, become a very unfair competition if this Amendment were rejected. They had no objection in Hull to see the docks in Goole enlarged and the river deepened, and an increasing and prosperous trade carried on; but it ought not to be carried on to the detriment of the port of Hull, or even to that of the port of Grimsby, which he presumed to be in very much the same unfortunate position as Hull. The Bill, in his opinion, had a somewhat further reach than that which had been described by the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson). The hon. Member said, in his Amendment—"River craft to or from Hull passing out of or into any canal of the undertakers." The real fact was, that the Aire and Calder Canal proper was comparatively a small property; but the Aire and Calder Navigation Company either leased or undertook the working of other canals, by means of which they were able to unite a system of canals, which reached practically from the East to the

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West of the Kingdom. Therefore, it was not merely the local trade which passed to Goole, and perhaps to some of the South Yorkshire colleries and as far as York, but it applied to a trade which extended right across to the whole of the West of England. Without detaining the House further, he would simply add that this was a most important subject, and that it ought not to be disposed of without serious consideration. For his own part, he gave a hearty support to the Amendment which had been moved by the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson).

MR. PEMBERTON said, he hoped the House would pause before it agreed to the Amendment. The facts were these. It was now proposed, in a way utterly inconsistent with the practice of the House, to go into a question of Schedule in a Private Bill which had passed both through a Committee of that House and through the House of Lords. The House was accustomed, in all matters of detail, especially those which related to the matter of tolls, and the way in which tolls were to be collected, to leave all such questions entirely to their Committees. The proposition was now, at the instigation of the Corporation of Hull, to undo what the Committees of both Houses had done, and to undo it on the application of a Corporation which was held to be not entitled to be heard, either according to the practice of the House of Commons or of that of the other House of Parliament. The hon. and gallant Member for Wycombe (Colonel Smith) had said that the Corporation of Hull might very well have been admitted to be heard; but he (Mr. Pemberton) would like to know on what principle it could have been heard in accordance with the practice of the House? The Corporation of the town in no way represented the trade of a town, and was in no way affected by the tolls. Not only had the Corporation of Hull no interest in the river, but the Conservency of the Humber was vested in another Corporation. It would have been necessary to have heard the traders themselves, if they had petitiond against the Bill. If they had petitioned against it, then, in accordance with the practice of the House, they would have been admitted to be heard. But the Corporation of Hull had no interest whatever in the Bill, and was not allowed to be heard in either House. Therefore, to insert this Amendment, after what was practically the third reading of a Bill which had passed Committees of both Houses, on the application of a Corporation which was not entitled to be heard in either House, seemed to be one of the most monstrous departures from the practice of the House which had ever been proposed. The arguments which had been brought forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite, he dared say, were very good and very forcible; but the House could not go into them upon that stage of the Bill. The Bill itself proposed to levy these tolls for the first time. If that principle were objectionable, the objection should have been taken on the second reading. All that the Committee to which the Bill was referred had to do was to assume that the principle of the Bill was approved, of and then merely to go into questions of detail. The Committee did not propose to increase the tolls, but simply to extend the exemption which the Bill provided in favour of certain small craft. It seemed to him that, if this Amendment was passed, the practice of the House would be entirely altered, and they might as well do away with Committees on Private Bills altogether.

MR. RAIKES said, he had only a few words to add to what had fallen from his hon. Friend the Chairman of the Court of Referees (Mr. Pemberton). He quite agreed with his hon. Friend that the House should be most careful how it established a new precedent for reviewing the decisions of these Committees. He was all the more anxious to have an opportunity of saying a word or two upon that point, because there was another serious matter involved in it which he thought was worthy of consideration on the part not only of the authorities of the House, but of all who were interested in the conduct of Public Business, because the real question was how far the Public Business might not possibly be obstructed if it were to become the practice to review the decisions of Private Bill Committees. They might be called upon to discuss not merely one Amendment, but 30 or 40, which might be brought forward on the consideration of every Private Bill after it had passed through a Select Committee. Not only might that be done, but there would be the greatest possible uncertainty here-

after as to their proceedings in regard to the consideration of more important matters of Imperial legislation. The decision of the Committee upon the Bill had been called in question by the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson), but had been defended and explained by an hon. Member of very long experience in the House, who acted as Chairman of the Committee (Mr. Knight); and no one would doubt that the Committee had given to the matter all the care and consideration which it was possible to devote to it. One point which was made just now by his hon. Friend the Member for East Kent (Mr. Pemberton) was also deserving of the attention of the House —namely, that the persons who were interested in the matter, as owners of the river craft, had had every opportunity of being heard before the Committee by counsel; but none of them had petitioned against the Bill.

MR. C. H. WILSON said, that the merchants, traders, and barge-owners did present a Petition against the Bill.

MR. PEMBERTON: Did they ask in their Petition to be heard by counsel?

MR. C. H. WILSON said, he was unable to say.

MR. RAIKES said, the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson) had better not have interrupted, because he only confirmed the hon. Member for East Kent (Mr. Pemberton), that there was really no opposition to the Bill. There was a time when any person who felt himself aggrieved by a Bill could have applied to be heard before the Committee, and if he established a *locus standi*, witnesses could have been examined and cross-examined, and counsel could have appeared to conduct the case; but no steps of that kind had been taken. In spite of the able advocacy which the Amendment had received, the discussion which had taken place only convinced him that it was utterly impossible to deal in the House itself with the statements made in reference to a Private Bill by the Members representing a constituency affected by its provisions, however important that constituency might be. He trusted the House would support the decision of the Committee, and would not depart from the old rules and practice which regulated their proceedings upon Private Bills.

SIR. ARTHUR OTWAY said, he entirely concurred with the observations which had just been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes). He thought it would be most unfortunate if the House were to encourage the desire on the part of hon. Members to have all questions affecting their constituencies in a Private Bill heard upon the floor of the House, when they did not choose to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them of being heard before the Committee. The present Bill, no doubt, imposed upon the owners of small craft the payment of a toll to which they had not hitherto been subjected; but he would ask the House to consider the extreme inconvenience of the course they were now asked to take by the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Hull (Mr. C. H. Wilson). The question had been considered by each House of Parliament, and it came down now for investigation in the House itself, after it had been carefully considered and disposed of by a Committee. If the result of the investigation was to be that, on the third reading, the time of the House was to be taken up in considering a question which, if it were to be considered at all, ought to have been dealt with on the second reading of the Bill, he thought they would be establishing a most inconvenient precedent, and one which was certainly not calculated to promote the progress of Public Business. He must also point out to the House that the owners of this river craft, in whose interest the Amendment was moved, did not appear before the Committee, nor did they seek to obtain a *locus standi*. The Corporation of Hull, it was true, did apply for a *locus standi;* but they altogether failed to establish their right to one. In the Committee of the House of Lords the question of *locus standi* was considered from a much wider point of view than by the Court of Referees, to which it was referred in the House of Commons. But, in this case, the Committee of the House of Lords also declined to hear the Corporation of Hull; and, under those circumstances, he contended that the House could not do otherwise than support the decision of their Committee. Such matters as these ought not to be discussed at all on the third reading of a Private Bill; but they

ought to have been regularly considered at the time the Bill was brought forward for a second reading.

MR. C. H. WILSON said, he was placed in a somewhat awkward position; because, although he had the sympathy and support of a considerable number of Members of the House, it appeared that on some technical grounds — perhaps from inexperience, or from not sufficiently apprehending the practice of the House—he had virtually placed himself out of court. What he wished to point out was, that the real question at issue had never come before the Committee of the House of Commons at all in any shape or form; and if it were to be excluded now, an act of injustice would be committed towards the merchants and traders of Hull, simply because the Motion he was now moving was, to some extent, an exceptional one, notwithstanding the fact that its exceptional character arose from the circumstances which had brought it about. These traders, in whose interests he had moved the Amendment, were men who owned very small river craft. It was very difficult to get them to work together; they had no funds at their disposal with which they could deal, like a Corporation, and they were pitted against one of the most powerful and prosperous Corporations of the Kingdom—namely, the Corporation of the Aire and Calder Navigation. It was only a very few days ago that he received a letter from Hull, signed by a large number of these poor barge-owners, saying that they had been laid up in Hull for six weeks, that the trade was very bad, and if they could not get rid of their cargoes of coals they would have to put their vessels by and give up the trade. It was the last straw that broke the camel's back; and this powerful Corporation was now about to impose upon these men a tax of ½*d.* per ton, from which they would derive no benefit whatever, and which was simply imposed for the purposes of the Corporation itself, and for the advantage of its own trade. The imposition of this toll would not only be the taxing of the trade, but would destroy it altogether; because the acknowledged object of the Bill was to put a stop to the navigation of the river by small craft, by improving the navigation in favour of larger vessels. He was sure, if there could have been an opportunity of placing the case of these men before the Committee, the Chairman of that Committee would have been the very first to protect them against the injustice which he (Mr. C. H. Wilson) was compelled to say was being done to them, and against which they had not been heard, simply owing to some technical objection. Hon. Members opposite were taking advantage of that technical objection; but he trusted that the arguments they had adduced would have no weight with the House. He was quite satisfied that if it were not for the technical objection, the sympathy of the House would have been entirely with these poor men who were carrying on this trade. Although he said so with a considerable amount of diffidence, he still felt that he should not be doing his duty if he did not bring the matter before the House, and press it to a Division. He hoped, even still, that the claim he had made on behalf of these small traders would be favourably considered, and that he would receive support from the House generally, including the hon. Gentleman who had presided over the Committee (Mr. Knight).

MR. NEWZAM-NICHOLSON said, with the permission of the House, he would withdraw the Amendment he had proposed, and substitute, after the word "Hull," the words "or to or from the River Trent."

Amendment to the said proposed Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment, after the word "Hull," to insert the words "or to or from the River Trent."—(*Mr. Newzam-Nicholson.*)

Question, "That the words 'to or from the River Trent' be inserted in the proposed Amendment," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words 'and river craft to and from Hull passing out of or into any canal of the undertakers' be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Bill to be read the third time.

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND) — SHERIFF'S COURT, PORTREE—MARTIN *v.* MACLEOD.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called

to a case tried in the Sheriff's Court of Portree, viz. Martin Martin, crofter, against Alexander Macleod, tacksman, of Sunderbugh, and his herd Lachlan Macleod, in which the herd, L. Macleod, was sentenced to a week's imprisonment, with hard labour, for prevarication while under examination, and Mr. Alexander Macleod, tacksman, to only a severe reprimand for a deliberate falsehood; and, if the facts were as stated, if he can explain the difference of treatment in the two cases, and, if this Alexander Macleod is the same person as the A. Macleod who sent a statement to the Crofter's Commission contradicting the evidence given by the Crofter's delegates from the Kelmuir estate?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have inquired into the case, and find that the facts are as follow:—Lachlan Macleod was sentenced to a week's imprisonment for prevarication when upon oath as a witness. Alexander Macleod was reprimanded by the Sheriff for having made an untrue statement when he was not upon oath. He was sent from the Court for his servant, Lachlan Macleod, who was known to be in Portree at the time. On his return, he stated that he could not find him. He afterwards confessed, when upon oath as a witness, that he had seen and spoken to Lachlan Macleod, and, consequently, that his previous statement was false. Upon this, the Sheriff reprimanded him severely; and I apprehend that it would not have been competent to punish him for prevarication, inasmuch as the false statement had not been made upon oath, or in the course of his evidence as a witness. Alexander Macleod is the same person who, along with James Urquhart, made the statement which is to be found at page 10 of the Appendix to the Commissioners' Report.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—MR. E. BROWNE, POOR RATE COLLECTOR, CLONES, CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that Mr. Edw. Browne, Poor Rate Collector, Clones, county Monaghan, recently emigrated, leaving his farm and crop to indemnify the Union; that the Guardians disposed of these for £190; that, subsequently, another creditor, on a Dublin writ, sold the assets through the sheriff for £76; that then one of Mr. Browne's securities became bankrupt, and thus the ratepayers will be obliged, by the dilatoriness of the Board, to make up a large portion of the deficiency; can he explain why the Guardians did not obtain the amount of the sale before the sheriff seized, as this was ample to cover Mr. Browne's liabilities; does their auctioneer still hold a portion of the proceeds; how will this be applied; and, what notice have the Local Government Board taken of the case?

MR. TREVELYAN: The farm and crop were not sold by the Guardians, but by the Collector, Mr. Browne, who gave a written authority to the auctioneer to hand over the amount of the sale to the Guardians. The auctioneer does not appear, however, to have received the money, as the sale fell through, owing to some informality, and the purchaser evaded payment, and got out of his bargain. Afterwards, the farm was seized, and sold for the benefit of another creditor. The Guardians, under the advice of their solicitors, after inquiry into the condition of the affairs of Mr. Browne's sureties, accepted a composition from them. In doing so, they appear to have acted in good faith and for the interest of the ratepayers as well as the circumstances admitted; and I understand, from the Local Government Board, that they do not see any way in which they could usefully intervene.

MR. HEALY asked, how much the ratepayers lost by the dilatoriness of the Guardians?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the composition was 15*s.* in the pound.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—THE METROPOLITAN SEWERAGE SYSTEM.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of the Local Government Board, Whether any systematic supervision is exercised by the authorities of the Local Government Board over the cleansing and flushing of the Metropolitan sewerage system during the dry and hot seasons of the year?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: Sir, no such systematic supervision as is suggested is exercised by officers of the Local Government Board. The officers of the Board have no legal powers in the matter, which is one entirely under the control of local authorities, and all the Local

Government Board can do is to strongly urge them to do their duty.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—GRANTS FOR TEACHERS' RESIDENCES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If any application has been recently made to him with respect to the monetary facilities afforded by the Government for the erection of residences for teachers in connection with vested National schools established since 1879; whether, in the case of all National schools in Ireland other than vested National schools erected since 1879, the Board of Works are enabled to give a loan of £200, repayable by annual instalments of £2 10*s.* per cent. for the erection of a teacher's residence; but, in the case of vested National schools erected since 1879, a grant of £100 is given, and there is no means afforded of procuring the remainder of the money; whether it is the fact that the restriction thus applied in the cases of vested schools erected since 1879 has in such cases greatly interfered, and does at present greatly interfere, with the provision of residences for teachers, especially in the poorer districts of the West of Ireland; and, whether any steps will be taken to redress the inequality?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, representations have been made to me on this subject by my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst), and from other sources. The question is, however, entirely one for the Treasury, by whose desire the limitation which is complained of was inserted in the Act of 1879. It is for their Lordships to decide whether they would consent to its removal by further legislation.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND) — BURNING A HOUSE—CLOONCHEWERS, CO. ROSCOMMON.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, at a place called Cloonchewers, county Roscommon, a tenant named John Mulrenan was lately evicted from a holding on the estate of Lord de Freyne; whether, after the eviction, Mr. M'Dougal, the agent of Lord de Freyne, set fire, with his own hands, to the house which had been occupied by Mulrenan, and thereby placed in imminent danger of destruction several occupied houses standing near; whether other similar acts of destruction have been recently perpetrated on the same estate; and, whether such acts are illegal?

MR. TREVELYAN: Nearly a year after the eviction, the agent observed that the house was so dilapidated as to be, in his opinion, dangerous to those living near. It was for this reason that he burned it. The burning, though near to other houses, did not place them in imminent danger of destruction. Other houses on the estate were burned a considerable time ago. I am not aware that anything illegal was done.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—MRS. KEARNEY, HOTEL BALLYDEHOB, CO. CORK.

MR. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that the Head Constable threatened Mrs. Kearney, proprietoress of the Hotel Ballydehob, county Cork, on 19th ult., that he would oppose the renewal of her licence at the approaching licensing sessions if she continued to permit meetings of the National League to be held in an out-house on her premises; whether he approves of such interference by the police; and, whether he will take steps to prevent its repetition?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that the head constable did, in accordance with what he thought was his duty, warn Mrs. Kearney as mentioned in the Question. Unless there is something in the case which I have not been informed of, I think that, in doing so, he undoubtedly took a mistaken view of his duty, and I shall communicate this expression of my opinion to the Head of the Constabulary.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—DORMANT FUNDS IN CHANCERY.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, with a view of preventing undue expectations being aroused among claimants, he will direct that, in the future lists of dormant funds in Chancery, an asterisk shall be placed before every title to the credit of which not more than £150 is standing?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the suggestion of the hon. Member will be favourably considered before the next list is issued.

CIVIL SERVICE CLERKS—COMPULSORY RETIREMENT.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it is a rule of the Treasury in cases of re-organisations of public Departments, such as the Inland Revenue Office, &c. to enforce compulsory retirement of all clerks of forty years' service and upwards, and of sixty years of age and upwards; and, if so, whether, in any impending re-organisation in the Board of Works, this rule will be adhered to?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, there is no such general rule as that suggested by the hon. Member; but I can safely say that we will not retain at the Board of Works any officers of whose continued efficiency we are not certified.

TURKEY—MIDHAT PASHA.

MR. JERNINGHAM asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to various statements, both in the English and the Foreign press, to the effect that Midhat Pacha and other exiles at Taif were starved to death; and, whether he can communicate to the House such information respecting the death of Midhat and his fellow captives as will remove the unfortunate impression, which is gaining ground, as to the manner in which they met with their end?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, such statements as those alluded to in my hon. Friend's Question have, no doubt, been made; but there is no reliable information in the possession of the Foreign Office to show the cause of the death of the statesman alluded to and of his companions in exile.

EGYPT—CORPORAL PUNISHMENT—THE COURBASH.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If his attention has been called to a letter in *The Times* of the 7th instant from Sir Benson Maxwell, in which it is stated—

"The moment that Mr. Lloyd obtained the management of the gaols he reinstated the courbash contrary to the law, and contrary to my repeated protestations. . . . . it has been, and is maintained contrary to law by Englishmen, because they are protected from the Egyptian Courts by the capitulations;"

and, whether he can give any explanation of the course alleged to have been taken by Mr. Clifford Lloyd in Egypt?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the use of the courbash was finally abolished throughout Egypt by a Ministerial Circular, dated the 16th of January, 1883, which is to be found in "Egypt," No. 13 (1883), page 11. It is an open question whether this abolition was intended to extend to prisons. Early this year Mr. Lloyd drew up prison rules which received the sanction of the Minister of the Interior on March 3. Under these rules certain offences, such as mutiny, insubordination, aggravated assault, and destruction of prison property, rendered the prisoners committing them liable to corporal punishment. In the opinion of Sir Benson Maxwell these rules never received proper legal sanction, and therefore lacked validity. Hence arose a conflict of authority between the Department of the Procureur General and the Prison Department. Instructions are being prepared for the British Acting Agent in Egypt to represent to the Egyptian Government the necessity of steps being taken to put the prison rules and the law of the land into harmony, and to see that these rules and their application should be consonant with justice and humanity, and that in the meanwhile no abuse takes place under the rules of the prisons.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd did not, by his Memorandum, reduce the number of lashes that could possibly be administered under proper supervision of the doctor and other authorities; and, further, whether he did not order that the application of the courbash should be, not to the soles of the feet, but to a less sensitive part of the body?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that was not within the terms of the Question.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the noble Lord to answer the latter part of his Question, as to whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd re-established the use of the courbash?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the instrument to be used under the rules established by Mr. Clifford Lloyd was the courbash.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD: But it was considerably reduced in its application.

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—THE PAPER CURRENCY.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If it be the fact that the Indian Government issues a paper currency of five rupee notes, and whether they are in whole or in part backed by a special reserve of gold; and, if he has any objection to lay upon the Table a Return showing the quantity of paper currency usually afloat in India, the denominations of the notes, and the conditions as to the guarantee under which it is issued by the Government?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the quantity of paper currency in circulation in India has, in recent years, varied from 12 to 16 crores of rupees. The denominations of the notes are 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 1,000, and 10,000 rupees. Government must retain coin or bullion as a reserve to the full value of the notes issued; except a sum of six crores of rupees, or nominally £6,000,000 sterling, which may be invested in securities of the Government of India. The paper currency is not necessarily backed by any reserve in gold, the rupee being legal tender in India; but Government may hold gold, as reserve, to an amount not exceeding one-fourth of the total issues represented by coin and bullion. The particulars of the Indian paper currency are given so far as they have been received at the India Office, at pages 127-129 of last year's Statistical Abstract. Next year I hope it will be possible to give them fully. The conditions of guarantee are contained in Government of India Act, 20, of 1882, a Copy of which is in the Library of the House.

MR. ANDERSON: Is the quantity of five-rupee notes mentioned?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Yes, Sir; it is in the Statistical Abstract.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH SHIPPING—THE BOUNTY SYSTEM.

MR. GOURLEY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he has any information in his office tending to show that, owing to the assistance afforded by Government bounties, the ship-building trade of France is now in a prosperous condition, and that owing to the navigation bounties, British vessels are unable to compete successfully in many of the long voyage trades with French ships?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have not the figures of the tonnage of ships built in France since 1882; but the tonnage showed a considerable decrease between 1872 and 1881, although, in 1882, it increased and reached 56,594 tons. In 1872 it was 50,697, and, therefore, the total increase in the tonnage built in the 10 years is less than 6,000 tons. In the same period, the tonnage built in England rose from 474,000 to 783,000, an increase of 300,000, or over 50 times greater an increase than in the French shipbuilding trade. As regards long sea voyages, I find that the percentage of British ships increased from 80·8 in the first five months of 1882 to 84·3 in the same period of 1884; while the percentage of British tonnage clearing out for the same period increased from 82·2 to 83·4; which would tend to prove that British shipbuilders and shipowners are well able to hold their own against foreign numbers. I may add that I have recently received information that, in spite of the bounty system in France, some of the best lines were losing largely.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked, on what date and in what year the bounty system was established in France?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot say exactly; but it has been recently established.

EGYPT—RETIREMENT OF MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd, now on leave of absence granted by the Egyptian Government, is on the expiry of his leave to be retained as an official of that Government, and returned to the scene of his labours?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; Mr. Clifford Lloyd will not return to Egypt.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. CIFFORD LLOYD.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the

event of Mr. Clifford Lloyd being restored to official position in Ireland, it will be to any position like that which he formerly occupied?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have nothing to add to what I have already stated—namely, that the present position of Mr. Lloyd is that he is a Resident Magistrate on leave, and that his leave will expire in September next.

MR. HARRINGTON: May I ask, whether the office filled by Mr. Clifford Lloyd in Ireland has not been abolished; and, whether the right hon. Gentleman intends to make a new position for him in Ireland now, because of his valuable services in Egypt?

MR. TREVELYAN: I cannot answer this Question. The office filled by Mr. Lloyd has been abolished; but there are analogous positions, somewhat fewer in number, in Ireland. As to the future of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, I cannot answer at present.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES—MR. CORRY CONNELLAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the arrangement was made with Mr. Corry Connellan that his pension should be paid through the Bank of Ireland; by whom was it made; is there any precedent for such a practice; if so, can cases be quoted; was the arrangement made in writing; if so, can the correspondence be laid upon the Table; is the pension paid quarterly or yearly; and, will the Treasury ascertain from the Bank how and to where they transmit the amount to Mr. Connellan?

MR. COURTNEY: In the absence of Notice, I am unable to say when the arrangement referred to was made. It is quite open to a pensioner to make such an arrangement by stamped authority or power of attorney. No doubt, the pension is paid quarterly. We cannot tell where the address is that the money is sent to. It is a local question, and it would take time to inquire into it.

MR. HEALY: How long Notice would the hon. Gentleman require?

MR. COURTNEY: I only saw the Question to-day, and it is impossible to obtain information in the meantime.

MR. HEALY gave Notice, that he would repeat the Question on Monday.

MR. HARRINGTON: Is the information as to this man's whereabouts not known to the Treasury? Surely the Bank ought to be able to say where he is, or whether he is living or dead.

MR. HEALY: Is it usual for the Treasury to be so ignorant of their financial affairs?

[No reply.]

PORTUGAL—THE "CITY OF MECCA."

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has now given up hope of inducing the Portuguese Government either to redress the wrong done to British subjects by the Portuguese Courts in the *City of Mecca* collision case, or to consent to an international arbitration; and, if Her Majesty's Government propose to ask Parliament to grant compensation for the wrongs they have failed to get redressed, or, if they intend to leave British subjects to bear those wrongs entirely without remedy?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the question of arbitration is still under the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government in communication with the Law Officers of the Crown, whose Report has now been received, and I hope to be able very shortly to state the course that Her Majesty's Government propose to take.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OVER-PRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether his attention has been called to the following inquests and verdicts:—On June 25th, at Dudley, on the body of a girl, Jane Crump, when evidence was given that the child complained on Saturday of headache, caused by her lessons, became ill next day, and died before a doctor could arrive. Verdict, death from natural causes, accelerated by over work at a Board School; on July 1st, at Limehouse, on the body of a boy, W. T. Smith, aged ten, when the evidence showed that the child had had a severe fall when about two years old, and Mr. W. T. Haddock, surgeon, stated that, in his opinion, death was accelerated by over-application at a Board School, "for the boy ought never to have gone to school at

all." Verdict in accordance with the medical evidence; whether a third case of a coroner's jury finding a verdict of death through over-work at a Board School, in the case of a little girl aged nine, was not reported to the Wednesbury School Board on Monday last; and, whether, in view of these three cases having occurred within the last fortnight, he will cause inquiry to be made by some one not interested in the management of the Schools in question, or of the Education Department, and will state the result of those inquiries to the House?

MR. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, with regard to the first case, that nothing of the kind had occurred. With regard to the Wednesbury case, it had already been inquired into, and the schoolmistress was entirely exonerated. He had only seen the Limehouse case that morning, and had not had sufficient time to look into it; but he would make inquiries into it.

MR. J. LOWTHER wanted to know whether, in a matter affecting human life, the right hon. Gentleman would cause an independent inquiry to be made?

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had no power to inquire as to what happened at schools, except through the school authorities.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CORNWALL *v.* O'BRIEN.

MR. HEALY asked the Postmaster General, What course he intends to take in regard to Mr. Cornwall, Secretary of the General Post Office, Dublin?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, in view of the verdict yesterday in the case of "Cornwall *v.* O'Brien," I have given instructions by telegraph that, pending fuller information, the charge of the Post Office in Ireland be placed in the hands of Mr. Thompson, or the next senior officer.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Is Mr. Cornwall at present absent on leave?

MR. FAWCETT: I do not think he is.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Then, is he absent without leave?

MR. FAWCETT: No; I believe he has been in Dublin; but I have had no communication from Dublin to-day, and I am not aware where he is.

MR. HEALY asked, whether it was the right hon. Gentleman's intention to give Mr. Cornwall a pension?

[No reply.]

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is intended to prosecute Mr. Gustavus Cornwall, Secretary of the General Post Office, Dublin?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, having heard of the verdict found last night in "Cornwall *v.* O'Brien," I have given directions to have the matter brought at once before the Law Officers.

MR. SEXTON: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, if he knows where Cornwall is at present; if it is true that he left Ireland last evening; and if, having regard to the verdict in the case, the Government will maintain a watch on Cornwall's movements, with a view of seeing that he shall not escape from justice?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have communicated with the Law Officers on the whole subject.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: With reference to this matter, I would ask whether, in view of the evidence and verdict in the case of "Cornwall *v.* O'Brien," the right hon. Gentleman will now withdraw the charge he made in this House during the debate on Mr. French's case, that the evidence against Mr. Cornwall was being trumped up by a detective named Meiklejohn?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is very important that the exact words of a Member should be recorded. The hon. Member for the Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), in stating the case against Mr. French, which he did with the very greatest moderation and good feeling, made some remarks about two interviews which he believed to have taken place between me and Mr. French. I said, and I added that I could bring overwhelming evidence to support what I said, that those interviews could not possibly have taken place; and I then said that a person who had been turned out of the Police, and who had been for two years in prison for levying blackmail, was in Dublin, and that it was a very serious matter, referring to these meetings, to have charges of that nature—referring to what had been said about myself—trumped up against public officials in Ireland. These were my exact

words, and any deduction which may be drawn from these words to the case of any other person than myself was a deduction which was not intended.

MR. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what charge was made against himself?

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) did not put it in the form of a charge. He said it was believed that these interviews had taken place. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had questioned me previously with regard to these supposed interviews, and I said what I did in my speech in the most perfect good faith, believing that he was relying on the statements of Meiklejohn. It was not a charge, but a statement of a most disagreeable nature—that I had twice, at my own request, very long interviews with this man French, whom I believe I never saw, and that with my own mouth I told him that he must bring this action, and that the Government would not give him any money, the real fact being that at the time of these supposed interviews I was absent from Ireland.

MR. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman now state what course the Government propose to take with regard to French?

MR. TREVELYAN: The case of Mr. French, at the present moment, is this. I am informed by three leading medical men that he is, at the present moment, suffering from softening of the brain, and it is impossible to taken any course with regard to him whatever. He is not in the receipt of a pension, he is not in the Government service, and it is impossible to take any course with regard to him while he is undoubtedly in the condition that he is.

MR. HEALY: I would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, whether insanity precludes indictment?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): That is an abstract Question, and I will answer it when it arises.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, as over three months of the time for which General Gordon stated Khartoum to be provisioned have now passed away, any practical measures are being taken by Her Majesty's Ministers to rescue their Agent and Governor at Khartoum?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I presume the telegram to which the hon. Member refers in this Question is one which is not dated, but which was inclosed in Sir Evelyn Baring's despatch of April 19 to Her Majesty's Government. In that telegram General Gordon, describing his position, used these words—

"We have provisions for five months, are hemmed in by some 500 determined men and some 200 (? 2,000) tagrag and bobtail Arabs. As you know, our position will be much strengthened when the Nile rises."—[Egypt, No. 18 (1884), pp. 33-4.]

That telegram does not contain, and, so far as I am aware, there is no other telegram which does contain, any opinion of General Gordon's as to the possibility of obtaining further supplies; and although the information which we have received since that time has been extremely meagre, it does rather point, as far as it goes, to such a possibility. The telegram to which I have referred also indicated an intention, or, at all events, a desire, on the part of General Gordon to undertake offensive operations against the Mahdi, the necessity of which has never been recognized by Her Majesty's Government. We have already stated that it is not our intention to despatch an expedition to the relief of General Gordon, unless it is clearly shown that that is the only means by which General Gordon, and those dependent on him, can be relieved. We have received at present no information which could make it desirable that we should depart from that decision.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Is the noble Lord, or any Member of the Government, able to inform the House as to any recent news from Khartoum, and whether the Government attach any importance to rumours of the fall of that place?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Government has no fresh information.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: We may understand, then, that no practical measures are to be taken by Her Majesty's Government to rescue Gordon?

Is the House to understand that the Government intend to leave the rescue to a Conservative Government in the autumn?

[No reply.]

CHURCH OF ENGLAND—RELINQUISHMENT OF OFFICE—THE RETURN.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Return with regard to the Clerical Disabilities Act, for which an Address was agreed to on the 3rd of March, will be presented?

MR. HIBBERT, in reply, said, that the Return had been presented that afternoon, and would be circulated in the course of a few days.

PUBLIC HEALTH—QUARANTINE.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether an answer has been received to the remonstrance against the quarantine regulations imposed by Spain on ships from British ports?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have as yet received no reply to the representation referred to by the hon. Member.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Portugal has imposed quarantine on ships from British ports?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes, Sir; five days' quarantine have been imposed on vessels arriving from the United Kingdom and from British ports in the Mediterranean.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the precautions against the approach of cholera from France, which actually marches with the Empire, adopted by the German authorities, were not very similar to those in use in this Country; and, whether Spain has imposed on ships from German ports such restrictions as are applied to those from British ports, and from Belgium and Holland?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have not yet received copies of the measures of precaution adopted in Germany, nor any report as to measures adopted in Spain with regard to vessels arriving from Germany, Belgium, and Holland.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

LONDON GOVERNMENT BILL.

(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. George Russell.*)

[BILL 171.] SECOND READING.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [3rd July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "while ready to consider the question of a reform in the Government of London, this House declines to assent to a proposal by which the control over the levying and expenditure of rates would be vested in one central body to the practical extinction of the local self-government of the various cities and boroughs of the Metropolis,"—(*Mr. Ritchie,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, that he had listened with interest and attention to the remarkable speeches of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary on the introduction of this measure, and in moving the second reading; but he could not help feeling that he had left a great many details unexplained. There had been one very pathetic appeal in the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, where he had alluded to the unfortunate fact that cholera prevailed in the South of France, and was advancing towards our shores, and brought it forward as a reason for passing this Bill. The inference which he himself drew from these facts was precisely the contrary. President Lincoln had advised "never to swap horses crossing a stream;" and if they were so near the danger to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had referred, he thought that the idea of President Lincoln would apply. What would be the effect of the passing of the Bill? Perhaps the right hon. and learned Gentleman had hoped to have been three months earlier; but they were now at the 8th of July,

and were only engaged upon its second reading. Even assuming it was passed in August, it would put an end to large Bodies which administered the affairs of the Metropolis, while the new ones could not have come into existence. They would have a number of moribund Bodies living from hand to mouth and carrying on the affairs of the Metropolis as best they could. The Metropolis would then be in the position of having no one to take care of the interests of its health. Supposing, for the sake of argument, that a large Body like the proposed Court of Common Council could conduct the affairs of a great Metropolis, yet was it possible for such a Body, even if it proved as able and hard-working as the right hon. and learned Gentleman hoped it would be, to put the Metropolis in a thoroughly satisfactory state in three months after the 1st of May, 1885? Then, as to some legislation to stop the spread of cholera. By August Parliament was usually thinking of retiring into the country; consequently, any Bills the Common Council might wish to bring in would have to be deferred until 1886. The inference he drew from the arguments of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was not that they ought to pass this Bill in order to deal with the cholera, but that by passing this Bill they would deprive London of the power of making any improvement for the next two or, perhaps, three years. Therefore, he would suggest that the right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke), instead of directing his energies to this Bill, should direct his energies to stop the spread of cholera. Believing the right hon. Baronet to be a most able administrator of the affairs of his Department, he would urge him rather to bring in any measures he thought necessary to secure that end. If, on his responsibility as a Minister of the Crown, he asked the House to give him powers he did not now possess, there could be no doubt that Parliament would meet him in the spirit in which such an appeal would deserve to be met. This Bill was one which proposed to make great changes. It provided for the appointment of a Lord Mayor and a Deputy Mayor; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman, in introducing the Bill, did not tell them what were the duties of those respective offices. As far as he could gather, the Lord Mayor was to continue very much as he now was, with one important change, while the Deputy Mayor was to take the place of the hon. and gallant Gentleman by his side (Sir James M'Garel Hogg). But he thought the result would be, to a great extent, the constitution of two Kings of Brentford. The Lord Mayor would be a mere bird of passage, with no more important public function to discharge than to preside over the Court of Common Council. Now, in the present day, the Lord Mayor's position was that of Chief Magistrate of the City of London, and this function of his office was recognized in his own person by the Committee of Selection, who kindly excused him from attendance on Committees in view of his having to sit daily on the Bench at the Mansion House. That function of the Lord Mayor was to be taken away, and he was to cease to administer justice, the Courts at the Mansion House and Guildhall being taken by stipendiary magistrates. The duties assigned to the Lord Mayor under the Bill were not, it seemed to him, such as would secure for him the position which it was the wish of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Mayor should have. As he read the Bill, there was no provision for anyone temporarily to take the place of the Lord Mayor and Deputy Mayor in case of the illness of those gentlemen.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, provision was made in the Schedule for the appointment of an assistant-deputy in such a case.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR), turning to the consideration of the functions of the Lord Mayor and Deputy Mayor, said, it seemed to him that the two offices were likely to clash, if it was intended that the latter should be the head of the Corporation in the sense in which the Chairman of a great Railway Company presided—if, in fact, he was to be the active officer, the Prime Minister of the Corporation. The Lord Mayor would lose his *raison d'être*. Referring, then, to the functions performed by the Lord Mayor in dispensing that hospitality which the right hon. and learned Gentleman wished to be continued, and of late years in the inauguration of charitable funds for the relief of sufferers by exceptional calamities, he ex-

pressed the conviction that the new Lord Mayor would be very careful how he created precedents and committed himself to engagements which were no part of his official duty. Another difficulty which had occurred to him was this. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had, he presumed, no desire to abolish the celebration which took place on the 9th of November. It had grown up by old custom ever since the days of Pitt, and had been recognized by the present Prime Minister on more than one occasion. The occasion used to be looked upon as the commencement of the political season; and though platform oratory had increased much of late, and it could no longer be regarded in quite the same way, still it was an important event in the political year. Under this Bill, what would be the position of the Lord Mayor? The Council was to be elected on the 1st of November, and the Council would elect the Lord Mayor on the 5th. How could the necessary arrangements be made between the 5th and the 9th? Again, suppose the Council of 240 elected, what guarantee had the House that they would be gentlemen of the class the right hon. and learned Gentleman hoped to attract—Members of that House, magistrates of different counties, and men of position in the country? The right hon. Baronet (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had referred to the proceedings of the Vestries, and had condemned them. But was it not very probable that these Vestrymen would obtain seats on the Council? The right hon. Baronet declaimed against Vestrymen; but he was, nevertheless, going to hand over to them the government of the Metropolis. It was very easy to state that the Council would form a superior class of men; it was just as easy to say, and far more probable, that the Vestrymen whom the right hon. Baronet distrusted would obtain seats upon it. Take the case of the School Board, to which the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) had referred. The original members of the School Board were, undoubtedly, eminent men; there were a great many Members of Parliament—men like Lord Lawrence, the Chairman, Sir Charles Reed, and Mr. W. H. Smith. Gradually, however, they fell off. It was possible that a few Members of Parliament might be induced to enter the Council, and there would be a certain number of gentlemen desirous of entering that House who would always seek a seat, from the opportunity it afforded of bringing them before the notice of the public; but, probably, even that interest would be only temporary; the majority of the Members of the Council would be supplied from the present Vestrymen. With regard to the question of police, he was not surprised that the Home Secretary did not propose to hand them over to the newly-constituted authority. No Home Secretary would be likely to take that course. He, however, had never joined in the cry against the Vestries. The hon. Member for Finsbury (Sir Andrew Lusk) might, if he thought proper, defend his constituents; but he had received a letter from the Vestry Clerk pointing out that large sums had been spent in sanitary arrangements, and that the death-rate had been steadily decreasing, till it had reached 18 to 19 per 1,000.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Uncorrected. The Return is uncorrected for workhouse, infirmary, and hospital.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he thought it was right that these contradictions should be known, in order that the truth might, if possible, be ascertained. He certainly had thought that the Bill would have been received with more popular favour and support than had been shown towards it. The Bill had received very little independent support in London; while its greatest opponent in the City had been Mr. Bedford, a most consistent Liberal, and who, from his ability, would be probably one of the first to obtain election to the new Council if the Bill were passed. No doubt many meetings were held in the Metropolis in support of the measure; but they were invariably attended by the same speakers. Reference had been made to the views of one of the Members for Lambeth, who was an Alderman; but they had yet to hear the opinions of his hon. Friend. Of course, there had been meetings in favour of the Bill. They knew that there were people who would support anything proposed by the present powerful Government, supported as it was by a great Party organization. He should like particularly to hear an explanation from the hon. Member for Bristol (Mr. S. Morley) as to the reasons

which influenced him in changing his opinion and attending the meeting in St. James's Hall in support of the Bill. Not much was to be said as to the attendance generally; but he might say that at all these meetings in support of the Bill "the voice of the Chelsea nightingale never was mute." He could vouch for it that many men who had been consistent Liberals all their lives heartily disliked this Bill; and, therefore, looking at all that had taken place, he was justified in saying that the Bill had received very little popular support. They were told that Petitions did not go for much. Up to this time 210 Petitions, signed by 20,879 persons, had been presented against the Home Secretary's proposal. Of course, that was not a large number compared with the Petitions on Sunday Closing Bills and the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill; but the fact that few Petitions had been presented on one side and none, or next to none, on the other told its own tale. He was struck with the fact that the first Petition presented was by the right hon. Member (Mr. Mundella), from the Sheffield Liberal Association. The Bill apparently had the support of the Provinces; but not of the Metropolis. At all the meetings there was the same set company. There was the junior Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth), Mr. Beal, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Phillips, and last, but not least, a very good-humoured, amusing gentleman—of whom they knew something in the City—namely, Sir John Bennett. He always thought that Sir John Bennett was to be the first Lord Mayor under the new scheme. As to the allegation that the meetings in favour of the Bill were not by ticket, he met that by producing one, which he read to the House, stamped by the London Municipal Reform League.

MR. FIRTH said, that was a mistake. The ticket was only for the front part of the meeting.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR): Yes; and the so-called "front part" was two-thirds of the space of the meeting. That was what was called a free meeting. He believed the Government was forcing on a Bill which nobody wanted, and which had evoked no strong feeling in the Metropolis, and which must take a long time in its discussion. The Prime Minister once said, with regard to the Death Duties, that they wanted elbow room to undertake such a subject, and that might well be said of this Bill. It would be perfectly impossible to pass such a Bill as this in any Session in which the House was not prepared to devote a month or six weeks to the careful consideration of its details in Committee. He had to thank the House for the kindness with which they had on this occasion listened to him—an unworthy Representative of the City of London—whose duty it was, by every means in his power, to oppose this attempt to take away the ancient rights of his constituents without cause shown. If the Members of the Corporation of London believed that this Bill would really establish a better state of things in the Metropolis than already existed, he fully admitted that they ought not to permit personal privilege and comfort to lead them to vote against it; but it was because they believed that the Bill, at the best, would do no good, and would probably do a great deal of harm, that they felt bound to give it their most strenuous opposition. In these circumstances, he appealed to the House and to the great Constitutional Party, of which he was a humble Member, not to abandon an ancient and a venerable institution in the hour of her danger and her need.

SIR SYDNEY WATERLOW remarked that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. R. N. Fowler) had inferentially admitted the necessity for reading this Bill a second time, inasmuch as he had said that it contained provisions which deserved ample consideration in Committee. He was sorry that the right hon. Gentleman had dwelt more upon the details of the measure than upon its principle. The right hon. Gentleman had objected to the appointment of a Deputy Mayor; but the right hon. Gentleman himself must admit that the duties of the present Lord Mayor were difficult enough to discharge, and that they would become still more difficult when the new Lord Mayor was the Head of the whole Metropolis, and that, therefore, there was a necessity for giving him some assistance in the discharge of those duties. The right hon. Gentleman had asked who were to be the 240 members of the new Corporation? Who could answer that inquiry but the electors themselves? The right hon. Gentleman said that he supposed that

they would be the existing Vestrymen. He saw no reason why the most intelligent of the present Vestrymen should not be elected to serve on the new Central Council. While prepared to give his vote in favour of the second reading of this Bill he had strong objections to make to several of its provisions. In the first place, he objected to the limited authority that was to be conferred upon the District Boards. Under the provisions of the Bill as it stood the District Boards could do nothing until they had received the directions of the Central Council. He suggested, however, that they should turn the problem round, and should let the District Boards initiate all proposals for improvements which they should submit to the Central Council. He also objected to the abolition of the ancient title and office of Alderman. He suggested that the office and title should be retained; that one Alderman should be elected for each of the 39 districts, who should be *ex officio* Chairman of his District Board, and should be one of the representatives of that Board on the Central Council. His hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets, (Mr. Ritchie) had pointed out that the Royal Commission of 1854 had decided against the establishment of a Central Body to control the whole of the Metropolis. That, no doubt, was true, but times had changed since then; and he believed that the majority of the Commissioners, if they were living now, would be inclined to support the present Bill. They had had many years' experience of the advantage of a Central Body. In fact, the Metropolitan Board of Works had shown that a Central Body alone could manage in a satisfactory way matters affecting the social life of the inhabitants of all the boroughs in the Metropolis. It was because he appreciated so highly the constitution of the old Corporation of London that he desired to see all the large boroughs in the vicinity having the advantage of it. The Lord Mayor and others alleged that the present Bill would abolish the Corporation of London. That was not a fair, a just, or a correct appreciation of the Bill, which expressly provided that the Corporation should continue to be incorporated by its present name. Instead of being abolished, it was to be raised to a pinnacle on which it had never stood before. In fact, it was to be raised to the position which all foreigners on coming to England believed it to occupy. In his judgment, the Bill would develop the freedom and independence of the ratepayers of London, and lift them up to a faith and confidence in municipal life. An attempt had been made to raise the indignation of the ratepayers on the ground that the new Body would be far more expensive than the existing Corporation; but none of his hon. Friends who made those assertions had endeavoured to fortify them by any illustrations taken either from the past or from the present. The Bill was economical in principle, inasmuch as it would obviate the costly quarrels that annually took place between the Corporation and the Metropolitan Board of Works. It proposed to do for the Corporation of London what they did for themselves many years ago. At one time nobody belonged to the Corporation except those who lived within the walls. Afterwards industrious tradesmen settled outside the walls, and the citizens then extended the City to Farringdon Without, Aldersgate Without, Cripplegate Without, and Bridge Without. The City still rejoiced in having an Alderman for Bridge Without, and he hoped the invitation would soon go forth from the City to those who were without its limit to come in and enjoy the rights and privileges and benefits of the newly-created Municipality of London.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, that the hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir. Sydney Waterlow) had made a proposal which was really fatal to the principle of the Bill, which was to concentrate all powers in one Central Body, which Body, as shown by the statements of the Home Secretary, the President of the Local Government Board, and the hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth), was to exercise the dominant control over the Local Authorities. The Home Secretary had said there was no direct Amendment to the Bill either in his (Lord George Hamilton's) own Amendment or in that of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie). But those Amendments, by affirming the power of Local Bodies to assess rates, were directly contrary to the principle of the Bill. The experiment tried by that Bill was such as had never been made before in any other country. The population of the 20

largest towns, including London, was 7,600,000, and of that population London constituted more than one-half. Thus the case of Liverpool or Manchester, or any other large town, was not in point. He had heard it stated, on good authority, that no population of more than 500,000 could be successfully administered from one centre. The curious thing also to observe was that the increase of population was greatest in the area which would be outside the Bill. During the last three years the central population decreased 7 per cent, the inner circle increased 63 per cent, and the outer circle 126 per cent. During those years the population of the whole of London increased 430,000, of which only 200,000 would be inside the Bill and 230,000 outside the Bill. The feeling of the Metropolis was almost unanimously against the Bill, and almost all the Local Bodies were opposed to it. It was also noticeable that the great majority of Metropolitan Members were opponents of the Bill. There were 22 Metropolitan Members, of whom three were Members of the Government. Of the remaining 19, 14 were opposed to the Bill, and five were in favour of it. The agitation in its favour had been grossly exaggerated, and that mendacious paper, *The Municipal Reform Gazette*, made the smallest gathering of a dozen or two supporters of the Bill into an important representative meeting. The framers of the Bill appeared to him not to be aware of the boundaries of the Metropolis, since they excluded such places as Stratford, Tottenham, and Kilburn—places having large populations—from the new Municipality which they proposed to create under this Bill. What was the condition of affairs at present? There was a very active Central Body—the Metropolitan Board of Works—and a very efficient Corporation—that of the City of London. Then there were the Vestries and Local Boards, many of whom discharged their duties very well, and some, he believed, rather badly. The natural remedy would be to strengthen and consolidate the Local Bodies; but, instead of doing that, the Government were going on exactly the opposite principle, and were taking away all control from the localities themselves. If they wished to make the inhabitants of London interested in these matters, they should give increased power to the localities. Let them consolidate the powers of the Local Bodies, and then they would get men of ability to serve on the Local Boards. At present the Government were doing exactly the reverse. The President of the Local Government Board had alluded to the fact of men who had been on Vestries making improper use of public funds; but how could they tell that such men would not form an even greater part of the new Bodies? This was one of the most exclusive and oligarchical Bills ever brought in. The members of the Central Council, if they worked from Monday morning till Saturday night, would hardly get through the necessary work, and thus every man who could not give up the whole of his time to it would be excluded. The only three classes who would be represented on it would be those who lived in the immediate vicinity of the Council, or persons of independent means; or, lastly, that class of jobbers who would try to get on to it because they could make a livelihood by it. Professional men would be absolutely excluded. In the summary of the Bill there was a definition of what the Local Authorities were to be. It said that each District Council should have such duties, powers, and officials as the Common Council should, from time to time, appoint. The District Councils in that way would not have one particle of statutory authority. In his opinion, this Bill perpetuated all that was bad in the existing system. They had heard complaints of the eating and drinking that went on in the City; but the Bill gave power to tax the whole of London for these entertainments. Then a vast number of offices would have to be erected, which would cause great expense. He could not understand, considering that this Bill took away every single atom of statutory power from the Local Bodies, how it could be described as a decentralizing measure, and one which protected the rights of localities. But the greatest objection to the Bill was, in his opinion, its financial arrangements. The proposed system would be found to be unworkable. Arguing that the financial condition of London would be one of chronic deficit, he declared that there was no check upon the expenditure of the Central Body, and that there was an unlimited opening for the worst form of jobbery. Pointing to the state of muni-

Lord George Hamilton

cipal government in New York and in Paris (where in proportion to population taxation was three times as great as in London), he said the financial proposals of the Government in this Bill were such as he did not think the House could assent to. If there was no living authority in favour of such a scheme, neither was there authority of any statesman of the past to be quoted in its support. To refer to the Report of the Commission of 1833 was to argue from a state of things when municipal life was in its infancy; while in 1853, when they were in the maturity of municipal life, a second Report was drawn up, which was as valuable as the former was valueless. Urging that the reasons adduced by Sir George Grey against the creation of one Municipality for the whole of London were even more worthy of attention now than when they were put forward, he contended that only under such conditions as would enable the single amalgamated body to attend to details could a saving in expenditure be effected. Experience of the working of the London School Board proved that if duties were imposed upon a Central Authority which ought to be localized, there was as a consequence increased expenditure. It seemed to him that by far the best suggestion made was that there should be separate civic centres, or different localities. Among the many obvious advantages which would be gained by the creation of such civic centres would be that places like Kilburn would be enabled to take steps to secure Parks and open spaces, to provide for the enlargement of streets, &c., and that they would be capable of including the populous districts now growing up around them. They ought, he maintained, to localize government as much as possible, in order to develop public spirit. The great majority of the Liberal Party had absolutely lost touch with their constituents and the country, and their proposals did not accord with the feelings of those whom they represented.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON, though not representing a London constituency, was able, as a London ratepayer, to say that Londoners desired to obtain the same form of local self-government as was in the possession of the inhabitants of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and other large towns. Great objection had been taken to the centralizing tendency of the Bill, and proposals for converting the 10 Parliamentary boroughs into separate Municipalities had been put forward. But the Parliamentary boroughs never had any municipal existence; they were a fluctuating body, their number having been comparatively recently increased, while the Redistribution Bill might raise it next year to 20. A Central Body would be able to deal with the existing inequalities of rating, which pressed hardest on those parishes which were least able to bear them. For certain purposes—such as gas, water, sanitary, and drainage—a Central Council was clearly necessary; and in the presence of the Metropolitan Board of Works it was too late to argue that such a Body could not be constituted. He did not think the work would prove so large when it came to be sifted down and sent to the various Committees. They must not forget the local workers; and if the Bill ever got into Committee, Amendments ought to be introduced enlarging their powers of electing their officers, and so on. The noble Lord spoke of extravagance; but the general idea was that jobbery was mostly found in connection, not with freely elected, but with hole-and-corner Bodies. He believed the Bill was drawn on right lines, and that it was supported by the general feeling of the ratepayers at large.

MR. BOORD said, although a Metropolitan Member, he had not intended taking part in the debate; but, after the challenge of the Home Secretary as to the views of the constituency of Greenwich, he had no option but to rise. He contended that the condition of public feeling among his constituency in Greenwich was decidedly against the Bill. As to the references which had been made to Paris, he might remind the House that there was not one but many Municipalities, and the reason was that the Government dared not centre municipal authority in one person. He contended that the scheme of a single Municipality was utterly inadmissible. There had also been a recommendation that several Municipalities should be established, and as many as 10 had been mentioned, with as few as three. He would desire to see six such Municipalities; and he thought the good proposed to be effected by this Bill might be secured by a Central Metropolitan

Council of 50 Members, to whom should be entrusted the main drainage and other matters now dealt with by the Metropolitan Board. As to the speech of the hon. Member for Gravesend (Sir Sydney Waterlow), he thought that hon. Gentleman occupied a very ungracious position, inasmuch as, after having gained all the Civic honours, he now flew in the face of his former colleagues. He was ready to admit that jobbery was possible under the present system of Metropolitan government; but he did not think that this Bill was calculated to put an end to it. The scheme was a huge piece of centralization, and would not afford to localities due facilities for managing their own affairs. He was not completely satisfied with the Metropolitan Board of Works, who allowed a serious nuisance to exist in the state of the River at Greenwich; and he hoped the hon. and gallant Chairman of that Body would take note of that observation. If the Vestries defied the authority of the Local Government Board let the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Charles W. Dilke) bring in a Bill for further powers, and he would support it. Something might be done by raising the standard quality of Vestrymen; for it was found that where a better class of men took office—in St. Martin-in-the-Fields, for instance—a great improvement and economy of administration were effected. More good might be done in that way than by adopting the scheme now before the House, which would be very unsatisfactory and very expensive. [The hon. Member referred in detail to the vexed question of public and "ticket" meetings for or against the Bill, and called attention to the substantial movement at Greenwich in favour of a separate Charter for that district; Petitions in its favour having been signed by no less than 15,000 persons.] The agitation in favour of this Bill was only supported by four or five out of 22 Metropolitan Members; and they were Gentlemen of such extremely Radical proclivities that their support alone was enough to make him mistrust the scheme. There were many reasons, however, why he should give his strenuous opposition to the creation of such a Body as the Bill proposed, and which he believed would become simply a vast political machine at the mercy of official wire-pullers. The small attendance in the House showed the languid interest that was taken in that measure; and he hoped the rumour was correct which he heard in the Lobby—namely, that the Prime Minister intended to announce its withdrawal.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, that the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) had been characterized by great fairness, and deserved attention. He maintained that the boundaries of districts might easily be either extended or taken in. A Boundary Commission could easily dispose of these questions. The point upon which he would lay particular stress was, that where there was one continuous town and one homogeneous area that was a suitable place in which to have one administrative Body. While there were some outlying districts of London—such as Greenwich and Woolwich—which for certain reasons might be left out of the operation of the Bill, there were other parts which, like Kilburn, ought to be included in London. Anyone walking along the Edgware Road would not suppose that the houses on the right were in London, and that those on the left were not in London. When the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex put forward matters of detail as arguments against the second reading of the Bill, it might be taken that there were not any strong arguments to be brought against the principle. Still more paltry, if he might use the word, was the argument the Lord Mayor put forward, when he contended that if only elected on the 5th of November, the new Lord Mayor would have no time to arrange for the banquet on the 9th.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. LYULPH STANLEY, resuming, said, he should next direct attention to the remedy proposed for the existing chaos by noticing the proposal to have 10 or 12 separate Municipalities for London. Those who advocated such an arrangement did not appear to mean that they would create 10 perfectly independent Municipalities. They all re-

cognized the necessity for some purposes of a Central Body, and that the units of local self-government in London were too small—in that they were agreed; the question was, should the Central Authority be strengthened, not should the Local Authorities be extinguished? Touching upon the reason which made it advisable to form such a Central Authority by the extension of the City of London, rather than by giving new and enlarged powers to the Metropolitan Board of Works, he observed that the latter reflected too strongly the spirit of the Vestries and District Boards from which it was constituted; and while admitting that in some respects the Board had done its work on the whole well, he charged it with want of proper consideration for the poor of London. [SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: No, no!] Not one single person of all the poor displaced in the carrying out of the Gray's Inn Road improvement, powers for which were acquired in 1877, had been re-housed by the Board. So long as they allowed the City to exist, they would have a Body pledged to resist all reform. He was surprised to find the Lord Mayor did not even attempt to deny that £20,000 of the City cash had been expended in attempts to thwart the Bill, and that the City had even descended to the employment of an agent of the Conservative Party who had been guilty of and scheduled for bribery. But the noble Lord complained that the new administration would be expensive. Perhaps it would; but it was impossible to get a good thing cheap anywhere; and, as a ratepayer, he should not regret if the rates increased, provided the money was spent in a proper manner. The essential principle of the Bill, he believed, was, that there should be one Central Authority with all the rights and dignity of the City, and that that Central Body should be directly elected.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS said, he felt that it was only right, in reference to this Bill, that he should express his sentiments upon it. There were two questions to be considered—first, whether there was a demand in London for the Bill; and next, whether the measure was in itself equal to the occasion for which it was introduced? He did not think anyone would deny that the motive power of this Bill had been the junior Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth), and another friend outside the House (Mr. James Beal). But they would very much like to know who really was its author; whether the Home Secretary or the junior Member for Chelsea? The reasons brought forward in support of it by the junior Member for Chelsea were extraordinary. The hon. Member seemed to have cast aside the good maxim which advised a man to believe nothing that he heard, and very little that he saw, for there was no petty story of City extravagance or Vestry incompetence too absurd for his credence. He must confess that when the hon. Member rose to address the House the other night, he felt that he had mounted his Pegasus, and that a victory not less glorious than that of St. George over the dragon was to be anticipated. The hon. Member appeared to glory in the proceeds of the spoil, rather than in the other benefits that were to flow from this Bill. He had listened with great attention to the speech of the President of the Local Government Board. The grounds upon which the right hon. Gentleman appeared to rest his case in favour of this Bill were that the Clerkenwell Vestry had neglected to enforce sanitation in their district, while its beadle had made £12,000 out of a fortunate speculation. Whether those charges were true or not was a subject for investigation; and, perhaps, the Vestry particularly attacked would be found to have a complete answer to the allegations made. It seemed to him that the reasons given for the introduction of the Bill were utterly and entirely inadequate, and that no sufficient case had been made out for upsetting the whole government of London, and for destroying at a blow all that had worked so well in the past. The next consideration was, how far the Bill would meet the object of its promoters. He should regret exceedingly if the grand old Court of Aldermen were destroyed. Why should a Second Chamber be put an end to in the City of London? It was impossible to draw to the great Municipal Councils men of sufficient weight and character unless they were given a certain social status. Those who carried on the Government of London devoted their whole time, sometimes to the destruction of their own fortunes, to their municipal duties. If there were one thing which it was necessary to add

to the London Municipality, it was the Conservancy of the River Thames; and yet that was not included in the present scheme, which also left out the School Board and the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Then there was a most fantastic arrangement with regard to the police. No doubt it was right that a certain body of police should always be under the control of the Government; but the Government were well aware that if they proposed to take the whole of the London police into their hands, a prejudice would be created against the Bill. Consequently, they proposed that the City police should remain in the hands of the Corporation, and that the rest of the police should be under Government control. He believed, however, that in the course of a few years the smaller body would be absorbed by the greater body, and that the Corporation would have no police of its own at all. The Bill, while destroying all the "powers that be," would leave to the District Councils and the Common Council the task of reconstructing the Metropolitan Government. His idea was that a Legislative Assembly ought itself to pass a complete scheme for the government of the Metropolis. That part of the Bill which dealt with the incorporation of certain members of the Common Council and of the members of the Metropolitan Board was one of the most extraordinary proposals for a system of indirect representation which he had ever heard of. Another objection which he had to the Bill was its proposed abolition of the Irish Society branch of the London Corporation, which possessed extensive estates in the Province of Ulster. Then there was the question of the markets. The Corporation was only to a limited extent a market authority. There were many private markets, and some belonging to the Railway Companies. Yet it would appear that by the Bill the whole of the City markets were to be confiscated without compensation. But what was to be done in respect of Covent Garden Market, about which there had been so many justly-founded complaints; was it intended to deal with all the complicated interests which had grown round that market, and to compensate the Duke of Bedford for the enormous property which was vested in him in the site of that market? The Bill, he contended, had no sufficient reason for its existence. The Corporation of London was now the most perfect Municipal Government which existed in the world; and the Bill which sought to abolish that Corporation was so full of absurdities and inconsistencies, in the name of unity was creating so much disunity, so stultified itself in its details, that he should be wanting in his duty to the Corporation of which he had so long been a member if he did not raise his voice in protest against it.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, the hon. Member had introduced an amount of poetry and imagination which was quite refreshing. The hon. Member had charged the hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) with piercing the dragon of the City. He (Mr. Russell) thought it might be rather said that they were engaged in destroying the griffin—a beast, with the genesis of which the hon. Member was more familiar.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS said, he knew nothing of the genesis of the griffin.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he was glad that he had not to find fault with the Corporation in matters of Art. The hon. Member was not accurate in saying that the Asylums Board would be superseded. It would only lose those functions which did not properly belong to it. Nor was he accurate in respect of the medical officers. The 70 medical officers were those of the 39 Vestries and the 30 Boards of Guardians and of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. He (Mr. Russell) believed that there would be great unanimity with regard to retaining the Aldermen in something like their present position. The Lord Mayor had spoken in a remarkably conciliatory spirit. He bore "a generous heart in an intrepid bosom;" but his intrepidity was tempered with discretion, for his right hon. Friend had declined to meet the challenge of the President of the Local Government Board with respect to the Clerkenwell Vestry and his right hon. Friend's challenge about the hired disturbances of public meetings. With respect to the Kensington meeting, his hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) had admitted that the hall was one-third filled with opponents of the Bill. Then the Vestry determined to hold a meeting composed solely of ratepayers. But his hon. and gallant Friend behind him dissuaded them from

doing so, as it was found that the meeting would not be unanimously against the Bill.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: I will state to the House what did occur. I think it will amuse them.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he knew what happened. The ratepayers' meeting was held, and a Resolution passed in favour of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman then read a letter, which was published in *The Greenwich Observer*, signed by W. Smith, giving details of the expenses which had been incurred in the promotion of the movement for Charters for several of the Metropolitan boroughs, and which Mr. Stoneham told him was paid out of the City cash. These expenses amounted to about £80, including the payment for advertisements and the hiring of men to attend the meeting, applaud the speakers, eject dissenters, and also to defray the cost of cigars, wines, and cabs, and other expenses incidental to a Charter.

SIR WHITTAKER ELLIS: What proof is there of it?

MR. NEWDEGATE: Will the hon. Gentleman state whether he knows Mr. William Smith?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he had the honour of knowing several gentlemen of that name, but not the particular Mr. Smith. The letter, however, had been published, and remained uncontradicted. In connection with the housing of the poor many of the Local Authorities were doing their best, according to their lights; but there were exceptions of a heinous kind, which made it the duty of the Government to prevent the possibility of their continuance. Seven authorities had said that they would consider the matter when their attention had been called to the sanitary state of the houses of their district, and seven others had declined even to carry out the existing regulations. When he had been in the East of London the medical officer had informed him of a case where a man suffering from typhoid fever had applied for lodgings at a baker's. The baker had taken him to the bakehouse, and there he had lain on a bed composed of sacks full of flour, which was afterwards used for bread. He had been informed, also, that in that district there had not been a single conviction for adulteration of food. The next point he wished to touch upon was that of Vestry jobbery, especially in the matter of wood pavements.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: I think the hon. Gentleman ought to give names.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he was informed by his right hon. Friend (Sir Charles W. Dilke) that the facts in reference to wood pavement had recently come out in a public trial. It seemed that in many cases there was a rule by which the parish surveyor counted 11 inches as a foot of work, this arrangement being probably known to the contractors, although not to the public. Another point was the holding of insanitary property by members of Vestries. In one instance five houses, Nos. 1 to 5, Melina Place, which were held by Mr. Alfred Eldridge, a present member of the Vestry of St. Pancras, had been condemned as unfit for habitation by the surveyor and the medical officer, who had said that no amount of repair would make them fit for habitation. In the parish of Clerkenwell, in each of the five Committees, a large majority were house-farmers, or closely connected with them. In the Finance Committee 10 out of 15; in the Works Committee 15 out of 20; in the Assessment Committee 15 out of 20; in the Parliamentary Committee six out of 15; and in the Sanitary Committee nine out of 20 were house-farmers. The rest of the Committees were publicans and money-lenders, who acted harmoniously in connection with the house-farmers. His right hon. Friend had founded his accusations partly upon his own experience and partly from strong evidence laid before the Commission. Lord William Compton and his father's agent, Mr. Boodle, had given very decided evidence, and the Commission had also had the evidence of a Chairman and an ex-Chairman of Sanitary Committees. The right hon. Gentleman was willing to state, with the fullest knowledge of the circumstances, that he had not overstated the sanitary condition of Clerkenwell. It had been urged that the death-rate in Clerkenwell was low; but they must remember that Clerkenwell lay in an exceptionally favoured situation; in fact, "every prospect pleases, and only man is vile." It must also be borne in mind that the figures had not been corrected by the addition of those who belonged to the parish, and had died in hospitals, sick-houses, and asylums. He

would like to say one word about the considerations which had encouraged them at first to make this attempt, and now to persevere in it. The Metropolitan Board of Works already exercised its rule over the Metropolis for some 25 main purposes of municipal life as a great Central Controlling Body, and the health of the Metropolis had been wonderfully improved. But they were not satisfied to rest there. The death-rate in some improved dwellings was as low as 12; and they hoped to attain this, or something like it, if for all purposes, not merely of main drainage, but of sanitary control, one Central Body exercised supervision, through close relation with Local Bodies, over the 2,000 miles of London streets. The hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. Torrens) had said that this measure was too centralizing and too localizing. It was too centralizing to allow of local anarchy, and too localizing to admit of central tyranny.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, no one could rise to speak upon this subject without feeling the greatest responsibility, seeing that for weal or for woe the health and happiness of nearly 4,000,000 of people were involved. He had listened very carefully to the speech of the Home Secretary, to find out why this Bill had been brought in; but he had heard little but praise both of the Corporation of the City of London and of the Metropolitan Board of Works. Of the latter Body the right hon. and learned Gentleman had expressed surprise that 46 members could have done so much work, and that fresh duties should have been imposed upon them year after year. Was not such impositions a proof that their work had been well done? But, in moving the second reading of the Bill, the right hon. and learned Gentleman found out four points in the administration of the Board with which he could find fault. During the last 30 years there had been a certain number of Gentlemen inside and outside the House who had been saying that there was chaos in the municipal government of London; but they had failed to prove it, and several Bills which had been brought in to reform the administration of the Metropolis had fallen dead. Now, through the representations of the junior Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) and one or two others, the Home Secretary had been induced to bring in this Bill without sufficient reason or justification. The Home Secretary said the Metropolitan Board had not been able to deal with the water supply. As Chairman of that Board, he had, in 1878, brought in two Bills, one for the purchase of the Water Companies' works, and the other for the purpose of procuring an independent constant supply, especially to meet the requirements of the Fire Brigade. One passed the second reading; but he had no support from the Government of the day, who happened to be his own political friends, and he did not think much of the wisdom of their proceedings. If he had received such support, by this time they would have had a good Central Authority over the water supply, and the Companies would have been bought up much cheaper than it would now be possible to do. He had a Bill on the subject now all ready; and if the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government would help him to pass it, he would undertake next year to take measures towards a better supply, or for the purchase of the Water Companies. The next point was as regards the housing of the poor. From the moment the Artizans' Dwellings Act passed the Metropolitan Board of Works set themselves to the task of carrying it out, and could now boast that they had provided accommodation for comfortably housing 22,000 of the poorer classes. The Metropolitan Board had no power to rebuild, but they had power to clear sites; and there was now in their possession a large quantity of land for which they could not find any purchasers. There did not appear to be in the Bill any power to house the poor. Again, the Asylums Board was a Body doing good sound sanitary work, especially with reference to small-pox and cholera, though he did not contend that it should entirely take the place of the District Boards. Lastly, there was the question of snow—a most refreshing one just at present. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary did not seem to appreciate the difficulties of dealing with it. The task of the Metropolitan Board of Works was comparatively simple. Whenever a fall occurred, they procured every available cart, and threw the snow into the Thames. Many parishes and District

Boards had no place to cart it to. He greatly doubted the wisdom of substituting District Councils for the experienced men who were now engaged in the municipal work of London. They now possessed good and tried representatives who knew the nature of the work they had to do, and did the work thoroughly and well. He had had much experience of them, and was bound to say a good word for them. The Vestries had of late been so much abused that he should like to say what they had done since 1853. They had paved miles of streets, covered in cesspools, and wonderfully improved the sanitary condition of the Metropolis; and he was astonished that nobody in the House of Commons had the courage to stand up and say what these much-maligned men had done. He would give the House a short list of their operations. Since their institution, they had made nearly 1,000 miles of sewers, every one of which had received the full approval of the Engineer of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and every one of which was connected, on a proper level, with the general sewerage of the Metropolis; they had finished 11,745,875 square yards of roads and footpaths, and had put up 26,444 extra lamps. Thus the Metropolis, through their exertions, had had better sewerage, better lighting, better streets, and every improvement it was possible to obtain. He did not propose to go into all the various works of the Metropolitan Board, because he claimed that they were patent to the world, and because no one had spoken unkindly of the action of the Board. He had dealt with the water question, and he now desired to say a word about the gas. An hon. Gentleman opposite, the other evening, told the House that the gas legislation which had taken place had been very much to the benefit of the Metropolis. It was quite true that that legislation had taken place, but how was it brought about? It was entirely through the action of the Metropolitan Board, who had brought in Bills, and ventilated the subject until, although their Bills did not actually pass, it was found absolutely necessary that something should be done. In regard to the financial question, the Metropolitan Board had a Bill now before Parliament for borrowing upwards of £2,000,000. The amount in the Bill had, in the first instance, exceeded £4,000,000; but, owing to the rejection of the Thames Crossings Bill, it was reduced to its present figure. Out of this they had to borrow for the School Board £700,000, the Asylum Board £235,000, and other Boards £561,000; so that the borrowing powers of the Board in reference to their own improvements only amounted to about £900,000. He might point out to the House that it was of benefit to everybody that there should be one Body entrusted with borrowing powers; because they were, by that means, able to raise money at a cheaper rate, and surely it was advantageous to the ratepayers to obtain money at 3¼ per cent, instead of being obliged to pay 4 per cent for it. His right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department appeared to think that because he (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) had put down a Motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee he, therefore, approved of it. If the right hon. Gentleman would refer to the Petition of the Metropolitan Board he would see that that was not really the case. One of the clauses of their Petition pointed out that the provisions of the Bill in reference to the readjustment of the districts into which the Metropolis was divided for the purposes of local government was most defective, especially in providing that they should be settled by the Local Government Board, or by two Members of Her Majesty's Privy Council. By Clause 71 of the Bill, any two Members of the Privy Council could join together in settling new local boundaries in the Metropolis. He fully admitted that the boundaries of the Metropolis, in some way or other, ought to be altered. It was absolutely necessary that the alteration should be made, and the Metropolitan Board had been for some time considering the propriety of dealing with it themselves, and it was only under the pressure of the present Bill that they had stayed their hands. They were by no means obstructive, nor did they wish to do anything inconsistent with their functions or inconvenient to the Government in view of the present Bill, and accordingly they had stayed their hands. They fully admitted that the work of altering the boundaries ought to be done, but certainly not in the way proposed by the present Bill. Parliament ought to deal with the question itself, or there ought

to be a Royal Commission to inquire into it. If the right hon. Gentleman had gone into the matter as he (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) had done, he would find it no light work, but a work of great labour and responsibility to do it in a proper and efficient manner. A good deal had been said, in the course of the debate, about Petitions. He emphatically denied that the Petitions presented to the House had been in any shape or form in favour of the Bill. He had made a curious note of the favourable Petitions which had been presented; and he thought those hon. Members who had asserted that the Bill was approved by the people generally would be astonished when he read it to the House. Since the second reading of the Bill, there had been 196 Petitions presented against it, and only 10 in its favour, and out of the 10 one came from Leeds—he did not know what on earth Leeds had to do with the Metropolis, and thought that the people of that town had better mind their own affairs—another from Congleton—a place with about 11,000 inhabitants, which he was glad to find took an intelligent interest in the Metropolis—and others from Rochdale and the Port of Glasgow, wherever that might happen to be. He had tried to find out; but had not succeeded. As a matter of fact, out of the 10 Petitions, there were only three from London in favour of the Bill; and all the rest, a long list of which he held in his hand, were against the Bill, from people who resided in the Metropolis, who knew what they were about, and strongly objected to have this measure foisted upon them. If there was anything dependent upon Petitions, he thought the Government would do well not to press the Bill further. There was another thing he was anxious to say. The hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) and others had presided over various meetings in the Metropolis. He (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) had also presided over a meeting which might fairly be termed a representative body. The Metropolitan Board of Works had sent out a Circular to every Vestry and District Board in the Metropolis, asking them to send the Vestry Clerks and a certain number of delegates to the meeting who were best acquainted with the subject. He admitted that admission to the meeting was by ticket; but the reason of that was that they did not wish to have the proceedings interrupted, the object being to get an expression of the opinion of the Vestries and District Boards, and of nobody else. He thought they acted very wisely in taking that precaution. He had presided as chairman of the meeting, which was attended by 300 delegates, and after a discussion which lasted nearly five hours, every Vestry being represented except one, a proposition in favour of the Bill was submitted to the meeting, when only 30 hands were held up in support of it, so that he might say that the Vestries and District Boards, by their delegates, were entirely and totally opposed to the course proposed by Her Majesty's Government. They were all representatives at the meeting, who took an intelligent view of the question, and went through the whole question. He sincerely wished that his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department could have been present, for he would have been delighted at the intelligent manner in which the subject was handled. He was sorry for having taken up so much of the time of the House; but there was a great deal more he could say if time would permit. He would only add that he hoped that better counsels would govern the course of Her Majesty's Government, and that, at any rate, they would postpone the Bill. He made no complaint, and he had no wish to be discourteous; but it did seem to him somewhat hard that the views of the Metropolitan Board, and those who were best acquainted with the government of London, should be altogether disregarded. He thought that a measure of such magnitude and importance would require more time for its consideration than the Government were prepared to devote to it; and he trusted that so great a question would not be dealt with by Party and ill-matured legislation. He was much obliged to his right hon. Friend for the kind and courteous manner in which he had spoken of the Metropolitan Board and himself in introducing the Bill. They all found it a pleasure to be in the hands of so gentle an executioner.

MR. GLADSTONE: I quite agree with my hon. Friend who has just sat down (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) in thinking that this Bill has received scant

justice from those who denied its vast importance. It is a mistake which some have fallen into to treat a Bill for the government of London as if it were merely a local Bill. The local government of London is, or, if it is not, it certainly ought to be, the crown of all our local and municipal institutions; and those municipal institutions themselves, spread as they are all over the Provinces, could never attain their own proper and legitimate degree of dignity, unless the Municipality of London, which is their natural head, is brought to the best condition in which it can be brought by the labours of Parliament. I hope, therefore, that hon. Gentlemen who represent Provincial towns, and even hon. Gentlemen who represent counties, will not grudge the pains, either now or hereafter, which a Bill, such as this, must necessarily have devoted to it. I do not know whether it will be the desire of the House to divide on this measure to-night. [*Cries of* "No!"] I know there are a Member or two whose desire it is never to divide; but to prolong every debate on a Government measure *ad infinitum*. My appeal is not made to such impenitent Gentlemen as those; but I can conceive that it might be the desire of the House to bring to a close to-night the debate, at any rate, on this stage of the Bill. At all events, this is the fact, and I think the House ought to take notice of it; because it is significant in regard to the manner in which we now commonly proceed in dealing with the constantly increasing mass of Business we have to discuss—that in the year 1835, when the subject of municipal reform was new, and every Corporation in the country was a close Corporation, the Government of the day introduced a Bill for the purpose of giving to such Corporations an absolutely new character—a character resting entirely upon popular election. The Government of that day was faced by an Opposition far more powerful than the Opposition which I have now the honour to see over against me. But when they were introducing that Bill, so novel in principle, and so important in the changes which it proposed, one night was sufficient to dispose of the second reading; whereas the Government have already appropriated three nights for the purpose of disposing of the second reading of this Bill. It is quite true that on two of them there were preliminary debates. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] Yes; but there are men of such uncharitable minds that they have the belief that these preliminary debates were either, in part, created, or prolonged for the purpose of affecting the debate on this Bill. I know not how that may have been; but, be it as it may, I hope it may tend to quicken the reflection of Gentlemen on the great question, how is this House, not at the present moment only, or on the present subject, but permanently, to discharge the Business of the country in the effective manner in which it has been discharged in former Parliaments? But the special object with which I have risen is this—not to refer to the speech of my hon. Friend who has just sat down, but to recall the House from the discursive speeches which we have heard from the opponents of this Bill to the real question before us. Now, does the hon. Member for Mid Surrey (Sir Whittaker Ellis) really think that the remarks out of which his speech was woven are appropriate to the second reading of the Bill? I did conceive that that speech might have been divided into a collection of speeches on points and clauses and sub-clauses, and verbal matters connected with the Bill; but with regard to the principle of the Bill, the hon. Gentleman, I think, did not glance at it from beginning to end. I may even go higher, because the ex-Lord Mayor, great as he is in dignity, cannot possibly compare with a present Lord Mayor. We heard my right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor deliver his sentiments with that frank geniality which is so agreeable to all of us, whether we agree with him or not; and I appeal to the Lord Mayor himself, whether almost every point he raised was not a point which should have been raised upon another stage of the Bill, and left over for the consideration of the Committee? I do not think the Lord Mayor was in entire consistency and in perfect keeping with himself on several of these points. I heard him lament that the Lord Mayor was about to be deprived of the most important portion of his judicial duties, and immediately after, commiserating the condition of the new Lord Mayor in there being so little for him to do, he made a pathetic appeal to my right hon. Friend (Sir William Harcourt) to supply

a deputy Lord Mayor, and an assistant-deputy Lord Mayor.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR): I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. What I said was, that I understood the right hon. Gentleman thought there were only two gentlemen qualified to sit in the Chair, and that it was desirable that a larger number of deputies should be supplied for the new Corporation than is at present proposed, in case both of them were ill.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Lord Mayor already has been informed that there are three. I understand, then, that the purpose of the Lord Mayor, in asking for assistance, is not to provide persons to perform the ordinary duties of the Lord Mayor, but for the rare contingency of a casualty arising from illness. Then, Sir, I think that I have the Lord Mayor in a corner. Was there ever a point more unfit for the second reading of a Bill, and more fit to be disposed of in Committee, than a question whether the exigency of a sick Lord Mayor and of a sick deputy Lord Mayor should be provided for? The Lord Mayor also said—and it was a pathetic and impressive part of his speech—"What guarantee are we to have for the composition of this new Corporate Body?" The Lord Mayor appeared to be in a state of painful misgiving and alarm in respect of this guarantee. But I should like to know what guarantee have we for the composition of the next House of Commons? I suppose it is the character of the people who elect it; and the guarantee for the composition of the new Corporate Body is the intelligence and competency of the citizens of London. After lamenting the want of this guarantee, the Lord Mayor went on to predict, in a spirit, I think, of entire good sense, that the people of London would look to experience in civic business, and in local business, as one of the best qualifications and recommendations to their favour, and he told us plainly that the present vestrymen would enter very largely into the composition of the new Common Council. That is the answer to the difficulty raised by the Lord Mayor. There was, however, another point raised by the Lord Mayor, and it appeared to me to be his principal point—namely, the enormous difficulty in which the new Lord Mayor would be placed if, his election being begun on the 1st of November and only completed on the 5th, he only had four days in which to prepare for the Lord Mayor's Banquet. I do not know whether I am right, but such was the impressiveness of the Lord Mayor, and such his earnestness and intenseness on this part of the question, that I hope it is not altogether too late to hope for the support of the Lord Mayor to the Bill, if we can only satisfy his mind that further time would be given for preparation. The Lord Mayor observed that four days only would be given to the new Lord Mayor to prepare for the Banquet. Why, four days is generally about the time which an incoming Prime Minister has for making up his Government, although, according to the Lord Mayor, it may not be enough to prepare for a dinner. I may say, on the authority of my right hon. Friend near me, that that is a question on which we are perfectly open to conviction; and if the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor is prepared to give us his support upon the Bill at large, we will make any sacrifice we can. I assure him that when we get into Committee, upon the question of the proper time for preparation for the Lord Mayor's Banquet, we shall meet him in a spirit which will leave him nothing to desire or complain of. I will not pursue that line of criticism further; but I will now endeavour to remind the House how comparatively simple in its terms—I do not mean by simple, unimportant, but how simple in its terms is the main question, and the only question, we are called upon to debate to-night. We are not debating any of the points to which I have just referred, nor are we debating to-night other points of great importance—such as what are to be the precise limits of the functions of the new Corporation, or what are to be the local limits of the Metropolis, upon which my hon. Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works has just made most weighty remarks, or what are to be the relations between the principal or central body, and the local bodies, or what are to be the exact financial arrangements—a point which has been severely criticized by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). The noble Lord, in speaking of those financial arrangements, made a special appeal to me, which I will only dwell upon

so far as to say that I cannot, in any degree, admit the parallel he drew between the financial arrangements of India in reference to the late Famine, and the arrangements contemplated by this Bill, and for this reason—that he compared things which were absolutely at variance with each other, seeing that, in the case of India, the territories governed by Local Governments drew their supplies from a central fund, whereas the District Councils, under this Bill as it now stands, would have to charge on the several districts the whole of the expenditure they would be authorized to incur. But, Sir, none of these are the questions now before us. Every one of them are simply questions for the consideration of the Committee. The question now before us, and it is a sufficiently important one, is, whether the time has come when Parliament ought to endeavour to establish one controlling Municipality for the whole of this great Metropolis, and to develop that Municipality, armed with full municipal powers, out of its ancient and historic Corporation? My hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works would not be sorry, and I think it does him credit, to go on absorbing power after power, until the Body over which he so worthily presides reached the dimensions of a complete Municipality. Well, Sir, that Body has earned much credit for the practical manner in which it has been conducted; and as to the principle on which it rests, it has met wants which had become absolutely intolerable. But for the Metropolitan Board of Works this Bill could not possibly have been delayed until the present day. The successive developments of the Metropolitan Board, adding to it power after power, but never putting it on a proper footing as the Municipality of London—whether that is a satisfactory mode of dealing with this great question is a totally different matter. What we contend is, that the real question is whether we ought to endeavour to establish one Municipality for the whole of London—setting aside for the moment the question of exact limits—whether we ought to establish one Municipality for the whole of London? And that question, we say, ought to be answered in the affirmative. We say that we ought not to leave, in its present state of isolation, the historic Corporation of London. We do not admit that that historic Corporation, with all its traditions—and very great traditions many of them are—is the property of the small handful of persons contained within the limits of the City. We affirm that the Corporation belongs to the Metropolis, and that the Metropolis should have power to do honour to the Corporation. This is not spoliating, but enriching it. The riches, dignity, power, authority, and the desirableness of belonging to that Corporation will be infinitely greater when it has undergone its just extension, and become the representative of the whole Metropolis, than ever it can be so long as it remains within its present narrow limits. Why do we wish to have this question answered in the affirmative? Undoubtedly, there are cases—and no one more ingenuously admitted them than the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex—cases even in the higher departments of local administration—I do not mean in either of the great Bodies which I have mentioned—where the local administration is what we may call, at present, cramped. Cases of that kind are, happily, the exception, and it is not necessary that I should rest upon them. The nature of the case in itself affords ample ground for our proposals. Justice to the people of London demands that a measure of this kind should be passed, quite apart from allegations of abuse, or of our finding anyone guilty of this or that dereliction of duty. What we contend is, that these municipal institutions, on a true representative basis, are a great element of power, and of healthy power, in this country. We maintain that much of the greatness of the central power in this country is due to the efficacy of those local powers which have been traditionally exercised. We contend that the education which makes men fit to come into Parliament is an education acquired within a narrower sphere; and we think it a monstrous wrong to the people of London that they alone, amidst the towns of this country, being by far the greatest of them all, should be shut out from those noble and ennobling opportunities afforded by municipal institutions, from no fault of their own, from no natural incapacity under which they labour, but because it has not suited the convenience of Parliament to deal with the compli-

cations of this great question. If we have faith in self-government, then I contend that the creation of a real Municipality for London is an essential part of the duty of Parliament; and I may also remind the House that there are great changes in contemplation with regard to the incidence of taxation in this country, and important measures of relief to the ratepayers, which never can be carried into full and satisfactory effect until the 4,000,000 of people, forming an important section of the population, who inhabit London have over them a Local Authority with which the State can safely deal. So much for the general question of justice to the people of London, as the main foundation of this Bill. Be it remembered that the principle of unity has already been established, under the pressure of necessity, as a matter which could not be resisted. It has been established in the Metropolitan Board of Works, and my hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board, although he looks askance at this Bill, yet, I think, he also looks askance at the other plans of reform which have been sometimes put before the House. There is a plan for the creation of 10 cities. Those 10 cities were eight a few years ago, and they may be 20, or more than 20, in a year or two hence. What is the meaning of the creation of those 10 cities?—because that is one of the rival plans to the plan of my right hon. Friend. The meaning of the creation of those 10 cities is that the great work of unity, and a great and important work it is, which has been achieved through the Metropolitan Board of Works, is to be taken to pieces again, and that, under the name of Reform you are to adopt a retrogressive measure which will again break London to pieces, after having for some purposes and to some effect, already attained to some degree of unity. There can be no doubt that we have established a principle of unity, and that we have found it satisfactory. What has been the course of Parliament during the last 30 years? It is said that the Commission which sat in 1854 declined to recommend one Municipality for London. That is perfectly true; but what was the upshot before the Report of that Commission was one year old? It was thrown over by Parliament; and Parliament, although not giving a complete Municipality for London, did confront and encounter outright the allegations of the Commissioners, because all the difficulties that were foreseen by the Commissioners in a Municipality were encountered in the creation of a Metropolitan Board, and have been, by the action of that Board, successfully overcome.

MR. RITCHIE: The reason why a Municipality was not given to London at that time was because London did not want it, and not because there was any difficulty in the matter.

MR. GLADSTONE: Is the hon. Member speaking of 1855?

MR. RITCHIE: No.

MR. GLADSTONE: Of 1835?

MR. RITCHIE: Yes.

MR. GLADSTONE: I should like to know what evidence there is that a Municipality was wanted in 1835? I know of no such evidence; and when we come to consider the kind of opposition which is offered to the Bill, it is necessary to inquire, in order to establish a parallelism in the case, what the view was which was entertained in 1835. Why, Sir, as to the opposition of the Vestries, I must say that the only subject for suprise—and for gratified surprise—is, that everywhere among the Vestries there should be a large and intelligent minority, keenly desirous of reform, and comprising within its number many of the best and most efficient men; and, further, I must say, it is an honour to this Bill, that if there be in London a Vestry bad beyond all others, that Vestry stands foremost in the ranks of the opponents of this measure. I will not name the Vestry to which I refer. [*Cries of* "Name!"] Well, it has been named, I think, before, and the name of Clerkenwell may be repeated without any great impropriety. This is a point on which I put it that the people of London are in a position to require justice at our hands. In consequence of the want of pure municipal institutions, artificial creations, unknown to a genuine system of local government, have been obliged to be called into existence, in order to make up for the deficiency; and, not only so, but in one most gross instance—I mean the Coal and Wine Duties—the intervention of Parliament is used to lay indirect taxation upon the entire Metropolis, upon persons beyond the limits of the entire Metropolis, and

to hand over the proceeds not only to the Metropolitan Board, which, at any rate, in some sense represents the whole Metropolis, but a large portion of them —I think £120,000 a-year—to the Corporation of London, confined within the limits of, perhaps, 1-50th part of the Municipality. Really, can it be for a moment disguised or denied that such an exercise of power by Parliament is totally alien to the spirit of our local government? I am afraid that, while we talk of progress, we are, in some things—perhaps unawares—going backward. I will tell the House a fact drawn from my earliest experience as a Cabinet Minister. That experience was in the Government of Sir Robert Peel—not a Liberal, but a Conservative Government. During the time of that Government, the noble scheme, which has since been executed, of the River Embankment, was projected and devised. It was brought before the Government, and the Government earnestly desired its execution. But inasmuch as they saw no means of providing funds, except by prolonging the Coal and Wine Duties, they would not take up the scheme—not because they did not value it or desire it, but because, in the judgment of that Conservative Government, 40 years ago, the imposition of the Coal and Wine Duties in the districts in which they operated was a thing intolerable, and not to be heard of. Am I to be told that there is no cause for intervention, or for inviting the attention of Parliament, when you are obliged to obtain the means for carrying out the best municipal purposes by resorting to the intervention of the Central Authority in matters entirely and properly local; that you have to call upon Members representing the Three Kingdoms to determine how the people of London are to be taxed, and to ask them to impose a tax of a description which, on our principle of Imperial taxation, is deemed inadmissible? And you are called upon to do all this, because you do not choose to provide municipal machinery for the benefit of the inhabitants. The Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works was absolutely pathetic when he told us how he has laboured, with great public spirit, to meet a portion of the case—namely, to get the supply of water placed in the hands of a Public Body. He admits that he has failed. I am sure he has failed from no want of energy, sincerity, or ability; but he has failed from the difficulties of the case; and the supply of water, and the supply of gas, two of the most elementary among the purposes of Municipal Government, have been handed over to private Corporations for the purpose of private profit, because you have not chosen to create a complete Municipality for the Metropolis. And that is not all. The defects of the present system are admitted, and the sense of them is so strong, that they cannot be denied, even by some of the opponents of the Bill. The hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. W. M. Torrens) is a Member of great experience in Parliament, and he has had great experience also in connection with local matters. He has laboured long, laudably, and honourably in an important question to further the interests of the labouring classes, and he is sensible of the defects of the present state of the law. Surely, if there are these great and intolerable defects, they ought to be remedied by the action of some genuine popular Local Authority. But we have got no genuine popular Local Authority; and therefore my hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury (Mr. W. M. Torrens) was obliged, in introducing a deputation to a Member of the Cabinet the other day, to recommend that a Crown Commission should be formed, with Executive powers, to supply what is deficient in the present state of the question concerning labourers' dwellings. Why is this extraordinary proposition made—that the Crown, forsooth, is to issue a Commission? Hon. Gentlemen opposite hail and welcome the proposition that the Crown should take into its hands the government of the London houses. If London be really smitten with hopeless and permanent incompetence; if it has neither eyes, ears, nor understanding, like other people, then by all means let the Crown take this matter into its own hands. But if, on the contrary, the people of London are, in many respects, a select population; if London has the advantage of drawing to it, from all parts of the country, the most intelligent of the people of the country; if you find, among the people of London, persons representing the working men who are selected by societies, because they excel their fellow-men, why, in the name of

common sense, is London to be denied the exercise of the privilege which is enjoyed by everybody else? The present Lord Mayor, under whose authority I am at all times glad to shelter myself, with his usual ingenuousness of mind, has admitted that there is a case for reform; but what is his method of reform? His method is an energetic appeal to my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke). He said that if my right hon. Friend would only frame a Bill, and put into that Bill all the powers we want, and then come down and ask the House to pass it for him, they would not examine it too minutely, because they knew the case was a strong one, and they would make over the powers asked for to the Government. But is that really the way in which the cause of Local Government is to be maintained; or is that the way in which the people of London are to be selected for exceptional treatment and exceptional degradation? I wish to point out to the House the conclusion which is deeply impressed on my mind—namely, that this measure of Municipal Reform, or, if you will, a measure which seeks to unite the highest efficiency, and the broad application of popular principles, with the maintenance of all the old historic traditions which belong to this great Metropolis, is the only method of Reform that has ever been practically proposed. I know that in words another method is talked of. The plan of incorporating the Parliamentary boroughs has been set up; and that is the only rival scheme to this we can discern—the only rival that has attained to even as much as verbal existence. Now, Sir, is there any common sense in such a proposition? We are told, forsooth, that there is a want of unity in the Metropolis. We are told that Kensington is not closely united in interest with Poplar. If you go to Liverpool, a city with which I am tolerably well acquainted, and take a district like that of Everton, and ask what unity of interest exists in that district with Toxteth, or other townships in Liverpool, you will undoubtedly find that there are palpable discrepancies. But if you wish to estimate the relation of Kensington with Poplar, you must begin by considering what Kensington is to Chelsea and to Fulham; you must take the Metropolis in its continuity, and not jump from one district to another widely separate from it. I want to know on what principle you are to select these Parliamentary boroughs? You must be aware that if there be one thing more certain than another in regard to the redistribution of seats, when that redistribution arrives, it is that the number of Parliamentary boroughs in London must be increased. How, then, is it possible to make the Parliamentary boroughs the basis of municipal institutions; and what reason have you for making them the basis of municipal institutions? What individuality do they present, and in what respect have they even the feeblest features of union? If you allow some shadowy institution in Westminster, and some ancient recollection in Southwark, which has passed away, to bear some sort of testimony, at least, in the matter of separate existence, what separate existence has Lambeth, what separate existence has Chelsea, and what separate existence has Finsbury? They form no basis for separate Municipalities; they have no community of existence at all. They are all factitious units; whereas London, large as it is, is a natural unit—united by common features, united by common approximation, by common neighbourhood, by common dangers—depending upon common supplies, having common wants, and common conveniencies. It has material interests closely linked together, moral interests, and feelings connected with Royalty, connected with Parliament, connected with the ancient City and its Corporation, and to its history; and the whole of these things and traditions you, who claim the name of Conservatives, ought to desire the whole people of London to take a joint interest in. You have no right to deprive any one of them of these recollections and traditions, which are in themselves treasures, and which treasures are the property of the whole population of the Metropolis. But there are no such treasures in a Parliamentary borough. Parliamentary boroughs are, in fact, conventional terms. They divide London numerically, but upon no principle whatever. If we were to set up 10 or 20 Municipalities in different districts in London, we should be breaking up the only unity which exists on such questions as drainage and public works,

and we should be substituting the divided action of a multitude of independent bodies united by no principle, and no community of interest; and the result of such action would be little better than practical anarchy. There is only one other point on which I wish to detain the House for a moment; but it is one of practical importance, and it has already been introduced to the notice of the House, and dwelt upon in the course of the debate. I propose to give an illustration, and a tolerably simple one, to show the effect of the want of a central controlling authority in London, and I seek to obtain an admission as to the precise nature of the Body to which the functions of this Central Authority are to be delegated, or who are to be relieved of it by Parliament in certain cases, as the House may best judge. What I refer to is the effect of the absence of this Central Authority in regard to those matters of sanitation in which the House takes so deep an interest. It is idle to draw comparisons between London as a whole and the Provincial towns and cities as a whole. The reason I give for that is, that London possesses far greater advantages than Provincial towns and cities. The number of persons who swell the population of London, who belong to the classes having the best conditions of health, and the best means of obtaining it, lightens the *ratio* of mortality in large districts of London in a manner in which you cannot obtain in the same degree in the Provincial towns. But, Sir, a great fallacy lies in taking London as a whole. In order to understand the case it is absolutely necessary to make a division of London, and to notice the enormous differences in the different districts of London. Let me take a pair of districts. I have here a list of 40 Registrars' sub-districts, wherein the death rate varies from 9½ per cent in Mayfair to 27 in the district which is at the bottom of the list.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS? Is that the corrected death rate?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes.

MR. RITCHIE: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon; I think he will find that it is not the corrected death rate.

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes; it is the corrected death rate. It gives the corrected death rate at 9·6 for Mayfair, and 27 for the district which is at the bottom of the list. Of course, the observation to be made upon it is that it may include a difference in the density of population. But it is not by any means uniformly or generally due to a difference in the density of population; and what we have to show to the House, in a manner that will perfectly demonstrate our argument, is that there are different things affecting the lives of our fellow-creatures which cannot be referred to natural circumstances, and which, to all appearances, are entirely the result of our arrangements. Now, I will take two pairs of the Registrars' sub-districts; and I will give the figures as clearly as I can to the House. The districts are of considerable size, and contain generally about 14,000 or 15,000 people. The first pair of districts is St. John's, belonging to St. George's-in-the-East; and St. John's, Paddington. The density of population is almost exactly the same. In St. John's, in St. George's-in-the-East, there are 87 persons per acre; and in St. John's, Paddington, 84. That is not a very great difference. The corrected death rate in the parish where there are 87 persons per acre is 25·4; whereas the corrected death rate in the district of St. John's, Paddington, where there are 84 persons per acre, is 12·9, or one-half, with nearly the same density of population.

MR. RITCHIE: But they are a totally different class of people.

MR. GLADSTONE: I think the class of people is tested by the density of population; and, as I have said, the density of population in these two cases is, as nearly as possible, the same. I cannot suppose that a difference of 3 or 4 per cent in the density of population means a difference of 100 per cent in the death rate, although that seems to be the opinion of the hon. Gentleman. There is another, however, and a better test than the death rate, which is supplied by the table of zymotic disease. Now, how does the table of zymotic disease stand in these two districts? In the first parish, it is 4·14 per 1,000; whereas, in St. John's, Paddington, it is 1·63 per 1,000. There is also a considerable difference in the deaths under one year of age. In the first parish, it is 156; while in the last it is only 118. I will now take another pair of districts—that of St. Saviour's, South-

wark, and the district of Cavendish Square. Do not let the House be misled by the name of Cavendish Square, because the population is between 14,000 and 15,000; and it comprises a large area, Cavendish Square being the principal point only. The density of population in St. Saviour's, Southwark, is 118 per acre; but in the district of Cavendish Square it is considerably greater, being 135 per acre; and yet the corrected death rate in the district where the density of population is 118 persons per acre, is 25·4; whereas, in the district in which it is 135 persons per acre, it is only 15·2. In that case, you see there is an enormous difference in the death rate even when the population is less dense. With regard to zymotic disease in St. Saviour's Southwark, it was 3·3, against 1·41 in the district of Cavendish Square; and the deaths under one year of age were 156 in St. Saviour's, Southwark, against 125 in the district of Cavendish Square. Now, what does this prove? It proves the want of a controling authority. It proves that you have a number of your worst districts that you want to bring up to the level of your better districts. How is that to be done, except by the establishment of Central Municipal Institutions? The Lord Mayor recommends my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board to ask for powers. But he must know perfectly well, with his good sense, that it would be impossible for a Department of the Executive Government to bring to bear any pressure by which, alone, it would be possible to enforce the intelligent care required in order to bring up the state of the worst governed part of the Metropolis to the high condition which has been obtained by the best. These, I must say, are strong reasons for passing this Bill; and they are strong reasons for fastening our eyes upon the principle of the Bill; for our contention is, that unity of Government in the Metropolis is the only method on which we can proceed for producing municipal reform, if it is admitted that municipal reform is wanted. The other method—of calling on the Crown to intervene, and ask for large powers to take over the business of Local Government in London, I do not admit to be worthy of the consideration of this House. Well, Sir, we are next told of the position of the Vestries. I want to know what local improvements would ever be made if we took only the opinion of the instruments and agents of the existing Authorities? The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex said that all the public opinions which had been tested was adverse to the Bill, and he proceeded to enumerate a variety of forms; but he was met with cries of contradiction on every side, until he come to one kind of public opinion—namely, that of the Local Authorities. I do not deny that the opinion of the Local Authorities may be unfavourable to the Bill. But I should like to know what would have become of the Poor Law Amendment Act, which is, perhaps, the greatest reform passed by the House of Commons in this century, if its fate had been intrusted to the Local Authorities of that day? And what would have become of the Municipal Reform Act itself if its fate had been entrusted to the old Corporations? This kind of opposition is not to be treated—indeed, it would be ludicrous to treat it—as entitled to just consideration, or as binding upon us. There was an old mode of arguing the question—which, I am glad to say, has disappeared—which found favour with many of those who are interestsd in a Bill of this kind. It was a common thing to say that a Municipality for London would be a most formidable political engine, and, probably, that the House of Commons itself would be endangered if a Municipality were created. I am thankful to record that, as far as I have been able to attend to this debate, I have not heard that objection raised, and I trust that it has vanished from the mind of the House. ["No, no!"] Very well, then; there are those who cherish it in the secret recesses of their consciences. Are they willing to air it in debate? Let them test it by argument. What possible political evil can arise from the creation of a great Municipality? In a minor Municipality there may be the means of making it political, and connecting it with local elections; but that cannot be done with the large Municipality. For example, the Metropolitan Board of Works, although its mode of election is very important, and although its acts for the whole of London has never, I believe, been tainted in the slightest degree, or, at any rate, in any sensible degree, by the infusion of what I may fairly call,

in such a case, the poison of politics. The whole of its vast machinery would be totally unavailable for the purpose of Parliamentary elections. It would have no local coincidence with the areas in which the elections take place; and they could not possibly bring the one machinery to fit in with the other. I remember, in 1835, there were many men—good and sensible men in general—who were greatly apprehensive that the Municipalities of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and other large towns, would become formidable political agents, disturbing the action and the Constitutional Government of the country. Need I say how absolutely free our history has been of the manifestation of anything of the kind? The more you elevate London by the magnitude and importance of its municipal action, the less you will render it possible for it to become a political agency. I know that the Forms of this House do, in themselves, give an enormous power to minorities that oppose and resist—no doubt, conscientiously resist—aye, and to stop anything in the nature of a complicated and a comprehensive measure of Reform. I am afraid it is not in the power of my right hon. Friend to do what the Government sought to do in the case of a recent important measure—namely, to simplify the proposal so as to render the passage of the Bill practicable. I know that our present habit of discussion, and the persistent efforts of an Opposition, make the passage of a complicated Bill exceedingly difficult, and almost impossible; but this I will say—that that evil will bring about its own cure. The good sense of the people will find a remedy. When the good sense and the energy and intelligence of the country have been appealed to, Parliament will be prepared to remedy the defects of which we complain, and which are generally admitted, and will do the citizens of London that justice which their case so loudly calls for. And I believe that, after the matter has been settled, and after some years have elapsed, hon. Gentlemen opposite will look back upon this measure as we look back now upon the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the passing of the first Reform Act; and that those who now oppose and obstruct this Bill will entirely forget that they ever entertained a dislike to a measure from which they will see such happy results; and at last they will end by saying that in principle they were always its best friends, and it was only the stupid manner in which it was presented to them that prevented them from saying so at the time.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has administered a severe rebuke to the hon. Member for Mid Surrey (Sir John Ellis) for discussing, on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill, what he considered ought to be discussed in Committee; but it was only at the commencement of his speech that the right hon. Gentleman condescended to trivialities of that sort; and, I admit that, at the end, he raised the discussion to a level worthy of a great measure like this. But the speeches of the Secretary of State for the Home Department and the President of the Local Government Board were, I consider, totally unworthy of this important question. Those right hon. Gentlemen wasted the time of the House by dwelling on the jobbery in this case, and the shortcomings in that case—the extravagance of a certain beadle—and, in short, a number of details beneath the dignity of the subject that had brought them together. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) has rightly stated that the great object of the Bill is the unification of London under one Municipal Government, and he asserts that it is by that great change alone that the evils which exist can be cured. The right hon. Gentleman said that London was the greatest town of all the towns of the Kingdom; but I deny that he has shown, or that anyone has shown, that there is any analogy between the Municipal Government of the other towns of the Kingdom and the Municipal Government of London. He enlarged on the plan of 10 Municipalities for London, and he said that the effect of such a plan would be to break down the wholesome administration of the Metropolitan Board of Works; but I should have thought that the tendency of those Municipalities would have been rather to absorb in themselves the functions of those Vestries which had been so much abused. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that London is to be pitied, because it stands apart as a community which has no Government worthy of the name, and, consequently, no means of making its influence felt, or its wishes known to the

public. But, Sir, this House is the Central Government of London; and when the right hon. Gentleman sneers in giving his illustration of the Coal and Wine Dues provided by the Crown for certain municipal purposes, what is that but showing that the well-being of the City of London has been regarded by the Crown and Parliament as something necessary to be provided for by legislation? The right hon. Gentleman says that the supply of gas and water are the elementary purposes of Municipal Government. But I ask, since when has that been the case? Why, Sir, gas and water have been provided for the town populations of the Kingdom by the free action of private Companies trading for their own purposes, in the same way that the free action of Companies has provided us with railways. It is not long ago that some important towns, having regard to the great profits of these Companies to whom they owed so much, thought it incumbent upon them to take the profits which those Companies enjoyed into their own hands; and it is, no doubt, a very important question whether London ought not to be put in the same position. There was an opportunity, in days now past and gone, when that might have been done, and I may have an opportunity of referring to that subject hereafter; but I say that it is not the case that the supply of water and gas has ever been considered to come within the duties of Municipal Government in this country, at all events. I shall pass by altogether that portion of the debate of this evening which related to the question as to whether or not certain meetings, packed or otherwise, were disturbed by emmissaries or not, because I think that altogether outside of the amenities of debate and the importance of the discussion we are engaged in. I hope I shall not, in any remarks which I may make, unduly repeat what has been said with regard to the Bill in this House and "elsewhere;" but I must ask the House to consider one or two illustrations which have been given. Suppose anyone proposed to the House of Commons to place Manchester and Salford, two Parliamentary boroughs, under one Municipal Government. There is scarcely any distinction between the two towns perceptible to those who pass through them from point to point, although the distinction is perfectly well known; but what would have been the result of the proposal to place them under one Municipal Government? Why, the indignation in Manchester and Salford would have known no bounds. The same result would have followed a similar proposal with regard to Liverpool and Birkenhead. The Mersey is a great deal wider than the Thames, and the Thames is a great deal wider than the Irwell, which divides Manchester and Salford. The greatest indignation would have been provoked in the places I have named by the proposal to place them under one Municipal Government. Why, then, should Greenwich be merged, rather than have its legitimate aspiration granted of being elevated into a separate Municipality? Then there is Southwark, one of the oldest boroughs in England; I believe it existed at the time of the Conquest; and I entirely fail to see why the Municipality of Southwark should be merged into the Municipality of London. If we cross the Channel we find that the French have been provided with the opportunity for remodelling their local government. Happily, the same cause has not operated with us. It was the Revolution which made a *tabula rasa* of the whole of their municipal and local landmarks, and it was easy to reconstruct them on another plan. But our municipal institutions have grown with the requirements of the people, and I consider that the people should retain the means of developing and expanding them with the growth of time. Now, Sir, the Bill proposes to effect what I admit to be both plausible and attractive, and I must compliment the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the extreme cleverness with which he laid his plan before the House when he introduced the Bill. My right hon. Friend the Lord Mayor has expressed surprise that so little support had followed the Bill out-of-doors; but the men who watched the Bill are men of great experience in the City of London, of which I fear the Secretary of State for the Home Department knows, by experience, very little; and they saw through the network of Conservative ideas which the right hon. Gentleman weaved about his first speech; and they found that it was really a root-and-branch measure

of extirpation of all that we are accustomed to regard as the municipal rights of London. I agree that the Bill proposes, as I have said, to effect something plausible and attractive—namely, a unified Municipality for the whole of the Metropolis; but I contend, in the first place, that the idea rests upon a false analogy; that there is no precedent or ground for establishing a Municipality for all purposes; and if the Bill could be carried out, as it is drawn and proposed by the Government, the effect would not be to establish unity as is supposed, but would leave a number of concurrent systems of local government in London, each working on different planes, and with different objects; and the proposed Municipality to be set up would scarcely take the place of one of them. I do not propose to set up the bugbear of political danger arising from this proposed Municipal Government for London; but I say that, when you consider the great size of the Metropolis, its enormous area with a population greater than that of Scotland, there can be no doubt that, if it were politically inclined, it could have taken that leading and overpowering weight in the conduct of public and political business in this country which has been taken in France by the Municipality and population of Paris. But that has been far from the case, and I own that I do not desire to stimulate the idea that anything like political unity should be given to the Metropolis as a whole. I do not, therefore, say *divide et impera;* but I would apply the old proverb in this case to the executive functions of the Municipal Government—*Divide ut imperes;* separate the different forms and subject-matters of local government, and place them in the hands of different authorities, and you will get the work done far better in such a great community as London, than if you attempted to get it done by means of one authority. A great body of 200 or 250 members cannot descend to do the work—the humble work of scavenging, lighting, paving, removal of smells, removal of dust, and the many other kindred acts which the comfort of the population of a great city like this require to be done with regularity and decision. These are functions which, I say, can be discharged best in the manner I have indicated, and I greatly deprecate the mode in which they are proposed to be done in this Bill; indeed, I am convinced that in this respect, apart from others, the measure is radically wrong. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has referred to the case of certain Vestries as a justification of the proposal; but one would think that if there were a few Vestries who did not do their duty, it would be easy enough to provide means by which they could be compelled to do it. The right hon. Gentleman, however, laughed to scorn the idea of making them do their duty, unless the Bill became law. But when, not long ago, the public conscience was shocked by the disclosures made with regard to our Poor Law system, did Parliament proceed to repeal the Poor Law, and say that the Municipal Bodies should control it? Not at all. It passed one of the most useful Acts that was ever proposed—the Metropolitan Poor Law Act, which was the work of my noble Friend Lord Cranbrook. That Act left to the Local Authorities the onus and responsibility for executing the requirements of Parliament; but it left it to the Central Authority to see that the law was fulfilled. It is easy to talk about centralization and decentralization. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite are always speaking of legislation in this matter; but legislation is sometimes extremely unpalatable, and that was the case with the Poor Law; and you cannot expect such legislation to be uniformerly acquiesced in and adopted throughout the Kingdom unless you have some means of forcing the Local Authorities to act up to their duties. The right hon. Gentleman seems to me to think that the proposed Municipal Authority will be able to do this, and at the same time to give satisfaction to the Vestries and similar bodies. I entirely doubt that. I know how unpopular the Departments are with the Local Authorities; and I entirely deny that the Municipal Government of the future can be clothed with these powers effectively; that it can ever get up the necessary knowledge, experience, or skill to enable them to master the various Acts of Parliament, or that the smaller bodies will submit to them. My hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) is both able and willing to exercise a great deal more control over the Vestries than the Board does, or is per-

[*Third Night.*]

mitted to do, now; but rather than he should be permitted, the right hon. Gentleman is prepared to destroy the whole of the existing system, and build it up from the wrong end. If the Government had been content to take the Act of 1855, and, proceeding on the same lines, to have carried further the provisions of that Act, they would have provided a real form of Municipal Government for London. The Act of Sir Benjamin Hall greatly improved the Government of London; it constituted the Metropolitan Board of Works, having sway over the whole Metropolis, for certain general purposes; it consolidated the functions and action of Vestries and parochial authorities; and I believe that it reduced those bodies to, at all events, reasonable proportions. If they are now too numerous, why did not the Government bring in a measure enabling compulsion to be exercised towards them? But, no; that would be much too humdrum a mode of proceeding. The Government will not bend to the necessarily disagreeable task of endeavouring to travel upon the old lines with regard to existing institutions; they must sweep them all away, and set up in their place an entirely new Body, in the hope that they may put off to the future the responsibity which ought to rest upon themselves. Again, I say that if the new Government of London should be satisfactorily established, you will not really have a unified Municipality for the Metropolis. You leave the administration of the Poor Law untouched. It is a very complicated administration, and my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board is constantly amusing himself by saying that he wants to get rid of that responsibility. Why, then, does he not propose to place the administration of the Poor Law in the hands of the Municipal Government? Many people would like to see that done. The hon. Member for Peterborough (Mr. Sydney Buxton) said, in his speech, that he wished the Bill had gone further, and handed over the Poor Law system to the Municipal Government of London. But the right hon. Gentleman knows very well that, if that were done, one of the most satisfactory branches of the Government of London would have been imperilled. I say the right hon. Gentleman knows that, in the hands of such a Body as that which the Bill proposes to create, the Poor Law administration in London would simply cease to exist. Then, with regard to the Police. As long as I have been in Parliament, now a good many years, it has been complained of successive Governments that they continued to leave the control of the City Police in the hands of the City Authorities, whilst retaining absolute control over the Metropolitan Police, which is, of course, a much more important body, as having to do with the greater part of the Metropolitan district. Not only has that anomaly, which might have been rectified, been left untouched to the scandal of everyone—I do not say that the City Police is not well administered—but they have not done for London what they have done for every other Municipality in the Kingdom—namely, placed the Police in the hands of the Municipal Authorities. One of the chief objections to the Bill is, that it gives the Municipality so great a claim on the control of the Metropolitan Police. I hope the day will never come when the Municipality will have control over them, and that Parliament will never consent to anything of the sort. Then I will say a few words only with regard to the School Board, as affording a good illustration of what Municipal Government might become—not what it will necessarily become. Elected for three years, they are comparatively indifferent as to what may happen after their time; and the wealth of the Metropolis is so enormous, that the levying of a very small rate is sufficient to place enormous funds at their control. That, I say, is an experiment which ought not to be repeated, if it were possible to avoid it. Again, there is a body subsidiary to the Poor Law system, called the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which is doing immense work in London, and is doing that work by a rate levied on the whole of the Metropolis in the easiest possible manner. No doubt, it is in the anomalous position of having been hitherto the sole sanitary authority for the whole of the Metropolis, although, no doubt, it will be said that sanitary matters are no part of their duty. From the time of Sir Benjamin Hall's Act until about 1870, London was well supplied with sanitary machinery, and the Vestries inherited their powers from the various Acts passed up to that time. But from that time onwards, sanitary

legislation made rapid progress, and it fell to my lot, in 1874, to pass through Parliament the Consolidated Public Health Act, one of the most important Statutes of this century. But that Act did not extend to London, for the reason that the Vestries were already in the enjoyment of powers conferred on them under the provisions of the old Sanitary Acts. Now, I should say that if the sanitary condition of London is such as the right hon. Gentleman has described, and if the danger from Clerkenwell is such as the Secretary of State for the Home Department has suggested—if the Vestry of Clerkenwell has abandoned its duty with regard to the public health—I say that the right hon. Gentleman should take the necessary steps in the matter, and not leave it to the future, but do it himself at once, because it is a thing affecting not London only, but the whole of the Kingdom. I say it is his duty to pass a Public Health Act which will be satisfactory to the people of London. He might make use of the Metropolitan Asylums Board or other means; but something is necessary to be done, and I doubt very much whether, in the action that he has taken, he has gone the right way to work. He has told us of the shortcomings of the Vestries and the jobbery of beadles, and yet he does not import into the Bill what is most required—namely, a provision for a thorough system of audit; he goes out of his way to say that the Vestries need not be afraid that anything like an effectual system of audit will be imposed upon them. Some of the provisions of the Bill seem to be very extraordinary. One of its great defects is, that it leaves to the Central Council established under it to assign, at their pleasure or caprice, duties to the subordinate authorities. They may give to the one, or withhold from the other, the same duty or obligation. I cannot conceive anything likely to be more disastrous in its working than that some Vestries should hold one power of self-government that is withheld from the others. ["No, no!"] But that is implied by the Bill, and I say that the powers of the subordinate authorities should be distinctly defined by the Statute. In Clause 48, where he has two separate provisions—the right hon. Gentleman's meaning in placing which in that position I cannot understand—he makes it compulsory in the 48th clause for the Central Council to come to Parliament for powers to provide for a gas and water supply for London. That is a duty which the right hon. Gentleman might very well have discharged four years ago; but he shrank from it, and it remains for the Municipal Council, when constituted, to attend to these matters. Now, with regard to that, I say that he has imposed a duty upon them which they cannot discharge, because the provision in question implies an interference on the part of the Municipal Authority with the districts around London which cannot take place under the existing law. Everyone knows that the functions of the Gas and Water Companies supplying the Metropolis extend by Act of Parliament over the neighbouring counties of Surrey Kent, and Hertford; and, therefore, the Municipal Authority cannot go beyond its own area in order to interfere with the counties. Then, they are not to go direct to Parliament for a Bill, but to the Local Government Board, which, I say, is a lazy way of doing business; and I think it should have been set forth clearly what is intended, so that the public may understand what is really required. The Metropolis is to be a county in itself; those parts of London which now lie in Surrey and Middlesex are to be taken away from those counties, and London is to become a county. But what is the meaning of a county? First, that it shall have separate political representation, which, of course, will not be given; and, secondly, that it shall manage its own justice and police, which are functions distinctly taken away from the county of London by this Bill. No doubt, there are a good many inconveniences attaching to the way in which the counties of Surrey and Middlesex run into London; but they will not be obviated by this Bill. The great lunatic asylums at Hanwell and Colney Hatch cost, I suppose, £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 sterling. When London has become a county these institutions will remain outside. They cannot be handed over to the counties in which they are situated; London has provided the inmates, and London must continue to do so. The more you think of the matter the more you see how impossible it is to confine this great Metropolis within its present enormous limits. See the anomalies

which are set up by the Bill. I think the Government are wrong in supposing that Parliamentary representation does not form a great feature in this matter. The City will send four Members to Parliament and 30 Councillors to the Municipality. If the representation of the people is to be founded upon an estimate of population and rateable value, so will be their right to send Councillors to the Municipality, and how, therefore, can you arrive at such a condition of things as this—that the City will have 4 Members of Parliament and 30 councillors, against Greenwich, with 2 Members of Parliament and 8 Councillors? That is an instance of the anomalies which will be set up by the Bill. I am certainly far from being one of those who consider that the Government of London requires no amendment; but I think that considering the experience of the last 30 years, considering the advantages which have followed the establishment of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the advantages which, as I think—and I have had some opportunity of watching them—have followed from the concurrent exercise of general rating powers by a variety of authorities who are not too powerful, but who have a reasonable and natural jealousy of each other, and whose respective actions are quite separate, I say that, considering the experience we have, I think the Government have gone out of their way to depart from the useful lead which lay before them in order to adopt a policy in which I venture to say they will not succeed.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir Alexander Gordon.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he hoped the Motion for Adjournment would not be pressed. It was now 1 o'clock in the morning—[Mr. WARTON: Oh, oh!] Yes, it was now 1 o'clock in the morning, and they had reached the month of July. [Mr. WARTON: Order, order!]. He could not see that what he was saying was out of Order; if it was, the Speaker would draw his attention to the fact. He hoped that the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who blocked almost everything, would not block his speech. [Mr. WARTON: Oh, oh!]. He really must appeal to the Speaker, whether he might be allowed to proceed with his remarks without interruption from the hon. and learned Member? Now, what the Government really had to do was, after three nights' debates, to show the people of London that they were in earnest in this measure. He was quite certain that if the Government were to consent to the adjournment of the debate now, the people of London would think, and very properly think, that they were playing with the measure, and not treating it as seriously as it ought to be treated. The Prime Minister had already shown that this discussion had extended to three times the length of the debate in the House of Commons upon the second reading of the Municipal Corporation Bill of 1835, a Bill which extended to all the Corporations of the Kingdom, and which, of course, involved a much more novel principle than the Bill now under consideration. If there was another and strong reason against the adjournment, he should say it was the character of the speeches of the three Members who peculiarly represented the Metropolis, and all of whom had spoken that night—the Lord Mayor (Mr. R. N. Fowler), the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg), and the hon. Member for Mid Surrey (Sir John Ellis). The Prime Minister had very properly remarked that the speeches of those hon. Gentlemen were speeches upon Committee points only. That being a fact which he (Sir William Harcourt) thought no one would deny, it was not an unreasonable proposition that they should now go to a Division. There had been no serious attempt to-night to question the principle of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had delivered a very able speech; but he certainly did not attack the principle of the Bill. Under such circumstances the Government considered it their duty to oppose the adjournment of the debate.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, he would point out to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) that the Prime Minister specially excepted his (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg's) speech from the remark that the speeches delivered that night had been upon Committee points only. The right hon.

Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) was not present when he (Sir James M'Garel Hogg) was speaking, otherwise he would have known that he (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) dealt with the points of the Bill one after another, and did not go into any points which had nothing to do with the Bill. He must protest against the statement that they had had three nights' debate. On the first night of the debate the Secretary of State for the Home Department and two other Members occupied the whole of the time the Bill was under consideration; and on the second occasion the Bill was only discussed four hours. There had been nothing like three nights' discussion; but, supposing there had been, was it to be considered sufficient, because some 50 years ago something happened of a very different character? He really thought that, on reflection, the right hon. Gentleman opposite would be sorry for what he had said.

MR. RITCHIE said, that, surely, the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) was not serious in resisting the adjournment of the debate on a Bill of this enormous importance. Practically, they had had little more than one night's debate, although it suited the right hon. Gentleman to talk of three nights' debate. As his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg) had just said, the Bill had been debated previously during the mere fragments of two Sittings. The Prime Minister had stated that night that that was brought about mainly on account of Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House rising and continuing a discussion for purposes of their own; but it must be remembered that the discussion upon the captivity of the crew of the *Nisero* was raised by an hon. Gentleman (Mr. Storey) on the Ministerial side of the House. [Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Where were the 40?] The importance of the question, no doubt, perfectly justified the discussion. If the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board imagined that there was any blame attaching to the 40 Members who rose when the hon. Member for Sunderland asked leave to move the adjournment of the House, he (Mr. Ritchie) ventured to say that the course they adopted was amply justified by the facts which the hon. Gentleman placed before them. But there were other reasons why the debate should be adjourned. The Prime Minister had that night made a statement which, in his (Mr. Ritchie's) opinion, called imperatively for the opportunity of reply. The right hon. Gentleman had produced statistics to that House which were entirely and absolutely fallacious. The right hon. Gentleman gave two illustrations of the condition of things in the Metropolis. He cited the parishes of St. George's-in-the-East, and St. John's, of Paddington, and he showed that, in one case, the number of deaths was larger than in the other; and he said that in the East End of London three-fourths of the deaths which took place——

MR. SPEAKER: The Question before the House is the Question of the adjournment of the debate. I hope the hon. Gentleman will confine his remarks to that Question.

MR. RITCHIE said, he was endeavouring to point out that the Prime Minister had made statements that night which, if uncontradicted, would leave a false impression on the House; and he was arguing that it was essential that the debate should be adjourned in order that hon. Members should be afforded an opportunity of showing that the statements of facts of the right hon. Gentleman were not statements of facts at all, but entirely fallacious. Surely, it could not be gainsaid that upon a measure of this enormous importance—a measure affecting a population larger than that of all Scotland—a measure of Reform of the most complex character, as the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) himself had admitted—surely, it could not be gainsaid that it was right the House should have every opportunity of debating the principle of the Bill? The principle of the Bill was one of enormous importance. ["Order, order!"] If one could not advance, as a reason for the adjournment of the debate, the importance of the principle of the Bill, he did not know what would be relevant in discussing a question of adjournment. It was because this question was one of enormous importance, and because those who were interested in the matter, and who represented the Metropolis, had not had an adequate opportunity of discussing the principle of the Bill, that he maintained the Government would be following a most extraordinary course if they did not

assent to the Motion of the hon. Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon). The Secretary of State for the Home Department knew perfectly well that, if he desired to proceed with the Bill, the best course he could adopt was to give hon. Members an opportunity of expressing their opinions upon the second reading. He (Mr. Ritchie) could not conceive any course more likely to prevent the Bill being passed than that of endeavouring to stifle discussion on the second reading. He was quite sure that if the Prime Minister were present, he would see the necessity of acceding to the evident desire of the House. He hoped the Secretary of State for the Home Department would be led to see the reasonableness of the request that was being made.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he rather gathered, from the few words he heard of the Prime Minister's speech, that he would not object to the adjournment of the debate; and though, no doubt, the right hon. Gentleman was anxious that the debate should close, he (Sir Stafford Northcote) did not understand him to say that he would resist any reasonable desire to prolong it. He must remind the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt), who said the debate had taken a very great length of time—much longer than the debate on the Municipal Corporation Bill many years ago—that the right hon. Gentleman's own opening statement was of very great length. He (Sir Stafford Northcote) did not find fault for one moment with the right hon. Gentleman for the length of time he occupied in moving the second reading; but he was reminded of a story which used to be told relating to a trial for treason or seditious language. The Attorney General of the time occupied two days in explaining the indictment; and the plea which was set up on the other side was, that if it took the Attorney General two whole days to explain what the offence was, it was hardly to be conceived that the prisoner could be guilty. It certainly did appear to many Members of the House that the right hon. Gentleman opened the case very fully indeed, and went a great deal into detail upon what might be called matter for discussion in Committee, and made reference specially to various Members of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) were specially referred to; and neither of them had as yet had an opportunity of speaking, though they, very naturally, from their position and the attention they had paid to the subject, had a right to be heard. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) could hardly say they were asking for anything unreasonable in that. They had had, not three nights' debate, but one night, one broken night, and one broken Morning Sitting; and, considering the largeness of the subject, he thought they were now making a very moderate demand.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the right hon. Gentlemen opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) had thrown some doubt on the wish of the Prime Minister as to the adjournment of the debate. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that the Prime Minister's opinion on this subject was the same as that of his Colleagues—namely, that if the debate were again adjourned the chances of the Bill proceeding would be seriously imperilled. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister expressed that opinion in the concluding words of his speech. A Motion for the adjournment of the debate at that period of the Session was very likely to damage the chances of any Bill to which it was applied, and, therefore, it was not the opinion of the Government that it was possible to agree to the adjournment of the debate on this occasion. With regard to what occurred on the first night that the Bill was down for discussion, the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) had said that the Motion for the adjournment of the House to discuss the question of the captivity of the *Nisero* crew was amply justified by the statements made. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) might point out that this Motion might have been made on an evening which was wasted. [MR. RITCHIE: It was not our fault.] He hoped the House would allow the Bill to be read a second time now, because if hon. Gentlemen wished to make any further remarks upon the Bill they would have ample opportunities during the future stages.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he could not quite understand the argument

of his right hon. Friend (Sir Charles W. Dilke). The right hon. Baronet said that, if the debate were adjourned, the probabilities were that it would not be resumed; and then, in the next breath, he said that hon. Members would have ample opportunities of delivering their speeches on the future stages of the Bill. It was rather difficult to reconcile the two statements. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) said—but he (Baron Henry de Worms) did not agree with him—that the speeches of three hon. Members that night were speeches that would have been better made in Committee on the Bill. But admitting, for argument's sake, that that was the case, the natural conclusion would be that there might be other Members who were anxious to address the House, and would not, perhaps, treat the Bill in the same manner, but in a way appropriate to the discussion of the second reading. He thought that the debate on a Bill of that importance ought to be brought to a close at 1 o'clock in the morning. Charges had been made by his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell) materially affecting the borough he (Baron Henry De Worms) represented, and he had the intention of refuting them. It was not right, however, that the Representative of one of the largest Metropolitan constituencies should be called upon to address the House after 1 o'clock in the morning. He should certainly do his utmost to prevent the Bill proceeding further that night.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he hoped the Government would not put them to the trouble of spending a warm night in July in discussing the second reading of a Bill intended to perish. He admired very much the calmness of hon. Members—["Divide, divide!"] If hon. Members would insist in filling up the pauses in his oratory, it would not be his fault if his sentences were somewhat protracted. This Bill dealt with a very large subject, and he considered that it had been very inadequately discussed. Perhaps, indeed, it might be the case that the Bill had been very inadequately considered previous to its introduction; but, in any case, it required more careful and more thorough examination than it had received as yet. The very important position which the large Irish population in London occupied had not, up to the present, been brought under notice. He believed that even the majority of the Irish Members of Parliament had not had an opportunity of considering the bearing of this vast centralizing measure upon the welfare, in many respects, of their countrymen who lived in the Metropolis. He did not venture, at the present moment, to say on which side the interests of the Irish population lay; it was enough to say there had been no opportunity given them of considering their position. He thought it would be seen that the Irish population in the Metropolis was deserving of the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt). He (Mr. O'Donnell) confessed that, at that hour of the morning, it was not becoming of the House of Commons to deal with a measure of this sort. Such a Bill as that required to be discussed at a time when the arguments *pro* and *con* could be reported in the newspapers, and could be read by the community, who were vitally interested in the proposals of Her Majesty's Government. Her Majesty's Government could offer no excuse whatever for the indecent haste with which they wished to proceed with regard to this Bill. The Franchise Bill had left this House, and the Government had got no work of the slightest consequence to do. All their other Bills were hopeless wrecks; they had been cleared out of the way. Some of them had been dropped by their own authors, and others, he believed, were not likely to fare very well "elsewhere." Whatever the case might be, if the Government really hoped to make any progress with this Bill they had plenty of time to devote to it, for all the remaining time of the Session could be devoted to it if they chose. In any case, he trusted a rigorous opposition would be shown to the attempt to take a vote upon the principle of the Bill to-night. It was all very well for the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) to say that the vote could be taken now, and there would be plenty of time for discussion afterwards. But what would happen? It would be trumpeted from one end of the country to the other that the House of Commons had affirmed the

principle of the Bill; though he (Mr. O'Donnell) really believed the House was hardly aware that there was a principle in the Bill. And when there was an attempt to discuss the matter thoroughly at a later stage, they would be charged with deliberate Obstruction. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would consent to divide upon the second reading of the Bill upon some other evening.

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had stated that an adjournment of the debate at that time of the Session would very seriously imperil the chances of any Bill to which it was applied passing. It ought to be remembered, however, that the Bill was brought in by the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) exactly three months ago. No discussion took place on the 8th of April; and from that day up to a few days ago the Bill had never been brought forward. He thought, moreover, it could be shown that the Bill was contrary to all the precedents and principles laid down for Municipal Reform.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, the substance of the Prime Minister's speech was that no Member on the Opposition side of the House had debated the principle of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hants (Mr. Sclater-Booth) then rose, and spoke to the principle of the Bill; but the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister did not remain in the House to hear the speech. It was the hope and intention of other Members to speak on the principle of the Bill, and that was a phase of the debate which ought not to be deferred to the Committee stage.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 117; Noes 188: Majority 71.—(Div. List, No. 154.)

Original Question again proposed.

COLONEL MAKINS said, he would move that the House do now adjourn. Looking at the numbers which had just been told at the Table; looking to the size of the minority which was opposed to the second reading of the Bill being voted upon now, it was quite unreasonable for the Government to wish to take the second reading. He had waited all the evening for an opportunity of addressing the House; but he had failed in catching the Speaker's eye. Although he represented a constituency which was not included within the purview of the Bill, there were many questions raised by the Bill on which his constituents desired to be heard. He thought the Secretary of State for the Home Department was rather greedy. The right hon. Gentleman occupied an enormous amount of time in introducing the measure, and again in moving the second reading, and then he expected the hon. Members representing the vast interests of the Metropolis to debate the principle of the Bill in one evening and the fragments of two other Sittings. This was a Bill which ought not to be dealt with in a summary manner. There was another reason, and it was a physical one, why the discussion should not proceed further to-night. They had arrived at a late hour, and something had gone wrong with the drainage of the House. The complaints as to the foulness of the atmosphere in the House were so general that it was a positive cruelty to keep hon. Members sitting in the House longer.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Colonel Makins.*)

SIR BALDWYN LEIGHTON said, he would support the Motion for Adjournment. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had said that the principle of the Bill had not been debated; but he had sat there for seven hours, and been unable to say one word on the Bill at all. It must be remembered that the Secretary of State for the Home Department in his speech did not lead the House to suppose there would be any concessions made; and if that was to be the case, there was a good deal to be said before this Bill could be proceeded with. The opponents of the Bill had a right to be fully heard upon the essential and vital provisions of the Bill, and, therefore, he hoped the House would not now give its sanction to the second reading. Moreover, they were told that those provisions were to be presently extended to counties.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Makins), who moved the adjournment, had pointed

to the size of the minority as a reason why the debate should be adjourned. The hon. and gallant Gentleman evidently thought that the wishes of the minority ought to prevail; he (Mr. Gladstone) did not admit that. It had also been said that the atmosphere of the House was such that hon. Members ought not to be kept there longer. The best way to remedy that would be to read the Bill a second time. ["Oh, oh!"] That would be a perfectly effectual way of meeting the hon. and gallant Gentleman's argument. The fact was that the minority did not intend to allow the wishes of the majority to prevail. He was not at all dissatisfied with the manifestation of the feeling of the House as given by the last Division; and therefore, if the hon. and gallant Gentleman would withdraw his Motion, in order to allow other Business to be done, he (Mr. Gladstone) would not offer any further opposition to the adjournment of the debate.

COLONEL MAKINS asked leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

MOTION.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill further to amend the Acts relating to the raising of Money by the Metropolitan Board of Works; and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 278.]

House adjourned at half after One o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 9th July, 1884.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — Agricultural Labourers (Ireland), *appointed* and *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Trees Planting (Ireland) [32]; Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) [40], *adjourned.*

Considered as amended—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (the Labourers Act) (Enniscorthy, &c.) * [236]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * [240].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

PARLIAMENT — RULES AND ORDERS OF THE HOUSE — PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION — NEW STANDING ORDER, TO FOLLOW STANDING ORDER NO. 133.

RESOLUTION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [21st May],

"That where a Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or other similar body, sufficiently representing a particular trade or business in any district to which any Railway Bill relates, petition against the Bill, alleging that such trade or business will be injuriously affected by the rates and fares proposed to be authorised by the Bill, or is injuriously affected by the rates and fares already authorised by Acts relating to the Railway undertaking, it shall be competent to the Referees on Private Bills, if they think fit, to admit the Petitioners to be heard, on such allegation, against the Bill, or any part thereof, or against the rates and fares authorised by the said Acts, or any of them: The provisions of this Order relative to rates and fares already authorised, extend to Traders and Freighters, and to a single Trader, in any case where a locus standi would have been allowed to them or him, if this Order had not been made: Nothing in this Order shall authorise the Referees to entertain any question within the jurisdiction of the Railway Commissioners."—(*Mr. B. Samuelson.*)

And which Amendment was,

To leave out all the words after the first word "where," to the end of the Question, in order to insert the words "an application is made by a Railway Undertaking for Parliamentary powers, attention shall be directed by the Board of Trade to the proposed, and, in the case of an existing Company, to the existing rates or fares, with a view to their consideration by the Committee; and that persons affected by such rates or fares shall have a 'Locus Standi' before such Committee,"—(*Mr. Laing,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, that, in rising to continue the adjourned debate on the Resolution in favour of the New Standing Order moved by his hon. Friend the Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson), he wished to remind the House that the proposed Standing Order was based, not only on a recommendation of the Railway Committee which

sat two years ago, but also on a Resolution which had been passed unanimously by the House last year, and which received the approval of the Board of Trade. The proposal now made by his hon. Friend was to give effect to a Resolution passed by the House on the 4th of May last. It would be in the recollection of the House that the debate was adjourned on the last occasion on the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, on the ground that he was about to introduce a Bill which was to deal with the whole of the recommendations of the Select Committee on Railway Rates. That Bill had since been introduced; but it did not deal with the point to which that particular recommendation of the Select Committee and the Resolution of the House applied, and with which the New Standing Order now proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for Banbury proposed to deal. He did not intend to discuss the provisions of the Railway Regulations Amendment Bill, further than to point out that that Bill did not deal with the subject to which the New Standing Order was intended to apply. The Bill which had been introduced by his right hon. Friend proposed to give to any Railway Company the power to come to that House with amended rates and classifications, which amended rates and classifications were to be considered by a Committee of the House. But that was entirely optional on the part of the Railway Companies; there was to be no power to compel Railway Companies to come forward with such Bills for a revision of rates and classification. Therefore, the Bill, even if it became law, would fail to provide a remedy for the evils which were proposed to be dealt with by the New Standing Order. The New Standing Order proposed that where a Railway Company came to Parliament for new privileges or increased powers, the traders should have a right to invite the attention of the Committee to the existing rates and charges of such Railway Company, and to complain of any abuse of the powers and privileges which that Railway Company already possessed; and if the traders were able to make out a good case, then the Select Committee should have power to deal with such rates and fares. There could be no doubt that in many cases there was a necessity for such an interference with the existing rates and charges. A great many of the Acts of Parliament under which the Railway Companies were now levying tolls were of very ancient date. A new state of circumstances had in many cases arisen. New industries had sprung up, whilst many kinds of goods were now carried in vastly increased quantities. It was, therefore, desirable that, from time to time, the rates of the Railway Companies should be revised, and brought more in accordance with modern experience, and to meet the new necessities of the case. On the other hand, it might be said that such powers were already exercised by Railway Companies in their own favour. From time to time Railway Companies came to that House asking for increased rates and charges, and sometimes for new powers and privileges. Such questions were considered by Committees of that House; and in certain cases, due cause being shown, Railway Companies had obtained power to charge increased rates. What the traders were now asking for was a corresponding power on their side to secure that when a Railway Company came to Parliament asking for further powers and privileges, the traders on the other side should have the power of appearing before the Committee and complaining in respect of charges the Railway Company was now making under the powers which it already possessed. He thought such a power would be beneficial not only to the traders, but also to the Railway Companies. It would give to the traders an opportunity of laying before the Railway Company, and to the Railway Companies an opportunity of hearing, all the circumstances of each particular case in a better way than any which was now provided; and, of course, it would give the traders the power of insisting on their views with some effect, and of obtaining the opinion of a Committee of that House, whether they had just cause of complaint against the Railway Companies, and whether the power of the Railway Companies ought not to be modified. The door which the New Standing Order proposed to open up would be the only opportunity offered to the traders to state their case before any tribunal. The Railway Commission had powers only in respect of terminal charges and certain other questions of a similar

kind; but they had no power to deal with maximum rates—at least, it had not been so held; and, therefore, practically, this Standing Order would afford the only opportunity the traders had of obtaining the consideration of the rates and powers which the Railway Companies now possessed. When the Resolution was under the consideration of the House last year, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said he had no objection to it, although he held that some provision might be necessary to protect Railway Companies from being harassed by traders. Now, he had observed, in his experience, that the Board of Trade was always very anxious to protect the Railway Companies from being harassed by traders. He had noticed that in more cases than one the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had interfered in that House to protect and defend Railway Companies from reasonable attempts, on the part of the traders, to obtain a hearing, in directing the attention of the House to certain Railway Bills in which their interests were injuriously affected; but he had not observed that the Board of Trade was equally anxious to protect traders from being harassed by Railway Companies. There had been a good many cases in recent years in which Railway Companies had come to that House asking for increased rates, increased privileges, and increased powers, and he had not observed that the President of the Board of Trade had interfered to protect the traders from the attempted increased rates proposed by the Railway Companies. In more cases than one the Railway Companies, after being defeated by the traders at great expense, had from year to year come before Parliament with Bills to a similar effect, until at last the traders, worn out by the long purse of the Railway Companies, had been compelled to submit to increased charges. Such being the circumstances of the case, he thought it was only fair that the traders should have an opportunity of stating their case before Committees of that House; and if they were able to establish a good case before Select Committees, then the Committees should have power to give redress. Was there any danger whatever in the Railway Companies being harassed by the traders? On this point he appealed to all who had any experience of the enormous expense involved in appearing against Railway Companies before Committees of the House; and he was satisfied that no trader would be likely to go before a Committee unless there was a very good cause for his appearance. In the debate which took place when the Resolution was introduced last year by his hon. Friend the Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson), the President of the Board of Trade objected to such questions being referred to Committees of that House. He (Mr. Barclay) had certainly been very much surprised at the objection, because they all knew that the railway rates and charges had been fixed by Committees of that House. He did not mean to say that a Select Committee of the House of Commons was a perfect tribunal in such cases; but he had not heard that any more competent tribunal had ever been suggested. He was of opinion that Committees should have power to revise the existing rates and charges in favour of traders as well as of Railway Companies. The question of railway rates was one which was occupying more and more the attention of the country. In the present depression of trade and agriculture, and the great competition now prevailing all over the country, the charges made by the Railway Companies formed an important element in carrying on business; and while no one would desire to prevent the Railway Companies from making a fair charge for the conveyance of goods and for the services they performed the traders had a right to see that they were fairly dealt with by the Railway Companies, and in cases where they thought they had a good case to appeal to a tribunal of that House. He hoped the House would be pleased to pass the proposed Standing Order, which would give an appeal to Committees of the House, not only in the interests of the traders, but also in the interests of the Railway Companies, because he thought a revision could not fail to be of great service to the Railway Companies themselves. It must be important to them to have the grievances of the traders thoroughly discussed, and the attention of the Railway Companies

brought, even by the application of some pressure, to bear upon the points which were raised by the traders. Therefore he thought, if this Standing Order were passed by the House, the result would be to remove a good many of the anomalies which now existed in connection with railway charges. He did not believe it possible, by any general Bill, to provide for a complete revision and classification of railway rates or the classification of goods generally; and he was afraid that to pass a general Bill would result in producing greater anomalies than those which now existed. Their only hope of securing a reform of the railway system seemed to him to be by dealing with the charges by degrees in such a piecemeal way as had been suggested; and when Railway Companies came before the House, asking for new Bills, that would be the best opportunity of considering the powers, rights, and privileges which such Companies already possessed. No doubt it would involve a very considerable expense to the traders, and the traders would not come forward to oppose any Bills before a Select Committee unless they thought they had good cause for doing so, and for asking that the rates and charges should be revised by a Committee after due consideration. In such case, there was every reason to hope and expect that the new rates would be so adjusted that they would remain undisturbed for many years to come. He did not think there would be the slightest ground for apprehending that the traders would incur a very great expense for the simple purpose of harassing the Railway Companies; and, such being the case, he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would modify the objections he had raised to the Resolution of last year. As the Board of Trade had failed to exercise control over the rates and charges on behalf of the traders, he trusted the traders would be allowed an opportunity of looking after their own interests.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, that on rising to take part in the debate he wished, in the first place, to say that he sympathized very strongly and very decidedly with those who thought that the public had every right to be protected against unreasonable railway rates, and that any railway rates which came before the House should be carefully revised by the House; but while he held that opinion, he was afraid that he could not go further with his hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay), who had spoken just now, and his hon. Friend the Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson), who had brought forward this proposed modification of the Standing Order. In fact, it seemed to him that this endeavour to make things better would only have the effect of making things worse. As regarded the debate of the 4th of May, he would recall the recollection of the House to the few hon. Members who were present in the House at the time, and to the fact that it was a most unsatisfactory debate. Three or four times the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Banbury was attempted to be counted out; and he (Sir Joseph Pease) had left the House under the impression that the Motion would come to nothing at all, being simply a reiteration of the charges made before the Committee on Railway Rates and Fares which had been distinctly dealt with by that Committee, when the complaints against the Railway Companies were made and answered, to a great extent, to the satisfaction of the Committee by witnesses who were called on behalf of the railway interest. That Resolution of the 4th of May certainly stood on the Books of the House as a Resolution of the House; but it was a Resolution which had been obtained in the most unsatisfactory way it was possible to obtain the passing of a Resolution. His hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) had stated that the Bill introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade did not make any provision in the direction of this New Standing Order. That Bill was still before the House, not having, as yet, been withdrawn; and he was, therefore, afraid that he was not in a position to discuss in a straightforward manner the propositions which it contained; but any Bill brought in by the Government would, as a matter of course, not deal with those points which could only be dealt with by a Standing Order; and therefore the hon. Gentleman was quite correct in saying that this question was not included in the provisions of the Government measure as well as some

other recommendations of the Committee on Railway Rates, and that it must necessarily, if it were dealt with at all, form part of a Standing Order of the House. The fact that railway fares and rates had existed without alteration for a considerable number of years would not, of itself, render it necessary that they should be altered now; and the argument of the hon. Member was altogether a new doctrine to him. He had been brought up in one of the oldest railway schools, and was connected with one of the first railways constructed in the Kingdom. The fares originally proposed upon that railway had remained unaltered, and still gave satisfaction to the traders who made use of it. He was speaking in the presence of his hon. Friend the Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson), who used the railway to which he referred to a very great extent, and his hon. Friend would contradict him if his assertion were not strictly accurate. Therefore, he did not think it followed, as the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) seemed to imply, that because some of the rates and charges were old they must necessarily require revision. His hon. Friend also spoke of the Board of Trade as the protectors of the Railway Companies. He entirely demurred to that assertion, which was altogether a new view to him. He had been under the impression, all his life, that the Board of Trade, as far as their powers were concerned as between the Railway Companies and the public, held the scales very evenly between the Companies and the public, endeavouring to see that the Companies did not trespass on the rights of the public; but, whilst seeing that the public were duly protected, also taking care that the Railway Companies had fair play, subject to the regulations which the Board of Trade had power to impose from time to time. He entirely demurred to the statement of the hon. Gentleman that this proposal would, in any way, carry out the Report of the Committee on Railway Rates and Fares; and he wished to meet it, as far as possible, by the recommendations contained in that Report. The Report had been very carefully prepared. The Committee sat for a very long time, and there were upon it only seven Members connected with the railway interest out of a total number of 27 Members. The Committee came to a general conclusion, which deserved the consideration of the House. Among their recommendations was one which emanated from his hon. Friend the Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory), whose views on these questions were generally sound, and who took an active part in the preparation of the Report. The passage he referred to was as follows:—

"Your Committee are of opinion that in all cases of Bills for authorising new lines of railway, or extending the powers of existing Companies, the attention of the Committees on such Bills should be impartially directed by some public authority to the rates and fares either authorised by such Bills, or, in the case of existing Companies, by previous Acts; and that such Companies should have power to alter, modify, and regulate such rates and fares in the interest of the public, and with due regard to the interests of the existing Companies. That for this purpose a *locus standi* before Parliamentary Committees should be given to persons affected by such rates and fares, and complaining of the same."

The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade stated very distinctly how difficult it would be for any public officer to examine into these rates and fares. But what the Committee intended was distinctly that the responsibility should rest on a public body. One reason why he demurred to his hon. Friend's Standing Order was that it only added piecemeal legislation instead of doing that which the Committee had endeavoured to do—namely, to place the rates and charges and the classification of railway rates on one and the same basis, by laying down a standard of rates and fares, so that all new Acts of Parliament should contain provisions in conformity with that standard, whereby the traders would be protected, and whereby there would be general supervision over the railway charges. There were many means of accomplishing that object. The same Committee proposed that the question of terminal charges should be decided more in favour of the Railway Companies than they had hitherto been. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, in his present Bill, or in any future Bill brought in, would no doubt take care that the privileges of the Railway Companies were fairly dealt with, and not handed over to the Railway Commission, unless they came under some positive enactment which required them to bring their rates and fares be-

fore some tribunal competent to deal with the question in a fair and impartial manner. His hon. Friend the Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing), who now moved an Amendment to the proposed Standing Order, wished to insert these words—

"Where an application is made by a Railway Undertaking for Parliamentary powers, attention shall be directed by the Board of Trade to the proposed, and, in the case of an existing Company, to the existing rates or fares, with a view to their consideration by the Committee; and that persons affected by such rates or fares shall have a 'locus standi' before such Committee."

Now, his hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) had drawn up in the Report of the Committee on Railway Rates a clause which was practically similar in effect to that of the hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing), and which provided that any person should have a *locus standi* to appear against a Railway Bill as the representative of a Chamber of Commerce or a Chamber of Agriculture, or of individual traders, and that he should have a right to be heard, not only against any powers proposed to be conferred upon a Railway Company, but against the powers which the Company already exercised under a special Act. His hon. Friend had, however, voted with the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson) against his own Resolution, being satisfied with the clause of the hon. Member, which was embodied in the Report, and believing that the recommendations of the Committee were more satisfactory than his own. Then, what was it that the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson) proposed on behalf of the traders? He thought his hon. Friend hardly realized what he was about to do in this proposal. It was inconvenient to discuss a question like this on a point affecting a Standing Order when the subject involved a great question of principle. The Standing Order of the hon. Member would enable a number of traders, or a Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or some other similar body representing the trade of a district, to petition against any Bill promoted by a Railway Company, if it could be alleged that a particular trade or business would be injuriously affected by the rates and fares proposed to be authorized by a Bill, or was injuriously affected by rates and fares already authorized. For instance, if the Great Western Railway Company came to Parliament for a Bill to authorize them to buy a piece of land for the purpose of increasing their station accommodation, the whole of the charges, rates, and fares imposed by that Company might be made a subject of investigation by a trader whose interests were connected with South Wales, although the Bill itself might apply to Exeter. A similar case might arise in his own neighbourhood. For instance, a merchant sending corn to Newcastle from Carlisle would be able to have the whole of the charges of the North Eastern Railway Company investigated by a Select Committee if they proposed to add some small loop-line, purely for the accommodation and benefit of the public. If his hon. Friend carried this Standing Order he would certainly do that which the House had no wish to do—namely, he would prevent Railway Companies from coming to Parliament at all for powers to enable them to provide increased accommodation for the public. The House must remember that Bills were being constantly introduced into Parliament by Railway Companies solely in favour of the public, such as the construction of small lines and works required in different localities, not so much for any advantage which accrued from them to the Railway Companies themselves, but for the increased accommodation they afforded to the public. He would ask if it was likely that a Railway Company would apply to Parliament for powers of that kind if every dissatisfied trader was to be at liberty in such a case to invite the attention of a Select Committee to every charge imposed by the Company promoting the Bill? At present, if the Companies made improper charges it was in the power of the traders to bring them before the Railway Commission; and if this Standing Order were passed it would be almost impossible to draw a line between what belonged to the Railway Commission and what belonged to the Committee. What they were really seeking to refer to this tribunal were questions affecting the income which formed the foundation of the £800,000,000 which had been invested in railways. It was not merely the question of dividends to the shareholders; it was well known that the capital invested in railways in this Kingdom only yielded a net dividend of about

£4 4*s.* per cent; but if they were going to allow Committees of the House of Commons to deal with matters of this kind they would at once upset all the security which now existed in shares and debentures, and they would be doing just as much wrong as if they attempted to carry out a general principle of confiscation. What was the tribunal to which it was proposed to refer these matters? First of all, the Court of Referees were to decide whether the traders had a *locus standi*. A *locus standi* was to be given to any Chamber of Commerce or to any individual trader, provided the Referees agreed and the complaint itself did not come under the powers of the Railway Commission. The Court of Referees was composed of three Members appointed by the Speaker—two permanent officials of the House and the Speaker's Standing Counsel. It was a Court set up by the House in order to deal with questions of *locus standi*, in order to prevent a Committee of the House of Commons from trying difficult questions of *locus standi*, and to provide a Court for deciding what were really questions of Committee practice. What was it they were now going to ask the Court of Referees to do? He had not one word to say against the Court. Every one of the members composing the Court was a thoroughly efficient officer of the House, and most of them were members of long standing; but it was proposed to give them an entirely new duty—namely, that of deciding whether a Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or any individual trader, had a *primâ facie* case for petitioning against any Bill introduced by a Railway Company, and of enabling such Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or individual trader, to raise before a Select Committee the whole question of the Company's rates and fares. Consequently, the Court would have power to give a *locus standi* to any individual to be heard before a Select Committee. Well, the question would have to go before the Committee, and the Committee would have to deal with it, not as Parliament would deal with it, in a general measure—because the President of the Board of Trade would not by his Bill allow a Railway Company to take possession of the charges for terminals until they had come to Parliament and had their rates revised—but it would give them an absolute power of dealing with the whole of the tolls at present imposed by the London and North Western, the Great Northern, or the Midland Railway Companies. Under this Standing Order every toll imposed by a great Railway Company could be fought by a trader, or by a competing Company at the suggestion of a trader, and in that way they would be handing over to a Select Committee the power of dealing with these questions, which ought only to be exercised by the House itself. He thought there could be nothing more serious than a proposal to deal with great and important questions affecting the property of the country by handing them over to such Committees as this. It must be borne in mind that questions might be raised which might have the effect of materially lowering the interest upon railway shares and railway debentures. He was afraid that if his hon. Friend carried this Resolution he would be doing great injury to the trade of the country. He would undoubtedly prevent Railway Companies from coming to Parliament, where they only came now, as a rule, in order to secure for the public additional accommodation. It was piecemeal legislation of this kind of which the public had a right to complain, and which, at the same time, the Railway Companies would be glad to get rid of. What they really wanted was that there should be universal classification, if they could possibly obtain it, and that was the object of his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade in bringing in his Bill. The Standing Order would also prevent a general standard of rates from being fixed. It was proposed that some permanent authority should deal year by year with these Bills in the interests of the trader, whether the trader came or not—and on that point there was some doubt—but he took it for granted that he would come, because the great object of this Standing Order was to get him to come. If, however, he did not come, then the matter was left entirely in the hands of the Committees and the Companies themselves, and it would be impossible to prevent anomalies. If the House adopted the plan laid down by the Committee on Railway Rates, and laid down after careful consideration, there would be some consistency of action, because the Railway Companies would be brought under

one system of railway rates and fares which everyone could understand; and not only would the interests of the public be guarded, but those of the shareholders and of the Railway Companies themselves. He hoped he had not trespassed too long upon the time of the House; but while he felt sympathy with the object which his hon. Friend the Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson) had at heart, he could not support the proposed modification of the Standing Order, which, instead of making things better, would only have the effect of making them worse.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I was surprised to hear my hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) declare that the traders never had any assistance from the Board of Trade in their differences with the Railway Companies. I certainly do not think that the Board of Trade is a Body intended solely to consider and favour the representations of the traders. As my hon. Friend behind me who has just spoken has said, it is a Body intended to hold the balance evenly, and, while protecting the traders, at the same time to protect the just rights of the Railway Companies. My hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire is certainly a little ungrateful. I have just brought in a Bill, about which I will only say that it contains nine-tenths of the demands which have been put forward from time to time on behalf of the traders. That Bill has been denounced by both sides. I read the other day an account of a meeting, at which Sir Edmund Beckett declared that Bill to be confiscatory and revolutionary in its character, and calculated to harass the Railway Companies. A Circular has been sent round to shareholders which has brought letters to hon. Members in all parts of the House, denouncing the Bill of the Board of Trade, and urging that legislation of so novel a character should be at once rejected. Now, I think there is some exaggeration in this view of the case; but I think it is rather hard to find myself criticized and condemned from both sides. On the one hand, I am told that I have no regard for the interests of the trader; while, on the other hand, I am at the same time denounced by the Railway Companies for confiscating their property. My hon. Friend says, and says very truly, that the proposal of my hon. Friend the Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson) is based on the recommendations of the Railway Fares Committee. That is true; but the recommendations of the Railway Fares Committee must be taken as a whole, and what I protest against is the evident unfairness of taking one of them which would press hard on the Railway Companies, while, at the same time, we refrain from giving effect to others, some of which are intended for the relief of the Railway Companies. I do not deny, for a moment, that there are cases of oppressive and anomalous rates established by Railway Companies. No doubt they are due, in part, to the circumstance which has been mentioned by my hon. Friend—that the rates were fixed a long time ago, and have not been altered since. I believe, however, that it would be for the interest of the traders, and of the Railway Companies also, that those rates should be revised. But, on the other hand, it would also be to the interest of the public that the revision should be complete, if at all. What I object to in the Resolution of my hon. Friend is that, in the first place, it proposes only that rates should be dealt with which are supposed to be, or on the allegation that they are, unfavourable to the traders; and that, on the other hand, the Railway Companies should have no power whatever of dealing with the rates when they complain, as they do at the present time, that the amounts allowed to them are insufficient to provide a fair remuneration for the services rendered. I have always considered that the two things ought to be treated together; and in the proposal which I have made to the House I think I have shown a method by which that result may be arrived at. Then I object to another feature in this proposal. The revision proposed to be made would be, as the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) has pointed out, a piecemeal revision. The Railway Companies would never know what to expect; there would never be the slightest prospect of tranquillity for them; they might this year have the whole of their rates revised, and next year, when they brought in a Bill, a further revision might be demanded. That would be, it seems to me, really harassing legislation, against which the Railway Companies have a right to protest. My hon. Friend says

there are occasions when the Railway Companies come to the House to ask the Committees to revise the rates and charges in their favour; but my hon. Friend omitted to say that in all such cases the Board of Trade makes a Report to the House on such matters, in accordance with the suggestion thrown out by the Railway Rates and Fares Committee. I will go a step further, and I may state that my objection to my hon. Friend's proposal would be very much modified if he confined his claim to a revision of the rates of the Railway Companies to cases in which the Railway Companies applied for additional rates, or for a revision of the rates. That would be more in accordance with the principle I have laid down as fair to both parties. But that is not the case. The proposal of my hon. Friend is that when any Railway Company comes to Parliament for a Bill, no matter what the purpose of that Bill may be, the whole of its rates and fares shall be subject to revision. Now, see how that proposal would operate. Over and over again cases come before the Board of Trade in which it is found necessary to urge upon Railway Companies, in the interests of the traders, or for the public safety, to undertake additional works, such as providing level crossings, or in some other way to increase the accommodation of the public. The answer we have had made to us is this—"It would be impossible for the Railway Company to do that without going to Parliament for a new Bill." Now, I never admitted that that was a sufficient answer; but I confess it would be an almost unanswerable contention if the result of the application of a Railway Company to Parliament for power to give additional accommodation to the public were to involve any penalty of this kind upon them, in regard to the alteration of their rates. I agree with what has fallen from my hon. Friend the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease), that the adoption of the proposal of the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson) would be distinctly against the public interests, for undoubtedly the Railway Companies would never come to Parliament if they could avoid it; they would only come to Parliament in cases of absolute necessity, and thus the Bills which are now passed by the House to give additional facilities to the public would be stifled in their inception. I think this Resolution of my hon. Friend is at least premature, and I would prefer to rely on the support of my hon. Friend to the provisions of the Bill which I have laid before the House. I believe that Bill deals justly with all the interests concerned. I do not say that it is perfect, or that it is incapable of amendment by the House or by a Grand Committee; but at least it does provide, in the first place, for facilities in the interests of the traders for getting rid of anomalous and excessive rates, and, at the same time, it gives to the Railway Companies the remedy they want in cases of being required to give accommodation never contemplated in their original Acts. In that way it would, if passed in its present form, or with Amendments, provide a settlement of the question for some time to come. Until we can see our way to a more complete settlement, I do not think it would be wise for the House to adopt the proposal of my hon. Friend.

MR. PEMBERTON said, he apprehended that at present the House was discussing the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) to the original Resolution moved by the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson). He thought both the Amendment and the original Motion were objectionable; and he hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing) would be induced to withdraw his Amendment, in order that the House might decide, as he hoped it would, upon rejecting the proposition made by the hon. Member for Banbury. He should like to point out, in a few words, the difference there was between the Amendment and the original proposition, and to state very shortly the objections which he thought ought to induce the House to reject the Resolution. The proposed Standing Order entirely overlooked and omitted an important qualification which the Committee upon the question of rates and fares inserted as a condition of appearing before the Railway Commissioners—namely, that the Commissioners should be possessed of a certificate from the Board of Trade that the Chamber of Commerce, or whatever other Body it was, was a *bonâ fide* Association. The Amendment of the hon. Member for

Orkney covered that point by providing, as a preliminary to the hearing of a Petition, that the Petitioners should be in possession of such certificate from the Board of Trade. He understood that the Board of Trade felt themselves unable to deal with this question, and proposed that it should be left to some other tribunal. Both the original proposal and the Amendment appeared to him to be most objectionable, for the reasons which had been pointed out by previous speakers. Certainly both of them would equally prevent the development of railway improvements. As had been already pointed out, supposing a Railway Company—the London and North Western, or any other large Company, came to Parliament for half-an-acre of land for increased station accommodation, they would be liable to be subjected to a revision of all their rates and fares at the instigation of a Petitioner who had nothing whatever to do with the project before the House. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) had pointed out that a proposal to provide additional accommodation at Exeter might be objected to by a trader in Wales; but the hon. Baronet had understated the case. This Standing Order would give power to any Petitioner interested in the existing rates and fares to open up the whole question; so that a season ticket holder, or a man who had a return ticket, or anybody who had the most remote interest in travelling on a particular line of railway, if that railway proposed to take fresh powers in reference to a station, possibly 300 miles from the place in which the Petitioner lived, he would have power to call for a revision of the whole system of rates and fares which had existed for many years, and probably under half-a-dozen Acts of Parliament. But it was not merely in reference to that question of revision, but to the Court and tribunal by which the revision was to be made, that he thought the principal objection applied. The recommendation of the Committee on Railway Rates stated that the certificate of the Board of Trade would enable anybody to be heard; but the proposal now made was that without any certificate whatever any Petitioner—and he was not now distinguishing between a trader and a private individual—any Petitioner coming before Parliament was to be referred to the Court of Referees to decide the question whether, although the Bill before Parliament had nothing whatever to do with rates and fares, the whole system of rates and fares might not be gone into. Well, that was to be done, and the revision was to be made by a tribunal of this description. His hon. Friend the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) had given a short outline of its constitution; but the House would remember that the Court of Referees was originally constituted for an entirely different purpose. It was originally constituted merely for the purpose of examining into the details of Railway Bills, Water Bills, and Private Bills of that description, in order to see that the engineering works were properly provided for, that the estimates were sufficient, and to examine into the quantity and quality of the water, &c. proposed to be supplied. He thought it was about the year 1868 that the powers of the Court of Referees were altered. The powers originally given to the Court of Referees were then referred to the Committee who heard the Bill on its merits, and the functions of the Court were changed by requiring them simply to decide questions of *locus standi* on every Petition against a Private Bill. That was to say that the Court originally constituted to decide whether, according to the practice of the House, a Petitioner was entitled to be heard, in order to make the system uniform and establish one general system, should decide under what circumstances a Petitioner should be entitled to be heard against a Private Bill, who had petitioned against such Private Bill upon its merits. What was now attempted to be done was this—that in every Petition, however frivolous, or however small the interest of the Petitioner in the matter, the Court of Referees was to be put in the position of the Railway Commissioners, and was to decide on the whole question of the fairness and equality of the rates of every Railway Company which might happen to promote a Private Bill in Parliament. Of course, the Court of Referees, he was sure, would be most anxious to do its duty, and would spare no labour to do what the House required; but he thought it must be perfectly obvious to the House that it was a Court which was never

intended, and was not competent, to discharge such duties. He had no wish that the Court should escape from any work the House might see fit to impose upon it; but on putting additional work upon its shoulders it would be well to consider the nature of the work and the qualification of the Court to discharge the duty in a satisfactory manner. As to the broad principle, whether upon Petitions of this kind it was right that the whole system of past legislation should be gone into, that was another point. It might be very doubtful whether people who had invested their money in railway debentures, preference Stock, and other kinds of security would consider themselves very fairly treated. It was true that when they made their investments they had no right to expect that the railway rates and fares then in existence were to be permanent; but at least they had a right to think that those rates and fares, with the possibility of their being diminished, should be considered by a proper and competent tribunal, and should not be brought into dispute at the instigation of anybody who happened to be a season ticket holder on the railway in which their money was invested. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) had alluded to the grievances under which the traders laboured. That, he believed, was owing to a misconception which, at one time, the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson) also laboured under. Both hon. Members appeared to be under the idea that Chambers of Commerce and Chambers of Agriculture, according to the Rules of that House, were not entitled to be heard before the Railway Commission. That was altogether a misapprehension. All Chambers of Commerce, and all Chambers of Agriculture, if they fairly represented any one interest or trade in any locality, were always heard. All that the House did by the Court of Referees was to refuse to hear persons who chose to call themselves a Chamber of Commerce or a Chamber of Agriculture if they could not show that they had any interest whatever in the trade of the district affected. He hoped, therefore, that the House would consider that, however right it might be to revise the system of railway fares and rates now in existence, the proposal to do so by a Court which had never been constituted for that purpose, and certainly was not competent to do so, was a proposal which ought to be rejected, and that this question of railway rates and fares, if it were to be dealt with properly, should be raised either under the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade or by some properly constituted tribunal, either a Royal Commission or a Committee competent to deal with it, and appointed for the purpose of going into the whole question, instead of dealing piecemeal with the subject in the way proposed by the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he had no wish to detain the House for more than a moment; but he thought that after the speech of the President of the Board of Trade they might very well rest the question upon the ground upon which he had put it. What the Railway Companies objected to so much in the matter was not the revision of their rates and fares, but to be subjected at all times, and under all circumstances, to have these questions perpetually brought up. Another thing was that whenever it was done it should be done by a competent tribunal, and a fair settlement arrived at finally by a competent authority, so that there might be an end to the matter. They objected very strongly, and he thought they were right in their objection, to anything in the nature of piecemeal legislation on a subject of such vast importance. In his opinion, the interests of the Railway Companies and the interests of the traders were not really antagonistic, but were very much the same. He was in favour, and always had been, as far as trade was concerned, of making the best terms with all the customers who could be induced to come. That was the only and proper way in which trade could be carried on; but after the speech of the President of the Board of Trade they might well rest the matter on the ground on which the right hon. Gentleman put it. No one could improve the position in which the right hon. Gentleman had placed the matter before the House, and they ought not to take from the Report of the Railway Fares and Rates Committee one recommendation only without dealing with the whole.

MR. TOMLINSON remarked, that, with reference to the point raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member

for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), although he was not there to say that if he had proposed to deal with the question by Standing Order he should have treated it in the way it had been dealt with by the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson), still he did not think it was open to the objection which had been raised against it by the right hon. Gentleman and by the hon. Member for East Kent (Mr. Pemberton). In the first place, the hon. Member for East Kent spoke of the Standing Order as enabling anyone having the smallest possible interest in any part of a line of railway to petition against the Bill, no matter what the object of the Bill was. But when he read the proposed Standing Order it appeared to him that its scope was much more limited. It said—

"That where a Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or other similar body, sufficiently representing a particular trade or business in any district to which any Railway Bill relates, petition against the Bill, alleging that such trade or business will be injuriously affected by the rates and fares proposed to be authorized by the Bill, or is injuriously affected by the rates and fares already authorized by Acts relating to the Railway undertaking, it shall be competent to the Referees on Private Bills, if they think fit, to admit the Petitioners to be heard, on such allegation, against the Bill, or any part thereof, or against the rates and fares authorized by the said Acts, or any part of them."

In regard to that part which applied to the Court of Referees, the Court would have to satisfy themselves that the Petitioners did represent a particular trade or business, and it went further by requiring the Petitioners to satisfy the Court that they represented a particular trade or business in the district to which the Bill related. He, therefore, took it that if the Standing Order was open to exception, the exception did not apply to that part of it, but to the second part, which stated—

"The provisions of this Order relative to rates and fares already authorized, extend to Traders and Freighters, and to a single Trader, in any case where a locus standi would have been allowed to them or him, if this Order had not been made."

The only parties whom the Standing Order permitted to apply to the Court of Referees were Chambers of Commerce or Agriculture, or other similar Bodies representing a particular trade or business in the district to which a Railway Bill related. The other traders would be left in precisely the same position as that which they occupied now, and they must show that they had an actual *locus standi*. That was certainly his reading of the proposed Standing Order; and he thought it was not open to the objection which had been urged against it by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and the hon. Member for East Kent (Mr. Pemberton). He thought it was desirable to call the attention of the House to the state in which the question was left when the debate upon the previous occasion was adjourned. That debate was adjourned on the promise of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade to bring in a Bill dealing with the whole of the questions included in the recommendations of the Committee on Railway Rates. He himself had hailed that declaration and that promise with much satisfaction, because he, too, thought there were objections to dealing piecemeal with questions connected with the Railway Companies, and the only justification for dealing with them in this manner was that there was no chance of having the question completely dealt with in the present Session. He must say that he had been very much disappointed at the tone of the speech which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman that day. He had expected to hear something more definite as to the prospect of passing that Bill. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that, because a few objections had been raised to some of the provisions of the Bill, it must therefore be put on one side owing to the advanced period of the Session, and the blame for the loss of the measure had been indiscriminately cast on everybody. It was an unreasonable thing to expect that a Bill of this nature dealing with so complex a subject was likely to receive approval from everybody concerned in it. With regard to the opposition to the Bill from the traders' point of view, he could not help saying that it had been dealt with in a very fair spirit, with every endeavour, as far as possible, to meet the objections that were raised to it. He was not present at the interview between the traders and the President of the Board of Trade; but he believed that their objections to the Bill, as it stood, were

gone into at that interview, and he had had something to do with framing certain other Amendments, which, if the Bill went on, were intended to be brought forward. They had been framed from a desire and with the endeavour to improve the Bill—not to make the grave objections entertained to parts of the measure an excuse for destroying it, but to introduce Amendments in the hope that the Bill might be carried. He believed that if a satisfactory measure could be carried it would do a great deal both in the interests of the Railway Companies and in the interests of the traders. He supposed they might infer from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman that day that he did not see any chance of pressing the Bill forward that Session, and they would probably hear to-morrow that it was one of the measures which the Government had decided upon abandoning. Under these circumstances, the House had now to consider what their position was. His own opinion was that the consideration of the recommendations of the Committee on Railway Rates and Fares was urgently required, and as it was now impossible to deal with the whole Bill it was desirable to take up such parts as could be dealt with by a Standing Order; and the reason for selecting this particular recommendation was that it was the only part of the recommendations of the Committee on Railway Rates that could be dealt with by Standing Order, and which did not require an Act of Parliament to carry it out. It could be dealt with by Standing Order in the same way that another important recommendation was dealt with last year by the Standing Order proposed by his right hon. Friend the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth). He saw no reason why they should not be able to deal by a Standing Order with the position of the Railway Companies not only in regard to new rates, but also in connection with existing rates. He had placed on the Paper a Standing Order to follow that of his right hon. Friend. If the Standing Order they were now considering were carried it might be a question whether it would be worth while to proceed with his Standing Order; but if it were not carried, he certainly thought that he would press his Standing Order upon the consideration of the House. At the present moment, however, he had no desire to carry the discussion beyond the Standing Order now under consideration; and, that being so, it was necessary to deal with the question as it stood when the last debate upon it was adjourned. It would be in the recollection of the House that upon that occasion the hon. Member for Stirlingshire (Mr. Bolton), who was one of the ablest Representatives of the railway interest, gave his views on the proposition for the New Standing Order. He put forward two objections on public grounds. The hon. Member told the House that by passing the Standing Order they would really damage the public interest. First of all, because the Standing Order only dealt with part of the Report of the Railway Commission; and next, because it would preclude the Railway Companies from coming to Parliament for further powers for the accommodation of the public. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) had made the same objection to the Standing Order that day, and had talked about Railway Companies constantly coming to Parliament for the construction of local lines and small sidings for the public convenience; but that was certainly not the character of the Bills which the large Railway Companies were constantly bringing before the House. As an ordinary rule, they came forward for purposes of their own, and did not apply voluntarily to Parliament in the interests of the public. They came to Parliament because they were forced to do so, compelled by the force of circumstances, and knowing that if they did not bring forward schemes for the better accommodation of a particular district some new line would step in and do the work over their heads. As a rule, it was the competition with which they were threatened by other lines that compelled them to come to Parliament with schemes for the accommodation of the public. He did not think that the passing of a Standing Order in the interests of traders, in order to enable them to obtain further relief, would prevent the Railway Companies from coming forward in the future with railway schemes that were intended to accommodate the public. He therefore thought they might safely disregard that objection. He came now to

the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, not with reference to the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman had introduced, but with reference to the Standing Order. Taking the Railway Companies in a general sense, the principal objection he had to the present system of maximum rates and charges was not so much to cases of excessive rates as to their condition of excessive and great complication. That was admitted by the right hon. Gentleman in the previous debate. He had said, referring to the London and North Western Railway, that they made their rates under 128 different Acts of Parliament; and he seemed to think that the rates levied under those Acts would have to be dealt with over and over again each time the railway applied to Parliament for permission to carry out a new work, small and unimportant as that work might be. He considered it the strongest possible reason for dealing with the question of rates that traders would have to search 128 Acts of Parliament in order to know what they might be legally charged. He (Mr. Tomlinson), however, thought the right hon. Gentleman had been over-persuaded by the Railway Companies as to the difficulty of dealing with the question of rates. He did not deny that, supposing the Board of Trade had to do with the rates of Companies, they would have some difficulty to contend with; but what he did contest was that the work would be one of such magnitude as was imagined. A great part of the work had been already done at present. In a Return made in 1878 the maximum rates of Railway Companies had already been tabulated. For instance, to take the Great Western Railway. The list of maximum rates in force on different parts of their line took up 20 pages of the large book he had in his hand; the list of the London and North Western Railway Company took up 16 pages; and that of the Midland took up 14 pages. Some of the Railway Companies, on the other hand, had done their part in the work of simplifying their rates. The Lancashire and Yorkshire and the London and South Western were examples of railways that had one scale of rates applicable to the whole of their system. If this Standing Order was carried, the first thing the Chambers of Commerce, or whatever Bodies it was which appeared before the Committee, would draw attention to was the question whether or not the Railway Companies had too complicated a scale of rates. At present the rates were very complicated. For instance, if he wanted to send goods from London to Plymouth, he would have to do with several scales of rates. Ought they not, in estimating whether the rates quoted were fair, to have one main enactment to appeal to. The first object of a Chamber of Commerce or any Body of that kind would have in dealing with the rates of a Railway Company would be to see how far the rates could be simplified; and he (Mr. Tomlinson) would suggest that the proper way of doing that would be by requiring the Companies to provide a standard scale. When they had once simplified the scale of rates the thing would be settled once for all, and would not have to be dealt with again. He need not go into the question of anomalies, as they were all in the Table he had referred to, and which he held in his hand. He could take the London and North Western with one scale of rates from Euston to Preston, and another scale on the main line from Preston to Lancaster, and another on the line from Lancaster to Carlisle. The maximum rate for cattle between Lancaster and Preston was 2*d.* per mile; but the moment Lancaster was passed the rate the Company was entitled to charge to Carlisle was 4*d.* per mile. So that the question of rates was full of anomalies. He would wish to draw attention particularly to one branch of this question, which was exemplified by the Great Eastern rates. Looking through their scale, he found they had a general rate for the main line; but different rates for the small lines combined with the main line. Instead of all the little lines throwing themselves into the general scale of the main line, the branches still retained the scale of rates originally fixed, notwithstanding the amalgamation. He thought that even if the Board of Trade grappled with this matter, if their officials applied themselves to the task of simplifying the rates, much might be done without great difficulty for the benefit of the traders. He should support the Standing Order of the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson); but if that was not carried, he (Mr. Tomlinson) would endeavour to

take the judgment of the House upon the Standing Order he had to move himself.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I wish to address a few remarks to the House on this subject, because I entirely dissent from what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), who stated his belief that the interest of the traders and the Railway Companies are not antagonistic. They may not be so in reality; but I am afraid there are a great many instances throughout the country—and they were admitted by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade this afternoon—in which the fares and rates of the Railway Companies are both oppressive and anomalous. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) spoke on behalf of the interests of Railway Companies, and I do not blame him for so doing. It is right that the Companies should be represented in this House; but I would speak on behalf of other interests represented here—I would speak in the interests of my constituents, and I would say there is a strong feeling among them, especially among the agriculturists, that the Companies do charge rates for the conveyance of produce which are both oppressive and anomalous; oppressive in their amount, and anomalous inasmuch as they give direct advantage to the foreign producer over the home producer. That is a feeling which is widely entertained in the country; and no one who has admitted, as the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade has admitted, that the words oppressive and anomalous can justly apply to many of the rates now charged by the English railways, can deny that something ought to be done by this House to remedy that which is an undoubted grievance. It may be said that if farmers and traders are aggrieved they have their legal remedy; but do the Companies and the public stand on equal terms in this matter? I deny it altogether; it is absolutely impossible for any individual farmer or trader, as at present situated, to deal on fair terms before the tribunals which decide these matters with the great Companies who make demands which are to his disadvantage. A trader or farmer who attempts to do so would simply ruin himself. What is now proposed is to carry out one of the recommendations of the Committee of last Session, and to give certain definite Bodies who have distinct interests in the matter a right to appeal to Parliament when the Railway Company in their district applies to Parliament for fresh powers in connection with their undertaking. It is said—"You are appealing to the wrong tribunal. A Select Committee of the House of Commons or the House of Lords is not a proper Body to deal with this matter;" because, I suppose, they are likely to differ sometimes one from another. But, Sir, however they may differ, the tribunal is one that at present exists, and which at present has these very matters to consider. These are the tribunals that have fixed railway rates and fares in times past. It may be better, and I do not wish to enter into that question now, that all these matters should be subject to revision by one and the same tribunal. That was the proposal in the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, which is understood to have been dropped for this Session. If such a proposal should come before Parliament, it should be discussed and decided, and some amendment on the present system might be made; but what we have to do now is to try if, pending that discussion, we cannot do something to remedy an admitted grievance. That is the proposal of the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson). It is said, again—"It is not fair to adopt a part only of the recommendations of the Select Committee on Railway Rates and Fares, and base a Standing Order on it to give it the force of law." I do not myself think so very highly of the Report of that Committee as some hon. Members who have spoken in the interests of the Railway Companies. It is, no doubt, very true that the Railway Companies were only directly represented on this Committee by a comparatively small number of Members; but, at any rate, that number consisted of extremely able Representatives. They had at their command some of the greatest talent in the Kingdom; and they produced evidence, made suggestions, and, certainly, in my humble opinion, made such use of the opportunities afforded to them as to bias the Report of the Committee entirely in favour of the Railway Companies.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN: I should like to ask Mr. Speaker whether the question under discussion is the constitution of the late Rates and Fares Committee and the conduct of its Members, or the Standing Order proposed by the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson)? The right hon. Gentleman opposite has not said anything relevant to the point before the House.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I have stated my opinion. I dare say it is not the opinion of the hon. Baronet (Sir Edward Watkin) for very obvious reasons; but it certainly is an opinion very largely shared throughout the country. Now, why should not that part of the Report of the Committee be adopted? It is said—"You are about to adopt that to harass the Railway Companies;" but I would point out that they can, if they like, as has been already observed, apply for increased rates and fares where the existing rates and fares are deemed by them to be insufficient; therefore, if that is so, why should you not give the public, through their authorized representatives—through representatives who have a real interest in the matter—and I do not understand the hon. Member for Banbury would wish to go one step beyond that—similar power to appeal to Parliament for reduction of rates and fares where they are oppressive and anomalous? We are told—"You will deter Companies from applying to Parliament for powers to carry out works and alterations for the benefit of the public." Well, I do not believe in Railway Companies making application to Parliament purely in the interest of the public—I do not believe they are guided solely by considerations of the public benefit. I believe they have, as they ought to have, primarily in view the interests of their shareholders. They will look to their interests in future, if this Standing Order passes, just as they have done in the past. Believing, as I do, that we ought to place the interests of the agriculturists and traders of this country on a fair footing, as against those of the Railway Companies, I am glad the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. Samuelson) has brought forward this Standing Order; and differing from the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, and my right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), I shall support the hon. Member for Banbury in his proposal, if he carries it to a Division.

MR. PELL said, that, as a Member of the Committee which sat on this question, he wished to take up the time of the House for a few moments with a few observations on some of the simple and leading features of the case. The question had been gone into by previous speakers in very elaborate detail, in which he was not disposed, if, indeed, he was prepared, to follow them. They were considering the case of members of the public, who had arrayed against them—he would not say against them, though he was not inclined to agree entirely with the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite that the interests of the traders were not considered—but he would say members of the public who had to deal with large Corporations possessed of an enormous capital and enormous political and other powers which attached to the possession of such capital. He, for his part, in what he had to say, was speaking in the interest of those who had not, for the most part, embarked their capital in railway enterprize, but who still had to do with railways as merchants and traders. The Motion made by the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson), to his mind, opened to the public the only available means of dealing with the question they had at present open to them. It presented to them the only method of obviating the grievances under which they suffered which had been proposed for some time. Therefore, it was one which could not be set aside by the statement that they were to have a Bill to deal with the question as a whole. He did not agree with those who said that the method which might be pursued, if the House gave effect to the hon. Member's Resolution, would be vexatious, or that the hon. Member was dealing with only one part of the recommendations of the Committee, and omitting others which ought to be dealt with. He did not think that was by any means a sufficient answer to the case as it had been presented to them by the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) and those who supported him. So much of the recommendations of the Railway Rates and Fares Committee which did not apply to the feature of the case they were discussing could be very well dealt

with by a Bill, or by an addition to the Standing Order; and, therefore, if there was even a better prospect of the measure proposed by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) being passed into law that Session, he should be very slow to counsel the House to relinquish the opportunity they now had of dealing with this part of the question. What was admitted in this case? Why, it was admitted not only by those who represented the Railway Companies, but by those whom he might be said to be representing now—he had not the good fortune to own a single railway share in the world; but still he was not so selfish or careless of other people's interests as to wish to give a vote which would be detrimental to vested interests, or to the interests of those who had done enormous service to the State and to the public. Still, he wished to point out that what was admitted on all sides was that excessive and partial rates had been established in times gone by. Some of them, no doubt, were due to a state of things in existence many years ago, and which was very different to what it was now. These excessive and partial rates were owing, also, to the neglect of the public in not paying that attention to Railway Bills when they were before that House which they ought to do. The public, he considered, were immensely indebted to the hon. Gentleman who had proposed this Standing Order, and to the hon. Member for Forfar (Mr. Barclay), who also had worked with them, for the way in which they had organized the consideration of this case, and for having engaged such an able man as Dr. Hunter to formulate that case, and present it to the Committee on Railway Rates and Fares, and to the public. He hardly knew how sufficiently to praise the exertions of these Gentlemen, and those who had worked with them. He believed it was really due to what they had done that the House was now able to have an intelligible debate on the subject in the House of Commons. If as much were considered as he asked to have considered, and it was seen that they had rates which were admitted to be excessive, and that no attempt had been made in the House during the past few years to prevent the imposition of exceptional and harsher rates, how was the difficulty to be met? His answer was that they had no means presented to them of meeting it at present other than by supporting the Motion of the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson). What were the objections made by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade—whom he was sorry had had to leave the Front Bench opposite a little time ago—and those who were with him? One objection was this—and it appeared to be very taking with the House, and a very strong one—that they would have a large amount of vexatious opposition to railways in their attempt to do that which some people would lead them to believe the Companies did not do in their own interest, but in the interests of the public at large. It was said that if the House passed the Standing Order, whenever a Railway Company came to Parliament for an Act an opportunity for vexatious opposition would be given to almost irresponsible people, and one that would interfere with the improvements Railway Companies wished to carry out, and the advantage which the public would derive from the energy of Railway Companies in the future. Well, nobody could attempt to make use of this Standing Order without spending a considerable amount of money. No one would be likely to make use of it except Chambers of Commerce or of Agriculture, and they were not such wealthy Corporations that there was any reason to be afraid of them. That was a great security against the action of litigious people. They had not, however, heard a word from Gentlemen who represented the Railway Companies of the vexatious interference which one Company exercised towards another when Bills were brought into Parliament. He should have thought that the gentlemen who represented railway interests had not so much to fear from the effects of this Standing Order as they had from the action of the Companies. It seemed to him that their great complaint should be against other Companies interfering with the claims they were making before Select Committees upstairs. Let hon. Members call to mind how the House had suffered from the vexatious interference of one Railway Company with another. He was most interested, as an occupier of land in a railway in one of the Eastern Counties. Some years ago, but since he had been in that House, there was a measure brought forward by the Great

Eastern Railway Company. An attempt was made in that Bill to carry a line, working at low rates of carriage and low rates of speed towards the North of England, to bring coal into the Eastern Counties, and supply the East of London without obliging the Coal Companies to make use of the Great Northern or Great Western. It was sought to benefit the consumers of coal in the East of London. Who was it that opposed this scheme? It would never, he took it, have been opposed by those who would act under this Standing Order; but it was opposed by the great Railway Companies who had already got possession of the coalfields and their outlets in the North; and he recollected perfectly well how universally the action of the great Companies was condemned by Liberals as well as Conservatives. Complaints were made on all hands; but they were altogether unavailing, and the district it was proposed to serve with coal at reduced rates was left still unprovided with these facilities. There could be no doubt that the measure proposed by the Great Eastern Railway Company would have been of enormous service to the public if the Bill had been allowed to pass. He maintained, therefore, that the vexatious—if they called it vexatious—interference of one Railway Company with the action of another was most severe and detrimental to the interests of the public. The House need not trouble itself much more about the opposition of Chambers of Commerce and Chambers of Agriculture to the Bills of Railway Companies. If effect were given to the Resolution of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. B. Samuelson), there was plenty of precedents and authority for this proposal. They were asked to consider how their cousins across the Atlantic got on in this matter. Were those Corporations running from one ocean to another—the Central Pacific, the Union Pacific, and the other great through lines—allowed to charge rates detrimental to the public interest? Not a bit of it. He (Mr. Pell) had had the honour of serving upon the Royal Commission on Agriculture—that was, he and the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) had been deputed to make inquiries into this matter. They found that every State in the United States through which a great line of railway ran possessed absolutely identical powers on behalf of the public to interfere with the rates, if they were of such a character as to be injurious to the interests of the community. That power was not an unnatural one, and it certainly had not been found to work to the disadvantage of the American railways. It had given great security and great peace of mind to those cultivating the land and carrying on other industries in the Western States of America. One word more about identical rates. He was not saying whether the rates charged by the Railway Companies were or were not inequitable; but there could be no doubt whatever—it would be admitted and no hon. Member would contradict him, when he said that preferential rates were given to freights which were brought over the sea through an arrangement with the American lines. He could not take the case of live cattle coming from Chicago, because they would not go beyond Liverpool. However, if they took the case of goods which could be conveyed inland—wheat or dead meat—that was a very strong case indeed. The Railway Companies competed one against another for this traffic—it was admitted that they did. The Companies having sea termini competed for this Western traffic, and undercut each other for the purpose of getting it. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) had told them that railroad investments, as a rule, paid something like 4¼ per cent. He (Mr. Pell) did not know that that was the case; but if it were correct, the small interest which railway enterprizes returned on the capital invested in them was due to this undercutting in rates. The undercutting and loss made by it could only be made good, and the Companies could only hope to restore it, by exceptionally high and preferential rates upon certain classes of traders. The Companies put rates on English goods in order to meet the low rates at which they carried foreign goods, and upon which they lost so much interest on their capital. If he might say one word as to the great railways running towards the Northern Counties, he would point out that the competition was well understood between the Companies. The lines ran through centres of industry filled with intelligent and wealthy people, with whom, to use a common term, they could not play tricks. As a rule, the

rates in such districts were fair. But then they came to another class of railways—those running from London towards the Continent, such as the South Eastern and South Western. He could not speak in the terms of either of these lines that one would apply in referring to lines running towards the North. He was glad to see the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) in his place, because as he represented these lines——

SIR EDWARD WATKIN: I rise to Order. I do not represent any line; I represent the borough of Hythe, in the county of Kent.

MR. PELL said, then he was glad to see in his place the hon. Baronet who represented the borough of Hythe, in the county of Kent, seeing that this borough had availed itself of the services of the lines to which he referred. He took it for granted that the hon. Member's connection with this borough must have given him an intimate acquaintance with the subject to which he (Mr. Pell) was referring, and they all knew how ably railroad interests were advocated by the hon. Baronet. One of the arguments against the Resolution submitted by the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson) was, that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had prepared a Bill on the subject, and it was said—"Why do not you wait for the Railway Bill?" Well, it seemed to him useless to wait for the Railway Bill, as there could be no possibility at that period of the Session, and in the existing state of Business, of such a measure being passed. The time had gone by for that Bill; but the time had not gone by for obtaining some remedy for the very bad state of things under such a Motion as that of the hon. Member for Banbury. Under all the circumstances to which he had alluded, he intended to give his vote for the Motion. Before they proceeded to a vote, let the House recollect that they were dealing with a very exceptional state of things. There were many millions of money—hundreds of millions of capital—embarked in railway enterprizes in this country; and the interest was, therefore, a great one which required protecting. But there was something else to be considered. The policy of these great Companies had been to put a stop to all other means of intercommunication. There was nothing to resort to now for the purpose of transit but the railroads. The railways had broken down the canal routes in a most insidious and clever manner by buying up small sections and filling them up, rendering the whole systems useless and inoperative. He was not one of those who thought that the canal method of conveying goods could ever compete with the railroads. He could well understand that time was of enormous value in the conveyance of almost every class of goods; and not only did the railroads possess advantage in the matter of time; they could also convey goods more economically than the canals. However, in years gone by, the Railway Companies had not believed that themselves, and they had jealously broken down all other means of intercommunication than that which they themselves afforded. The public were in the hands of these great Railway Companies; and he therefore, on all these grounds, thought the House would not do well without due consideration to reject the Motion of the hon. Gentleman opposite.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN said, he should not have risen had not the hon. Member for South Leicestershire personally alluded to him. The hon. Member (Mr. Pell), represented the farming interest, and had accused him of representing the railways; but, as a matter of fact, he represented his constituents, and they had pretty well shown, by the evidence they had given before a recent Committee, that they were opposed to any such arrangement as that before the House. One of the stalking-horses of the hon. Members for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) and Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson), and those who thought as they did, was the question of the preferential rates charged on foreign produce as against home-grown produce. Now, some of these preferential rates, such as the cheap rates for the conveyance of lean foreign cattle, were directly in the interest of the farmers themselves. In the case of cheese, these hon. Gentlemen knew, or ought to know, that Cheshire and home-grown cheese brought to London was carried at the same rate as American, when packed in the same way and in similar quantity. Another stalking-horse had been the question of hops, and they had, with

regard to that charge, distinctly deluded the House. Hon. Members ought to know that the mode of packing and value of foreign hops was totally different to that of English hops. What were the facts? Why this. Dr. Hunter, whom the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson) had so often quoted, had gone into the question, complaining of the charges of the Railway Companies as preferential. But he (Sir Edward Watkin) had had the curiosity to inquire as to the amount received for foreign hops brought to Boulogne, Folkestone, and London; and he had ascertained that the transit receipt was £116, representing about 80 tons; whereas, if he remembered rightly, the South Eastern Company had carried something like 30,000 tons of home-grown hops during the same year. It had been assumed that there was a great commercial grievance in this matter; but in reality there was nothing of the kind. He absolutely denied the existence of any grievance. The rate for foreign hops had been put an end to. What happened? Why, these foreign hops were being conveyed by water to London instead of by railway at two-thirds of the cancelled rate. Thus the hop was worse off than before. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) had spoken of anomalies existing in the railway rates; he had said something about one Company being regulated by 128 Acts of Parliament.

MR. TOMLINSON: I was citing the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN: Very well. The question was not as to the different circumstances of the railways, their different gradients, and so forth, but as to the actual charge made; and he maintained that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) and the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) had distinctly begged the question. They had assumed that there was a great commercial grievance where there was none. They had brought forward their charges of anomalies and preference; but similar charges had been brought before the Committee on Rates, and had entirely broken down. He (Sir Edward Watkin) denied that there was any substantial grievance while amongst the 1,000,000, or, indeed, he believed over a 1,000,000 rates which existed in this country there might be a slight anomaly here and there. No doubt there were some anomalies, and it was obvious that among so many rates anomalies could not be prevented from creeping in here and there; but these anomalies and irregularities, he apprehended, could always be put right. He emphatically denied that there was any great and general grievance. What was the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson) attacking? It was not the Railway Directors. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Pell), according to his own statement, had not contributed to the construction of any railway.

MR. PELL: I said not that I had not contributed to the building of railways, but that I did not own a single share in any Railway Company.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN understood, then, that the hon. Member had contributed to the building of railways; and he was sorry that the hon. Member was now disposed to eat his own children. The attack was not upon Railway Directors, but upon the shareholders, who were beginning to find out the necessity for combination. The principle of the proposed Standing Order was to get something more out of the Railway Companies than the public possessed at present. If not, what was the meaning of it? The hon. Member for Banbury would say—"We are going to give you some benefit;" but the only benefit this would give them would be to take more money out of the pockets of the railway shareholders. The shareholders were beginning to find this out, as the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) would find when he came to face his constituents on the hop question, a great many of them being shareholders. This was, in reality, a delusion, a case of Mrs. Harris—a case of the three tailors of Tooley Street. There was no substance in the complaint. They were dealing with a body of 400,000 shareholders, whose average holding was only some £2,000 of Stock, and who were getting only a little over 4 per cent for their money. It was not the great ironmasters and the other leading traders of the country who wished to take money out of the pockets of these people, whose enterprize was

so essential to the country. The Standing Order would cut both ways, and he was astonished that the hon Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson) did not see it. There could be no doubt that hon. Members from Ireland who were acquainted with the circumstances of the railways of their country would know exactly how that would be. The railway shareholders had laid out their capital on certain distinct conditions contained in their Acts of Parliament. They desired, if it were alleged that they had not fulfilled their obligations, to be tried by the ordinary Judges of the land, and not by a bastard tribunal like the Railway Commission. The railway shareholder said to them—"If you give me privileges in consideration of my laying out capital, do not take away those privileges without my consent." Would the landowners of the country like to be treated in the way it was proposed to treat railway shareholders? The landowners were endeavouring to make the case against the railway shareholders their own; but would they like to have all their differences tried by a special tribunal? Would they like to be deprived of the right of appeal, when they had laid out money on enterprizes which were regarded universally as one of the great and glorious advantages of the country. The railway shareholders said, further, that if they were to be dealt with in this way, they ought not to be dealt with under a measure the tendency of which was confiscation, without having due consideration paid to their claims for compensation. Yet no one proposed compensation. They were spoken of very bitterly and treated harshly; and if they began to resent it they were looked upon as the enemies of their country, and treated as such, instead of being treated as among the benefactors of mankind. What would have become of agriculture in these days of foreign competition, if it had not been for the Railway Companies? He maintained that the opposite policy to that of the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson) was the best—entire opposition to the Standing Order, not only on its own merits, but because it would prove injurious to the best interests of the country. The interests of the country, the interests of agriculture, and the interests of trade were to encourage the class of small capitalists—these 400,000 railway shareholders—to make more railways, and not to discourage them from laying out their savings to meet growing trade by enlarging transit accommodation.

MR. GREGORY said, the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) had made reference to the feeling in his (Mr. Gregory's) constituency on the course which he had thought it right to take on the question before the House, had charged him with misrepresentation in regard to the rates charged in his and the adjoining county, and had warned him that in consequence he would meet with some opposition from those who were interested in the railway question; but, speaking for himself, he should be perfectly prepared to present himself before his constituents and to abide by their decision upon the action he had taken on the question now under consideration. He was quite willing to be judged upon it whenever the occasion arose. The position he had taken was supported by the finding of the Committee on Railway Rates, from whose Report the hon. Gentleman had quoted. It was stated as a matter of fact, not of opinion by the Committee—and he was not aware that any opposition had been offered to the finding of the Committee—that complaints had been submitted to them that on the same railway higher rates were charged for one class of goods than for another, though the cost of performing the service was no greater in the one case than in the other. Numerous complaints were also made that foreign produce was carried at more favourable rates than home produce under similar circumstances, and that produce for export was sometimes carried to the port of shipment at lower rates than home produce carried to the same port, but not for shipment. Thus foreign hops were conveyed from Boulogne, *vid* Folkestone, to London at 17*s.* 6*d.* per ton, while the charge for hops from Ashford, on the same line of railway, to London, was 35*s.* per ton. The beef of American cattle slaughtered at the wharf in Glasgow was carried to London for 45*s.* per ton, while the rate for the meat of home cattle was 77*s.* per ton.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN said, if the hon. Member would read on he would see this was merely the statement by the Committee—not the findings.

MR. GREGORY said, this was the finding of the Committee on the evidence produced before them.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, he was sure the hon. Member did not wish to misrepresent. If he went on a little further he would find the "findings" of the Committee on these statements of fact.

MR. GREGORY said, these were statements of facts upon which the Committee founded their Report. He was willing to read the whole of the Report of the Committee, and quite willing to abide by it. This was a statement of facts which had not been traversed. He was about to refer to a Resolution which he had had the honour of moving in the Committee, and which had been referred to by his hon. Friend. That Resolution was to a very considerable extent in accordance with the proposition now before the House, and by that proposition he was quite willing to abide in all its terms. The words he had used were that the Committee should have power to modify the rates and fares in the interest of the public, having due regard to the interests and rights of the Railway Company, and to any modification of the Standing Order in that sense he would be quite ready to assent. But a Private Bill Committee would fail to do that justice between parties for which it was appointed unless it did have that due regard to the interests of the Company. As to the Resolution itself, he might be allowed to meet one or two objections that had been raised, and to show what the Resolution really was. It had been stated by the President of the Board of Trade that Railway Companies should have an alternative power of raising their rates. But they had that power. They could come to Parliament at any time for power to raise their rates; and he remembered some years ago that throughout the whole system of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company fares were raised in a Bill that received the sanction of Parliament, on account of their being fixed too low to meet the requirements of the Company. The right hon. Gentleman said the Standing Order should only deal with those Companies who came to Parliament for power to raise their rates; but what would be the effect of that? Companies who had high rates would not appear; it would be those who had a low scale of rates and fares would come to have it raised, and in regard to these Companies there would be no sufficient cause of complaint. Another objection of the right hon. Gentleman was to dealing with this question piecemeal; but the Bill introduced by the right hon. Gentleman himself did no more than that, dealing with Companies coming before Parliament and the Commission for further powers. Let the House read the terms of the Resolution and see what the conditions were, and who were to be the parties to bring the Standing Order into operation:—

"Where a Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or other similar body, sufficiently representing a particular trade or business in any district to which any Railway Bill relates,"—

these were the parties the Committee would have before it ——

MR. PEMBERTON said, if the hon. Member would read the last part of the Resolution, he would find it read:—

"The provisions of this Order relative to rates and fares already authorised, extend to Traders and Freighters, and to a single Trader, in any case where a locus standi would have been allowed to them or him, if this Order had not been made."

MR. GREGORY said, he was quite aware of that, and was coming to that point in order; but he would refer to it at once. What was it? A trader would have a *locus standi* where he would have had a *locus standi* though the Standing Order were not passed——

MR. PEMBERTON said, he might be allowed to explain. The *locus standi* he would have had independent of the Order was extended by that Order to cases where he would not have had a *locus standi* before; therefore, as a consequence of passing this Resolution, everybody, anybody, a trader, an individual, would be entitled to go on his Petition into every question of past legislation.

MR. GREGORY said, it extended it to rates and fares already authorized, while his hon. Friend's contention was the *locus standi* should extend only to rates and fares to be authorized. Now, the main provision was this—that any recognized Chamber of Commerce, or Agriculture, or Association representing the traders in any district to which the Bill related, was required to show that the trade of the district would be injuriously affected by proposals made, or was

injuriously affected by rates in existence, and upon that showing it would rest with the Referees to give a *locus standi* or not. It would be allowed, he presumed, that the Court of Referees was sufficiently constituted to consider any such claim, and under his hon. Friend there could not be a better tribunal. If necessary, have another; but he did not think it would be necessary to insure the *bona fides* of those claiming to be heard as representing the opinion that trade interests were or would be injuriously affected by rates imposed or proposed. This was a condition of the Standing Order. An alternative proposal was that a *locus standi* should be declared on a Report from the Board of Trade; but the Board of Trade declined to deal with it, so there remained only the method proposed, by which parties would have to make out a *bonâ fide* case, and at the risk of failure and heavy expenses they would make their claim for investigation. He could not help thinking it was a fair and reasonable proposition, and he hoped the House would assent to it.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): I have heard, not without regret, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), which contrasted with some remarks of a very moderate character from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). The latter spoke in a very dispassionate manner, whereas the right hon. Baronet made a most passionate, and, as I submit, an unjustly severe attack upon the railway interest of this country. Now, I am not concerned to defend that interest against the attack—it seems to me it has sufficient and most able defenders in this House; and I must say I was very much struck with the complete answer given by the hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin), and by anticipation to the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory), in the attack made by the latter on the rates for the conveyance of hops. The hon. Member for East Sussex is far too honourable and just-minded a man to put forward an inaccurate statement knowingly on any subject; but I observe, on looking into the Report of the Rates Committee, that in his citations he did not give what was really the opinion of the Committee on these exceptional rates. But into that it is not my province to enter. I propose shortly to deal with the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson). In passing, and in answer to what has been said by the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire, I may say the Motion seems to me to leave out of consideration the real position of the railway interests of this country. They are the largest in the country, and it is hardly possible to conceive, now or at a future time, greater interests than are represented by the railway interest, a Corporation with capital equalling or exceeding the amount of the National Debt, having several thousand servants, giving employment to 1,000,000 men, with an income equalling the Revenue of the Russian Empire; an interest such as this ought not to be lightly attacked, or subjected to observations not well founded. This Standing Order proposed by the hon. Member for Banbury seems to me to be open to several objections. Now, he proposes, in the first place, to give a *locus standi* to what he terms a Chamber of Commerce, and I should like to know what a Chamber of Commerce is? It is not a term recognized by law; it is not an Association of which we have any cognizance whatever; there is nothing to prevent a few gentlemen acting together, and calling themselves an Association or Chamber of Commerce. A gentleman informed me the other day that in one small market town he mentioned there are two Chambers of Commerce and two Chambers of Agriculture. Now, is such a body to have exceptional privileges in dealing with matters in which the greatest interest in the country is concerned? Now, the Court of Referees, to which reference is made, is constituted in a manner which, I have no hesitation in saying, has the confidence of the House; its proceedings are regulated by practice and precedents of 20 years' standing, and before that Court every *bonâ fide* trader can show his right or interest to be heard, and there is no necessity for enlarging the *locus standi* to include parties representing such irregular and ill-ascertained positions as what the hon. Member for Banbury calls Chambers of Commerce or Agriculture. This alone would be an objection, in my mind, to the pro-

posed Standing Order as it stands. Now, I have so high an opinion of the Court of Referees that I should not at all be indisposed to offer to accept that portion of the alteration if he had joined with it the recommendation made last year, but which, to my surprise, I see he has altogether omitted now, a recommendation that had the sanction of one of the ablest men that ever advised the Chair, and whose services are now unfortunately lost, Sir Francis Reilly. He considered this subject well with the object of reconciling the interest of the Railway Companies with the view of the hon. Member for Banbury; and he considered that the Referees might grant a *locus standi*, if they thought fit, on the production of a certificate that the body had *bonâ fide* qualifications to speak on behalf of those whose interests they claimed to represent. But that addition is now omitted from this proposition; and, therefore, any two or three gentlemen can unite to call themselves a Chamber of Commerce, and claim a *locus standi* under this Standing Order.

MR. B. SAMUELSON: It may save a little time if I correct my hon. Friend. These words were accepted by me; but they were distinctly refused by Sir Francis Reilly, and for that reason I omitted them. I am quite willing to accept them now.

MR. PEMBERTON: I do not know whether I have any right to interfere; but the words originally proposed by the hon. Member for Banbury were not refused by Sir Francis Reilly, but by the Board of Trade, who said the Department was incompetent to go into the question at all. I make this explanation, because during the illness of Sir Francis Reilly I was ordered by the late Speaker (Sir Henry Brand) to take up that portion of Sir Francis Reilly's work for him, and, to a certain extent, was answerable for the framing of the words of my hon. Friend. But the fact is, it was not Sir Francis Reilly who struck out the words; they were struck out in consequence of the Board of Trade declining to interfere.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY) resumed: That must be the correct statement, for I hold in my hand a memorandum drawn up by the gentleman, whose services we have lost. Chambers of Commerce have always been refused a *locus standi*, for the reason that they do not directly or indirectly represent the distinct interest of traders, traders of all classes, one class of traders, or individual traders, any of whom can claim a *locus standi*. Without going further into the matter, I think the reasons are conclusive, and I was never more satisfied with the view drawn up by a competent man than with the view of Sir Francis Reilly on the subject. I am bound to say that it was his suggestion that these bodies should, of necessity, be furnished with a certificate that they represented some interest, some trade, and did not merely assume the name or title of a Chamber of Commerce. That seems to me a real and sufficient objection in itself to the proposed alteration; but what I would wish to put to my hon. Friend is this—it seems to me in a matter like this—and it will recommend itself to a man of his fair mind and judgment—in a matter like this, an interest so large and various, connected with matters so large and complicated in character, it is not right to deal with a question of such magnitude by an alteration in the Standing Orders. If there was no prospect or probability of its being dealt with as it should be dealt with, in a comprehensive spirit by direct legislation, then we might be driven into such a change as that recommended by the hon. Member for Banbury; but we know—I will not say, under the circumstances now existing, that we have a moderate prospect of a Bill of the kind being brought forward and carried to a successful issue; but we know that it is a matter that has been adopted by a Cabinet Minister, and, be it this Government or another Government in power, it will be absolutely impossible to pass this great question by without legislation. That is a matter for my hon. Friend to consider, and that is the only fair and prudent way of dealing with a question so large. On the other hand, my hon. Friend must see that this Standing Order would offer facilities for purposes I am sure he would not allow. Would it be right or fair, for instance, taking such a case as might happen under a Chamber of Commerce, that a man taking a ticket from, say, Willesden to London, the Company charged him 7*d.* instead of 4*d.*—would it be right or fair that he should have the power of ransacking those 128 Acts of Parliament of the London and North

Western Railway Company, under which their proceedings are regulated, going into other affairs, and putting them to enormous expense and inconvenience for a matter so contemptible as that? You may say such a case is not likely to occur; but I do not know that. I think it would be unwise for the House of Commons to make such a power possible. I do not know what view my hon. Friend will take, but I know that he is a man wishing to deal in an equitable and fair spirit; and I trust, having regard to what has fallen from the President of the Board of Trade, having regard to his own experience, and the knowledge which attention to these matters must have gained for him, that these are vast interests to interfere with. I trust he will see that the best and proper course, not prejudicing the interests he represents, would be to withdraw his Motion for this Session, and let the matter be dealt with in the only manner it can be properly dealt with, by a comprehensive Bill. I do not know that it is necessary to continue to prolong this debate, and I am sorry it was introduced to-day; but I make all allowances for the interest my hon. Friend takes in this subject. I observe on the Orders of the Day three Bills of the greatest practical interest affecting the Sister Country, Ireland, and in which Irish Members are greatly interested. I am very sorry so much time has been taken away from the discussion of measures of such a practical character as afforestation in Ireland. If the suggestion I have thrown out is accepted, I can only say it is my conviction that the matter will not be allowed to sleep, but will be dealt with at the earliest opportunity open to a Minister to deal with it.

MR. B. SAMUELSON said, he did not know that it was necessary to make any lengthy observations in reply to speeches made during the discussion, seeing that hon. Members who had taken part in the debate on behalf of the railway interest had, none of them, denied that a revision of rates, if not necessary, was desirable. The hon. Baronet the Member for Hythe (Sir Edward Watkin) was the only objection; but he denied that he was a Representative of the Railway interest, and claimed only to represent the borough of Hythe. The Chairman of Committees in his speech made one or two statements that necessitated a few words in reply. First, he would explain that before he put down the terms of his Motion he took every pains to consult authorities on matters of procedure; and if the words which the Chairman of Committees would like to see inserted were omitted, that was done at the instigation of the hon. Member (Mr. Pemberton), representing at the time Sir Francis Reilly. He had not the least objection to having these words restored; but he believed the objection was not simply that the Board of Trade declined to interfere, but to the calling in of any authority outside the House on the question as to who should or should not have a *locus standi*. But the Chairman of Committees forgot that the words substituted fully met the case. The words in the Motion were—

> "A Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or other similar body, sufficiently representing a particular trade or business, in any district to which any Railway Bill relates."

Thus, unless, in the opinion of the Referees, a Chamber of Commerce sufficiently represented the trade or business, *locus standi* would not be allowed. With regard to other similar objections, he really thought they should have been stated at the time when the terms of the Motion were given. He made every endeavour to settle the text in a satisfactory manner; and if the Standing Order was to be passed, he did hope that not too much would be made of technical points of detail, but that the Motion would be considered on its merits. He was told he had better wait and see what legislation could do. But legislation could do nothing upon this point; it was a matter for Order of the House—not for legislation. An attempt was made by the President of the Board of Trade to meet this by legislation. And how? He proposed that the Railway Companies should take the initiative and introduce a Bill; but it was obviously futile. What security was there that any Railway Company would introduce a Bill for revision of rates? Under what circumstances would they do it? If a Railway Company found that thereby they could increase their receipts they would do it; but never, by any chance, if those receipts would be diminished. In all cases where the trader really required it, there was no prospect of its ever being done; and, therefore, he could

not listen to the appeal to abandon this Standing Order. He must go to a Division. There was scarcely a person in the House who was not interested in railways. No one denied for a moment that £700,000,000 or £800,000,000 sterling had been spent upon railways; but who was it who provided the revenue? Why, the traders, passengers, and agriculturists paid £70,000,000 to £80,000,000 sterling per annum, which enabled the Railway Companies to pay their dividends; and he ventured to say that unless some steps were taken such as were being taken in other countries—they had been taken in France, and Germany, and other countries—unless some steps were taken to revise obsolete railway rates, great injury would be done to the trade of the country; and if to the trade of the country, then, also, to the interests of the railways themselves. If he thought anything contained in this Standing Order could possibly injure the interests of Railway Companies, he should be the last man in the world to propose it. If he might introduce personal matter, he might inform the House that he had a larger pecuniary interest in railways than he had in trade. He was convinced that what he was asking the House to do would be of as great an advantage to railway shareholders and bondholders as to traders themselves. He thought the matter had now been sufficiently debated. Everything that could be said on the subject from the point of view of the Railway Companies had been said, and the case of the agriculturists had been very well stated by hon. Gentlemen opposite. He hoped they would now be permitted to go to a Division.

MR. PEMBERTON asked to be permitted to make a personal explanation. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. B. Samuelson) had said truly that he consulted the late Speaker's counsel with reference to the form of this Standing Order. Sir Francis Reilly, during the time he was able to give his attention to the subject, was responsible simply for the form of the Standing Order. When Sir Francis Reilly was unable to attend any longer, he (Mr. Pemberton) undertook to attend to the matter; but he distinctly informed the Speaker and his hon. Friend (Mr. B. Samuelson), and the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), that he should reserve to himself full liberty to oppose the principle of the Standing Order when it came before the House. He thought the hon. Gentleman (Mr. B. Samuelson) would do him (Mr. Pemberton) the justice to say that if the Standing Order were carried in the way in which it was now framed, it would certainly promote his object infinitely more than it would have done in the form in which it was originally presented.

SIR EDMUND LECHMERE said, that as he represented one of those irregular bodies alluded to—the Chambers of Commerce—and as President of the Railway and Canal Rates Traders Association of the Birmingham district, he might be allowed to say one or two words upon this question before the Division was taken. He was surprised at the remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means (Sir Arthur Otway), because he felt certain that one so well-informed as the hon. Gentleman would not have taken such a mistaken view of the question. For more than 20 years he (Sir Edmund Lechmere) had been connected with a Chamber of Commerce. Of the good work done by Chambers of Commerce generally there could be no doubt. The House was well aware, too, of the important functions performed by the Chambers of Agriculture. Who could be more interested in the railway interest than the Chambers of Commerce? Who depended so much upon the railways for the development of trade in their great towns as the Chambers of Agriculture? Who had to look so much to the accommodation afforded by railways as agriculturists? He believed, therefore, that it was an entire mistake to suppose that this Motion was in any way antagonistic to the railway interest. He asked why Chambers of Commerce and Chambers of Agriculture should not be allowed to occupy the same position before Select Committees of the House as was enjoyed by landed proprietors? Why should their interests not be considered in the same manner? Now, as to the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain). He had attended one or two meetings, and he had heard of other meetings which had taken place on the subject; and he found that the feeling of the traders was in favour of the general scope of the Bill; all they

desired was that there should be a modification of some of the clauses. He believed the intention of the traders was to support a good Bill to carry out a real measure of railway reform. He had great pleasure in supporting the proposed Standing Order of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson).

MR. R. H. PAGET desired to say a few words as to what fell from the hon. Baronet the Member for Rochester (Sir Arthur Otway), who had taken upon himself to dispute the proposition that a Chamber of Agriculture was fit to have a *locus standi*.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY) said, the hon. Gentleman had misinterpreted his statement altogether. He did not object to any properly constituted Chamber of Commerce or Chamber of Agriculture having a *locus standi;* but what he said was that any two or three men, calling themselves a Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, could claim, under the proposed Standing Order, to have a *locus standi* which they would not otherwise have. It was to such bodies that his observations applied.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, he did not desire to misrepresent the hon. Gentleman; but he thought the House would admit that the tone of the hon. Gentleman's remarks was such as to cast considerable suspicion upon the Standing Order, and to suggest that, as a general rule, these bodies might be got together hastily for a special purpose; and, therefore, they ought not to be entrusted with the position of *locus standi*. He (Mr. R. H. Paget) rose for the purpose of pointing out to the hon. Gentleman and to the House that the first and chief recommendation of the Railway Rates Committee, which sat for two years, and to which frequent reference had been made in the debate, was that Chambers of Commerce and of Agriculture, as well as other similar Associations, should have a *locus standi* upon a certificate of the Board of Trade that they were *bonâ fide* Associations. But that was not all. The hon. Gentleman (Sir Arthur Otway) appeared to have forgotten that the Bill of the President of the Board of Trade made a distinct provision for this very matter; for what was done by Clause 52? *Locus standi* was given to Incorporated Chambers of Commerce and of Agriculture. The Railway Rates Committee, after careful investigation, and the President of the Board of Trade, also after careful investigation, considered that *locus standi* should be given to such bodies; and all that this Standing Order proposed to do was to give distinct effect to the recommendation of the Railway Rates Committee in that respect. It was not a mere rash statement that any half-a-dozen men, making themselves intimate with the question in dispute, could acquire a *locus standi;* the Chamber of Commerce or of Agriculture must be a properly constituted one. The proposed Standing Order was one which he thought the House, on consideration, would think it right to accept, and for this reason—if they did not get this Standing Order, what were they to get? It was as clear as daylight that the Railway Bill was dead; its funeral oration had not yet been pronounced; but many days could not elapse before that interesting ceremony would have to be performed. The question was "now" or "never;" it was "this" or "nothing;" and this proposition was made by the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson), who had devoted a great deal of time and attention to the subject. Whenever a moderate proposition like this was made in the House, its proposers were always confronted by hon. Gentlemen representing railway interests. The advocates of the railway interest in the House had all the mark of the beast. The mark of the beast was their declaration that—"We are engaged in defending the rights of a great system which has invested funds no less in magnitude than that of the National Debt." The £750,000,000 or £800,000,000 were always rolled off by hon. Members who got up to support the railway interest. The hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means (Sir Arthur Otway), who was the very embodiment of judicial calm, and who began his remarks by disclaiming that he was a railway man, could not restrain himself from rolling off the £800,000,000 invested in the railways, and from talking of the 400,000 or 500,000 men employed on the railway systems of the country. If there were £800,000,000 sterling invested in railway enterprizes, how many more millions sterling were invested in the trade and agriculture of the country? If there were 400,000 or 500,000 men

employed by the Railway Companies, how many millions of the population were there in the Kingdom who were at the mercy of the Railway Companies? If this Standing Order were thrown out, the Railway Companies might pose as benevolent despots. They had been made despots by Act of Parliament. They were in full and complete possession; and they had a gigantic monopoly. He was not there to complain that, on the whole, Railway Companies had not done their work admirably; but it was too much to ask men of sense to believe that Railway Companies were always inspired by the purest patriotism. They cared about nothing but the pockets of their shareholders; and their patriotism received its reward by Parliament refusing to deal in any way with what were called their vested interests. One thing alone should actuate Parliament; and that was equal justice to all. It was clear that, under the present system, any incorporated Railway Company could come to Parliament, and, by its Bill, ask for any increase of its rates it liked. It was perfectly true that under the Standing Order which was recently introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) any proposed increase was to be brought to the notice of the Committee before whom the Company appeared. That was the result of the action of the Railway Rates Committee. But although that was true, there was no *locus standi* for a trader who chose to complain of the exceptionally high rates on existing railways. A Railway Company could come to Parliament and say, "Give us a higher rate;" but a trader could not come and say, "Reduce your present exorbitant rates." The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) had contended that there was no need to revise the old rates; but the President of the Board of Trade distinctly admitted, in so many words, that in many cases the rates were oppressive and anomalous; and he gave as a reason for it that they had been settled long ago, and were not applicable to the present time. It was contended by some hon. Members that this was piecemeal legislation. It was something new to find at this time of day hon. Members on the Ministerial side of the House condemning this Motion, not on its merits, but because of its piecemeal character. There were some Gentlemen sitting on the Opposition Benches who would be inclined to answer that argument by suggesting that the Government were dealing with Parliamentary Reform in a piecemeal fashion. Inasmuch as he sat upon the Railway Rates Committee, perhaps he would be permitted to say a word upon the Report that Committee had published. If it had done nothing more, it had thrown a flood of light upon what was previously a most complete mystery. He need only give one instance. Previous to the date at which the Committee was appointed, the system of classification tables of rates was entirely unknown to ordinary people. Those tables could not be got at; and it was only by the merest chance that the Committee had an opportunity of viewing one. The result of the deliberations of the Committee had been that any Railway Company coming for further powers was bound by the terms of its Act to keep a classification table for sale at its head office; and a Company could not get the further powers it required unless it complied with that regulation. The Railway Rates Committee had in their Report made a great many valuable suggestions; but if they had had the same amount of information that was given to the railway people, he did not hesitate to say that, in some respects, the Report would have been seriously modified. He did not complain of those people who took an interest in railway matters fighting the battle of their shareholders, and doing it to the best of their ability. The difficulty under which hon. Members of the House laboured was that the ability of the champions of the railway interest was too much for them; they knew it well; they were men of great ability, and they had that complete and intricate knowledge of all the details of their systems, which enabled them to put their case before the House in a way which it was by no means easy for those who were not experts to follow. They had to deal with things as they found them; and it was in vain to say there were no complaints out-of-doors. This proposed alteration of the Standing Orders was by no means a step which would lead to the serious results with which it was attempted to frighten the

House. The proposal of the hon. Member for Banbury (Mr. B. Samuelson) was in accordance with the Report of the Railway Rates Committee, which no man could say went one bit too far. In his view, it fell short of what it might have suggested. The Bill of the President of the Board of Trade must now be abandoned; therefore, the House had no option but to pass some such Standing Order as that proposed. The new Standing Order might throw some additional work upon the Referees; but he believed they were quite willing to undertake it. It was because he believed it would be to the interest of all the traders of the country, and would not militate against the interests of the railways, that he was prepared to give his hearty support to the proposal of his hon. Friend (Mr. B. Samuelson).

COLONEL MAKINS said, that, although his hon. Friend (Mr. R. H. Paget) had branded the Representatives of the railway interest with the mark of the beast, he (Colonel Makins) would not be deterred from saying a few words with reference to the proposed Standing Order. He had for the last 10 years represented an agricultural constituency (South Essex), and for 20 years he had sat on the Board of the railway which served his constituency. During the whole of the latter term he had never heard any complaints of the rates charged for the carriage of agricultural produce. There had been many complaints; but they had been in respect of the insufficiency of the railway accommodation. The farmers desired increased facilities for bringing their produce to the London and other markets; but the Railway Company experienced great difficulty in raising the capital necessary to provide the additional facilities required, and this difficulty arose from the vexatious restrictions which were constantly being placed on the action of Railway Companies by Parliament. This proposal would be one more straw with which to break the camel's back, and he should most certainly give it his opposition.

MR. LAING said, he should be happy to adopt the suggestion made to him to withdraw his Amendment, and allow the Division to be taken "Aye" or "No" upon the original Motion.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 94; Noes 84: Majority 10.—(Div. List, No. 155.)

Resolved, That the said Resolution be a Standing Order of the House.

MR. TOMLINSON said, that as the Standing Order just adopted to a great extent covered the ground of the one which stood in his name he did not propose to move it.

PARLIAMENT—SANITARY CONDITION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I desire to call the attention of Mr. Speaker, as the supreme authority of the House, to a question which very seriously affects not only the comfort, but the health of the Members of the House. I refer to the atmospheric conditions under which, recently, our labours in the House have been conducted. I am only using a figure of speech in saying that I desire to call Mr. Speaker's attention to this matter, for Mr. Speaker's own attention must have already been called to the matter. It is only necessary for me to place before Mr. Speaker, as the responsible Chief of the House, the great importance of our labours being conducted under conditions free from the disagreeable incident to which I have referred; and I hope the House will be prepared to support Mr. Speaker in any action he may think it necessary to take with a view of redressing this serious inconvenience.

MR. SPEAKER: In consequence of complaints and representations made to me last night, and my own observation of the unsatisfactory condition of the atmosphere of this House, I have made such inquiries as the shortness of time permitted me as to the cause of it. It was noticed not only inside this Chamber, but outside the House, that there was prevailing an odour of a very dangerous and deadly character. The odour came from the side of the Abbey, in which direction the wind was setting. On former occasions complaints have been made of odours being carried across the Thames from Lambeth; but last night the wind was in the south-west, and the odour came distinctly from that quarter. It was observed by the policemen on their beat, who heard passengers

complaining of it. I have also ascertained from the Inspector of Police that there was a perceptible odour emanating from the sewer which runs immediately outside the gates of this House, at the corner of Parliament Street. I am told that the District Board of Works has, on previous occasions, poured some disinfecting fluid down the sewer; but I am bound to say that the matter is of so serious and even of so vital a nature, that the House, probably, will not be satisfied without some further inquiry being made into the cause of last night's disturbance. It is not for me, but for the House, to suggest what course should be taken; but I hope I may not be deviating from what is proper if I say that it might be convenient, if the First Commissioner of Works approves of that course, that a small Committee of this House should inquire both into the cause of the unpleasant atmospheric condition of the House last night and on previous occasions. The officials of the House, I am bound to say, who have to deal with the ventilation of the House, try to the utmost of their power to discharge their duties in the House, and to administer the system which is in vogue in the House; but it does not follow that the system is beyond reproach, and I would suggest that some inquiries should be made as to whether the system cannot be modified and improved for the purpose of preventing what I cannot help feeling may be a source of great inconvenience, if not of danger, to hon. Gentlemen. With the consent of the House I will, therefore, communicate with the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works, and inform the House further as to what steps may be taken in the matter.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to call attention to the fact that the First Commissioner of Works is not in his place. I consider it somewhat hard that the considerable duties of the Speaker should be increased by his being called upon to investigate matters of this kind. The absence of the First Commissioner may, I think, be taken to amount to a presumed neglect of duty.

MR. COURTNEY: I think the noble Lord's complaint of the absence of my right hon. Friend is rather premature. The noble Lord possibly does not know that the First Commissioner of Works is about the precincts of the House engaged in an investigation of this very matter. My right hon. Friend had received no intimation that this subject would be brought before the House, and he could not be expected to anticipate that it was about to be raised. No doubt, when the attention of my right hon. Friend has been directed to the matter, he will give it his serious attention.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

TREES PLANTING (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Harrington, Mr. Marum, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Sheil.*)

[BILL 32.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HARRINGTON, in moving that the Bill be read a second time, said, it was extremely simple in its character. The Bill only contained two clauses. The first stated that tenants under this Act, holding under the statutory terms of the Land Act, should be entitled to claim and exercise the rights and privileges conferred by the 1st section of an Act passed by the Irish Parliament in the Reign of George III. for encouraging the planting of timber trees in Ireland. At present tenants holding under the Land Act could not plant their holdings with trees, or if they did plant they would have no proprietorship in them. In the Reign of George III. an Act was passed which enabled tenants on holdings with leases for lives renewable for ever to plant trees on their holdings. The 2nd clause of the Bill guarded against any injustice, or supposed injustice, to the owners of the farms on which the tenants would plant by providing that where the tenants did not register their trees planted, the presumption as to their property must be against them and in favour of the landlord. These were the simple provisions of the Bill, and at that late hour of the evening he did not propose to detain the House further upon the matter, but trusted that the House would read the Bill a second time.

MR. MARUM, in seconding the Motion, said: For many years Irish Members have been anxiously endeavouring to encourage the planting of timber trees in Ireland. This is a simple Bill, having for its object to apply to statutory tenants, or tenants subject to statutory

conditions, principles of legislation already well recognized in relation to such class of tenures, and now in operation under the existing law. The clauses are in the following form:—

"From and after the passing of this Act tenants of lands for statutory terms, and subject to statutory conditions under the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, shall be entitled to claim and exercise the rights and privileges conferred by the first section of the Statute passed in the Parliament of Ireland in the Fifth year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, intituled 'An Act for encouraging the planting of Timber Trees,' in the same manner as if they had been such tenants for lives renewable for ever, as are in the said section of the said last-mentioned Act mentioned or referred to in reference to all such timber trees or woods as shall be planted by such tenants from and after the passing of this Act. For the purpose of this Act all such timber, timber trees, and woods, shall, nevertheless, until the contrary is proved, be deemed to have been so planted by the inheritors of the said lands, unless such tenants shall fulfil the conditions specified, and carry out the several proceedings set forth in the third section of the said last-mentioned Act. And for the purposes aforesaid the provisions of the said section shall apply to and be in force in relation of such timber trees and woods as if the same had been planted pursuant to the enabling provisions of the said Act."

As to the necessity for a measure of this character, and the present deficiency of timber in Ireland, I need only give the House an abstract of the Statutes passed upon the subject-matter, and especially a recital of the first Statute which I find enacted. The 10 *Will.* III. c. 12, recites that—

"For as much as by the late rebellion in this Kingdom and the several ironworks formerly here, the timber is utterly destroyed, so that at present there is not sufficient for the repairing of the houses destroyed, much less a prospect of building and improving in after times, unless some means be used for the planting and increase of timber trees."

Now, this Act was passed in the year 1698, and such was the condition of the Island 200 years ago, owing to several causes—first, that for the purpose of military strategy the forests were cut down; secondly, that there was an enormous export trade—magnificent oak trees selling for about 1*s.* a-piece; thirdly, the large iron smelting operations consumed an immense quantity of timber, of which smelting operations there remains scarcely a trace or a tradition at the present day, yet we had it recorded in a contemporaneous Act of Parliament; and, lastly, from the utter neglect and absence of planting trees in Ireland. Here, then, was an Island that was styled in the Celtic tongue, "Inis-na-Fiod buide"—namely, the "Isle of Woods"—actually denuded of timber 200 years ago! What was the remedy applied? A very elaborate, extensive, and severe one. By the provisions of this Act of William III., all resident persons in Ireland, or persons having freehold inheritance under stock of £10 value yearly, and all tenants of unexpired terms of 11 years of the annual value of £10, were bound to plant every year for 31 years, 10 saplings of oak, ash, or other timber trees of four years' growth. Every owner of iron smelting works or iron works was bound to plant 500 saplings of like kind and age annually for 31 years; and all occupiers of land of certain extent were bound to enclose and plant one acre every seven years with like saplings. In addition to these compulsory provisions, all bodies, politic or corporate mortgagees, or in anywise in possession of lands, were rendered liable to plant a certain proportion of 260,600 trees annually for 31 years. The proportion was set out in the Act for each of the 32 counties, from the largest number of 31,900 for Dublin County, down to 2,600 for Longford. The Grand Jury of each county was to apportion the county quota amongst the baronies, and subdivide it amongst the parishes of the same. Certificates were to be furnished to the High Constables, and by them delivered to the Vestries and churchwardens, and then to be applotted upon the individual occupiers, and to be thereupon chargeable upon the lands. Every Easter Quarter Sessions the lists were to be read, and upon second call of the occupiers, and failure of appearance, and proof on oath of compliance with the planting registration last year, the defaulters were deemed not to have planted, and were forthwith subjected to fine and imprisonment in default of distress on the lands. The stringency of the Statute and the penalties were severe. After 23 years a revolt of public opinion took place, and in A.D. 1731, the 8 *Geo.* I. c. 8, repealed these provisions, and proceeded upon the policy of encouraging the planting of trees by giving one-third of them to "limited" owners—tenants for life or for years. This Statute was enlarged in A.D. 1735, by the 9 *Geo.* II. c. 7, giving one-half

instead of one-third, and authorizing a writ of inquiry to be sped by the representatives of the tenant for life from Chancery, and the value of the timber to the extent of the one moiety to be a charge on the lands. This is the law still, and without any registration. Next came the Act of 5 *Geo.* III. c. 17, passed in A.D. 1766, and extended to fee farms by the 7 *Geo.* III. c. 20, which gave all the timber, instead of a partial interest, to lessees for lives, renewable for ever, without any registration; and, secondly, the Act gave "limited owners" and lessees for terms unexpired of at least 12 years the entire interest in trees planted by them upon registration. The recital in the Act exhibited the temper of the times—

"Whereas it is equal to inheritors whether tenants do not plant or have a property in what they plant."

It was enacted that such limited owners and lessees should be entitled to "estovers," such as "housebote," "ploughbote," and "carbote," during their terms, and on expiration thereof, or the maturity of the trees, power to cut down and carry them away was given. The certificate of registration should be lodged with the Clerk of the Peace within six months after planting, with particulars set forth. Next came the 23 & 24 *Geo.* III. c. 39, passed in A.D. 1783, applying to the same parties, save that the lessees should have at least 14 years unexpired of their terms, instead of 12 years, and this latter Act was passed without directly repealing the former, and it is almost impossible to reconcile the provisions of both Acts, thus leaving registration of trees in a very uncertain and confused state; and uncertain proceedings in litigation have arisen, and there have been conflicting decisions as to registration in the Courts of Dublin, and subsequently in the House of Lords, as to the requirements of the Code and their fulfilment, which renders the process of registration a most uncertain title for a tenant. This is why I propose that it be not compulsory. In addition to which, a tenant of a small holding cannot afford to come, perhaps, 30 or 40 miles to a county town to make the affidavit, and then to publish the names of the owners and other particulars in *The Dublin Gazette;* and, further, to serve certain notices, the failure of compliance with any of which particulars would prove fatal to his claim to the trees. In 1860 the Landlord and Tenant Act confirmed the lessee or grantee of a "perpetual interest" in the property of the trees by enabling him to cut them, &c., and this principle we only seek to carry out in this Trees Bill. Next comes the Land Law Act of 1881, which virtually created all tenancies from year to year into statutory terms renewable for ever in payment of judicial rents—in fact, giving a perpetual interest, as contemplated by the above Act of 1860, and we seek to apply that principle. A monstrous anomaly now exists—namely, that no tenant of lands for statutory terms, or subject to statutory conditions, can own any timber trees he plants. On the contrary, the moment he plants a tree it becomes the property of the landlord, for the present registry law does not enable him to register it; and, on the other hand, the landlord cannot plant trees on the tenant's holding, as he would be a trespasser; therefore, as the law now stands, no one is in a position to plant trees in Ireland when there is a tenancy. Surely this is a grievous anomaly in any civilized country when timber is a matter of vital necessity. Seeing the crying hardship of this case, and great injury to the country ensuing, I brought forward during the passing of the Land Law Act of 1881 the self-same provisions that I am now proposing; but the Prime Minister and Mr. Law (afterwards Lord Chancellor) feared that if we overweighted the Bill it would be fatal, and I was obliged, ultimately, to withdraw the Amendment. I brought forward the same Bill in 1882 and in 1883, and in that year three Conservative M.P.'s of Ulster—Mr. Corry, Viscount Crichton, Sir Hervey Bruce, and the hon. Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer), brought in a Bill accepting my propositions, upon the basis, however, of registration. Finally, for the fourth time, I propose this Bill to apply the principles already affirmed in legislation to the new tenure under the Land Act of 1881, and I do not think it ought to receive opposition from any fair landlord. As to the objections of those who wish that registration shall be compulsory in all cases, and necessary in order to entitle tenants to timber trees, I desire to point out, first, that no registry was required under the 9 *Geo.* II. c. 7, as to trees planted; nor was registry

required under the 5 *Geo.* III. c. 17, in reference to lessees for lives renewable for ever; nor was registry required by the Landlord and Tenant Act, 1860, as to perpetual interests—of which the new statutory tenures virtually constitute one. Secondly, it must be held in mind that these Registry Acts ended in failure, as proved by the Returns furnished to Parliament—firstly, in 1859; and, secondly, upon the face of the Return moved for by myself last year. The miserable results exhibited by this Return may be judged by the statement of the great German Forest Conservator (Howitz), who says that the waste lands of Ireland alone would require from 300,000,000 to 400,000,000 of trees to be planted each year for 30 years; and yet we find only some 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 planted in 25 years! In the next place, the Law of Registry has been found most uncertain, and to afford little security to the tenant, owing to the complication and confusion of the provisions. But, thirdly, I have inserted a clause to meet the objectors—namely, that unless the tenant registers the timber, and if he chooses not to do so, the *onus probandi* of proving that he, and not the landlord, planted the trees will be cast upon himself. In the fourth place, the details may be well settled in Committee. All I now ask in the second reading is the affirmation of the principle of the Bill, which is recognized in legislation. I, therefore, submit this Bill to the House, now nearly four years before it, and I must say that I think it is one of the most important amendments of the Land Law of 1881. The complaint of the destruction of timber trees in Ireland has been going on since A.D. 1698, and all remedies heretofore tried have failed. It is time, after 200 years, to apply some real remedy, and I affirm this Bill will prove so. On behalf of the tenantry of Ireland, I make this demand as the mouthpiece of the Irish Parliamentary Party, in conjunction with my hon. Friend the Member for Meath. I have not touched the re-afforestation scheme of the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons), which we also desire to support. It is a Governmental scheme, likewise of national importance; but our Bill relies on the energies and industry of the tenantry themselves, without external aid. It is manifest that arboriculture has been entirely neglected not only in Ireland, but over the United Kingdom. The Continent—France and Germany—are giving us examples of statesmanship and paternal care in regard to free culture; and now we are only asking, not any aid, but facilities to enable us to develop our industries.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Harrington.*)

MR. VILLIERS STUART said, he had great pleasure in supporting the second reading of the Bill. Its provisions appeared fair to the tenant in enabling him to make the best of his land; and they would also prove advantageous to the country in giving an opportunity for the growth of valuable timber where profitable crops seemed to be exceedingly scarce.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN pointed out that the Bill introduced last Session by the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Corry) was withdrawn after its merits had been considered. The hon. Member for Belfast had very good reason for withdrawing the Bill; because, when it was discussed in Ireland, he found that very grave and serious objections existed with regard to it. He entirely agreed with many hon. Gentlemen who affirmed that the planting of trees in Ireland, as in any other country, was a very important matter. It was important not only as a matter of ornamentation beautifying the country, and not only in connection with the improvement of the timber of the country—it was important as affecting the rainfall and the storage of water. At the same time, it was absurd to suppose that any benefit would be conferred upon the country by planting trees on small holdings of five, six, or eight acres by the persons upon whom the right would be conferred by this Bill. It was absurd, too, to suppose that the Bill, if passed, would be largely availed of in Ireland. The Act of George III. conferred a right upon tenants who, for all practical purposes, were tenants for ever; and, under such circumstances, it would have been manifestly a hardship if they were prevented from planting trees. But when they came to a number of small holders of a few acres it was quite a different thing. Was it likely that they would be inclined to avail

themselves of the Bill? In this connection he might remark that during the whole of the recent agitation in Ireland he had been free from all annoyance, except in one particular, and that was that some of his tenants had burnt two plantations, from which it had been his custom to provide them with fuel gratis. When they required timber for roofing or other purposes it was invariably given them, and yet these two plantations were set fire to—one no less than three times. It was upon these very tenants the House was now asked to confer the right of planting trees for themselves. Agricultural holdings might, under this Bill, be turned into forests, woods, copses, or anything else but farms. He himself knew something about these tenants; and his own experience was that when they wanted to plant trees they invariably got permission to do so on the condition that the land was suitable and the wood would be of use. Under this Bill there would be no safeguard for any purpose whatever. His impression was that if this Bill were passed it would not be availed of by tenants for any useful purpose. He could quite conceive that a tenant who had fallen into arrear with his rent, and who, therefore, quarrelled with his landlord, might revenge himself by planting a number of trees, and on leaving the holding cut them all off short and leave the landlord to take up the stumps. He could understand a tenant, after 15 years' occupation, coming to the conclusion that he ought to have his rent reduced. He might then plant a number of quick-growing trees, call upon the Sub-Commissioners to re-value his holding, and make out that it was utterly unfit for cultivation, and could only be used to grow timber upon. He would be very glad to encourage any tenant of his in planting oziers; but he would be exceedingly sorry to see any tenant of his without proper provision for registration allowed to use the land for planting trees, and then at the end of his tenancy to cut the heads off the trees and leave the stumps for the landlord. There was no provision in the Bill for enabling the tenants to plant "sallow" beds in low-lying land, which might be extremely valuable to them.

MR. HARRINGTON explained that a clause to that effect might be introduced in Committee.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN, believing that the Bill would be perfectly useless, and that it might be used for purposes of annoyance, begged to move that it be read a second time that day three months.

MR. WARTON seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he had great pleasure in supporting the Bill; not because he thought it would lead to any very extensive planting of trees, but the Bill would accomplish something towards that which all those who knew the country most desired. He believed that in a vast number of instances it would encourage people to plant trees about their dwellings, and thus give to them a more home-like character and add a charm to the rural landscape. He also thought it was very possible, if they were to have peace and tranquillity in Ireland, good farming tenants would begin to plant fruit trees in the neighbourhood of their houses. Such, however, was the rooted distrust felt by tenants that they would not plant trees unless they knew they would have a property in them, and were encouraged by a special Act of Parliament. He could not understand why, if tenants were to have a statutory term of occupation, as they now had for 15 years, they should not be encouraged to make good use of a portion of their land to plant trees, which, at the end of the 15 years, would be good timber. They might plant larch, which would have a beneficial effect on the soil, and might be used for repairs in various ways about their cottages and farms. He believed that the provision in the second part of the Bill was ample provision for the landlord. As this was a practical measure it ought to receive the support of the House.

MR. GIBSON said, that any measure for planting trees in Ireland must attract a great amount of sympathy on both sides of the House, as, fortunately, it was not a political question. His hon. Friend the Member for Dublin City (Dr. Lyons) had, by his publications,

drawn great attention to the subject for the last two years, and he and others had shown the extraordinary falling-off in the number of trees in Ireland, and the benefit that would accrue by encouraging their planting in every legitimate manner. He (Mr. Gibson) was willing and desirous to give a fair trial to every measure which was proposed on the subject. His hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel King-Harman) was entitled to speak on this question with authority, from his great knowledge of Irish affairs and of trees, and from the admirable manner in which he had managed his property for the benefit of his tenants. He hoped when the Bill reached the next stage that the observations of his hon. and gallant Friend would meet with all the attention they were entitled to. He gathered from what had been said that it was recognized that there must be a provision on the face of the Bill for creating a machinery for the registration of the trees planted. There were other things, also, that should be attended to. Looking at the present state of Ireland from a common-sense point of view, though he hoped any Bill for encouraging the planting of trees would be honestly used for that end, the possibility of its being perverted for purposes of annoyance and exasperation ought to be borne in mind. In the Labourers' Cottages Act of last year a provision was inserted that the cottages should not be placed so as to damage the amenities of the landlord's property, and a similar provision should be made in the case of the planting of trees. So, also, there should be a provision against the planting of trees in the middle of, perhaps, the best grass fields at the caprice of a tenant—a thing which might ruin a farm for all time. When the Bill reached another stage, he would venture to submit, possibly by way of Amendment, such points as might be deserving of attention.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, that a Bill on this subject which had his name on the back provided ample safeguards against any wrong being done by the tenant to the landlord. He did not mean to oppose the Bill now before the House, though it did not contain those safeguards. He hoped hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway would put in Amendments which would make the Bill safe to the landlord as well as the tenant.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the opinion of the House appeared to be almost unanimous in favour of this Bill, and he should therefore assent to the second reading, although he, perhaps, might have to make some remarks on Amendments proposed in Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday.*

WASTE LANDS AFFORESTATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 40.]

(*Dr. Lyons, Sir Thomas M'Clure, Mr. Maurice Brooks.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

DR. LYONS, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, remarked that the measure to the principle of which the House had just assented would be a useful addition to the long list of measures that had been at various times passed with a view of promoting the more extensive planting of trees in Ireland. He could not, however, look back on the long legislative records of the past without feeling a considerable degree of apprehension that the Trees Planting Bill would practically share the fate of the many measures which had preceded it. That Bill related to a part only of a great question; and until that question was faced in an adequate manner he did not believe they would ever see, either in this country or in Ireland, an extensive system of tree planting. Notwithstanding the number of permissive Acts which had been already passed, Ireland was being steadily disafforested. There was an extraordinary devastation of woods and forests in Ireland two centuries ago.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

DR. LYONS, continuing, said, that John Evelyn, in his *Silva*, bore testimony to the abundance of the timber, especially of oak timber, in Ireland that was available in his time; and he showed that England herself derived her best supplies of oak from Ireland. Afterwards, it was looked upon as a matter of State policy that the timber in that

country should be cut down, and by the end of the 17th century Ireland was reduced to an almost treeless condition. Only about 328,703 acres out of the 20,328,753 acres of land in Ireland were occupied with woods and plantations at the present day, being 45,779 acres less than in the year 1841. The question of the proper timbering of countries was one of the greatest importance. This fact was now very fully recognized; and it was generally conceded that from one-fourth to one-third of the area of any country should be covered with woods for the protection and the proper cultivation of the rest. This was a question which in the most direct manner affected these countries. This Empire annually consumed 290,000,000 cubic feet of timber, only a comparatively small portion of which could be drawn from home sources, although, no doubt, England still rejoiced in the possession of oaks of which she might justly be proud. The imports of forest products amounted to £20,000,000 sterling per annum, and the importance of this branch of commerce was thus fully attested. What was the prospect that they would be able to draw in the future from the same sources that they had been hitherto depending upon? They had been in the habit of looking to the wood supply of North America as inexhaustible; but recent figures issued by the Agricultural Department of the United States showed that the area of timber there was practically reduced to 381,000,000 acres. The quantity of timber existing in Europe was represented as 661,000,000 acres, and of that more than two-thirds was to be found in the large area of Russia. In no single country—with, perhaps, the exception of Sweden and Norway—was it admitted that there was more timber than was necessary for its own domestic uses. Russia itself was at that moment suffering from a recognized and an increasing want of timber for its own internal supplies and the carrying on of its industries, and, besides extensive re-afforesting operations of her once bleak and barren steppes, was importing from countries in her own neighbourhood, which countries were in their turn also importing timber. He acknowledged his great indebtedness to the Foreign Office for having collected universal statistics for him upon this subject.

Dr. Lyons

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, Further Proceeding stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

MOTION.

—o—

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. TREVELYAN moved that a Select Committee be appointed—

"To inquire into the working of recent legislation with reference to cottages and plots of land for agricultural labourers in Ireland; and to Report whether it has been established that any amendments of such legislation are at present necessary: That the Committee do consist of Twenty-one Members:—Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE, Colonel KING-HARMAN, Mr. VILLIERS STUART, Mr. BRODRICK, Mr. ILLINGWORTH, Mr. ELTON, Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Sir HERVEY BRUCE, Mr. SHAW, Mr. BERESFORD, Mr. THOMAS DICKSON, Mr. MACNAGHTEN, Mr. RATHBONE, Mr. GREER, Mr. HEALY, Mr. PARNELL, Mr. SEXTON, Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, Mr. GRAY, and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Seven to be the quorum."

The right hon. Gentleman explained that he himself would be unable to serve, owing to the pressure of official engagements.

Motion *agreed to*.

MR. SEXTON remarked that only 20 names had been mentioned.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that owing to an error—he was not quite sure at what point it occurred—his name was inserted by mistake in the Committee, and that of the noble Lord (Lord Arthur Hill) was left out. That alteration would render the Committee constituted according to a Resolution of the House. The noble Lord's name would be moved to-morrow.

MR. PARNELL said, he thought it most desirable that the right hon. Gentleman should be a Member of the Committee.

MR. SEXTON gave Notice that to-morrow he would move that the Committee consist of 22 Members, and that the name of Mr. Trevelyan be added. He wished to know when the first meeting of the Committee would be held?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN, with regard to the date of meeting, hoped the Chief Secretary would bear in mind that the Assizes were going on in Ire-

land at the present moment, and that these particular Assizes were important, because the question of trams was under consideration in almost all of them.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he did not think the convenience of Grand Jurors should be considered by that House.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he hoped to be able to-morrow to show that it would be quite impossible for him to attend the Committee with the regularity which would make him a useful Member. With regard to the date of the meeting, he presumed it was for the Members of the Committee to arrange that. So far as the Government Members of the Committee were concerned, they would wish the meeting to be at the earliest period, and that the Business should be gone on with as soon as possible.

House adjourned at five minutes before six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 10th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) * (184).
Second Reading—Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order (168); Women's Suffrage (176), *negatived.*
Second Reading—Committee negatived—Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment * (180).
Committee—Post Office Protection * (172-185).
Committee—Report—Indian Marine * (170).
Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 7) * (162), and *passed.*
Withdrawn — Secretary for Scotland (157); Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister (177).

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.—(No. 168.)

(*The Lord President.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Moved, "That the Order made on the 21st day of March last 'That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any Provisional Order or Provisional Certificate shall be read a second time after Friday the 27th day of June next,' be dispensed with, and that the Bill be read 2ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

LORD INCHIQUIN said, he wished to call attention to the omission, in the Bill, of any clause which would provide that the money to be guaranteed by the counties under it, in the shape of capital for making tramways, would be strictly applied to that purpose. He would, therefore, give Notice that, in Committee, he would move a clause to remedy this defect.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed:* The Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

(No. 157.)

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

THIRD READING. BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE: I have, on behalf of the Government, to state that I do not propose to ask your Lordships to read this Bill the third time. Having regard to the statement with reference to Public Business which the Prime Minister is to make in the other House, it is obvious that this Bill cannot be passed into law this Session; and, therefore, the Government think that it would be more respectful to your Lordships not to put the House to the trouble of proceeding with it further.

Moved, "That the said Order be discharged."—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

THE EARL OF MINTO said, he had heard the announcement of the noble Earl with some concern, and he might also say with some surprise. He did not see why the result of the Division on the Representation of the People Bill should have the effect of excluding the consideration of such a simple measure as this was, one so unlikely to give rise to any difficulty in passing it. He greatly regretted that it should be given up so lightly, because it would be thought in Scotland that some Members of the Government were not over-zealous in pressing it through Parliament. If there were only this particular Bill to be abandoned, there would be nothing to be said in favour of that course being taken; but, looking at what had occurred, he was afraid that the course taken by the Government in the matter savoured somewhat of temper.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: I wish to ask the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) whether there is anything in the state of Public Business in the other House which necessitates the course that he now asks us to adopt, because, not more than a very days ago, it was understood that this measure was to be proceeded with? Has anything peculiar happened with regard to Public Business in the other House since then, which requires a different course of proceeding to be followed from that which we understood the other night was to be pursued? Possibly the noble Earl opposite may inform us as to that.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I do not know that anything of a peculiar character has happened this evening in the other House; but something has happened—if I may repeat the expression of the noble Duke—of a "peculiar" character in this House. Her Majesty's Government have very carefully considered their intentions in the matter; and Mr. Gladstone, in consequence of a Question from the Leader of the Opposition in the other House, as to the views of the Government with regard to the progress of Public Business, and the Bills to be proceeded with, proposed to make a statement on this occasion; and the statement which he has made is, that Her Majesty's Government, after reviewing the circumstances which have occurred, have made up their minds to abandon this particular Bill—in favour of which I quite agree with the noble Earl (the Earl of Minto) that there is much to be said. I also agree with him that if this was the only Bill affected, such a course could not be defended; but they intend to abandon all the Government Bills of any importance, or such as would be likely to be contested, reserving, however, to themselves the right of going forward with Bills which have passed through a Grand Committee of the other House. At least nine measures, all of which they desire to pass, and some of which are of great importance, they do not mean to press, their object being to arrive at the stage of Prorogation as early as possible. With regard to the Question of the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon), the object they have in view is that Parliament may be summoned in the Autumn to consider the very important Bill which was rejected in this House the other night.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he hoped that, when Parliament re-assembled in the Autumn, after the Prorogation, if such was to be the case, Her Majesty's Government would then be prepared to propose a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats, as well as for extending the franchise.

Motion *agreed to.*

Order *discharged* accordingly.

Moved, "That the Bill (by leave of the House) be withdrawn."—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I should like to ask one question. At the Autumn Session will the Government be prepared to re-introduce this Scotch measure into Parliament, or not?

EARL GRANVILLE: I cannot make that pledge with regard to the Autumn Session.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he protested against the withdrawal of that Bill at that stage. It might have been read a third time and passed, and sent down to the Commons, in order to show the people of Scotland that it was not owing to any action of the House of Lords respecting it that necessitated its withdrawal. He wished that the public should understand that, if a measure was withdrawn which the whole people of Scotland were anxious to see passed this Session, it was not owing to any action of the Conservative Party. They had no idea whatever the other night that if the Representation of the People Bill were not allowed to proceed, the other measures of public interest would be abandoned, and that, in particular, this Bill, affecting Scotland, would be withdrawn. He knew that the people of Scotland would not approve of such a course of proceeding.

EARL GRANVILLE: I have to point out to the noble Marquess that this is not a matter in which disappointment is caused to Scotland alone. Certain measures connected with England and Ireland have also to be abandoned; and their abandonment, I have no doubt, will produce considerable disappointment.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: What appears to be the object of the

noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) in the measure which he proposes to take is this. He wishes, if possible, to make his own vexation at what has taken place shared in by other people who have no interest in it, but who have an interest in the unfortunate "innocents" whom he announces it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to massacre. It seems to me his mode of expressing his wrath seems to be something like that of the mediæval Popes who, when they could not get the thing they liked out of the King, interdicted all the religious services of the inhabitants of his Kingdom, thereby hoping to communicate their own feelings of disappointment to as large a circle as possible.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn* accordingly.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BILL.—(No. 176.)

(*The Lord Denman.*)

SECOND READING NEGATIVED.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD DENMAN, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was intended by it to give the Parliamentary franchise to women entitled to vote for School Boards and in municipal elections, and who had the same rights of residence and rating as men possessed.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): I rise to Order. I do not know whether the noble Lord has read his own Bill; but I cannot think he has, for the Bill, as printed, only says—

"Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, &c., this Act shall come into operation in all parts of the United Kingdom and of Ireland as soon as the usual days for registration shall have arrived."

The Bill, your Lordships will see, does not enact anything about women at all. There is not a single mention of women in it.

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, the Bill is intended to provide that women should have a vote. That is a very desirable thing; it is mentioned in the Preamble; and it would be extremely easy to make the necessary Amendments in Committee. I will move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Lord Denman.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): My Lords, I really think it is utterly impossible that your Lordships can agree to the second reading of this Bill. The Preamble is not sufficient; it enacts nothing about women.

On question? *resolved* in the *negative.*

MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.

(*The Lord Houghton.*)

(NO. 177.) SECOND READING.

BILL WITHDRAWN.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD HOUGHTON said, although he had every disposition to challenge a decision of their Lordships' House on this question, as long as there was a possibility of confirming the opinion the House of Commons had arrived at by Resolution in favour of this measure, and which they had also repeatedly expressed on previous occasions, he did not now think it right to occupy the time of their Lordships after the statement that had been made regarding Public Business. He deeply regretted that to the disappointment which had been caused to his clients in this matter must be added those other various disappointments caused by the concurrent action of the Opposition and Her Majesty's Government.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, who had a Notice on the Paper, "That the Bill be read a second time that day three months," said, he was glad that the noble Lord had withdrawn his Motion; because, after all, it was possible that he would have been reduced to that position if he had proposed to go on with the Bill. He (the Duke of Argyll) wished to say, with regard to a measure of this character, proposing to make a very great alteration in the Law of Marriage, which had been the subject of controversy, contest, and various results in the two Houses of Parliament for no less than 40 years, to introduce it so late as the 10th June was not a course that ought to be adopted in connection with so grave a subject. If the noble Lord would introduce a Bill in another Session, he hoped it would be

introduced at a much earlier period in order that it might receive the calm consideration which a proposal of such great importance deserved.

Order *discharged;* and Bill (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

NAVY (BOILERS).

MOTION FOR RETURNS.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH, in rising to move for—

"Returns of fighting and sea-going ships of the Royal Navy, specifying also the state of forwardness (1) of ships now building; (2) of those under repair; (3) the condition of the boilers of ships in commission; (4) the draught of water of each ship known and estimated when all her weights are on board; and, for a Return of the new boilers now in store in Her Majesty's Dockyards, and of boilers in a state of preparation,"

said, he wished to examine some of the statements that lately fell from the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook), and especially his assertion that the present Government had gone far in advance of their Predecessors in laying down ships. It was, no doubt, quite true that there were no very large shipbuilding operations carried on by the late Government; but there were many ships in a bad state of repair, and they laid out large sums of money in that way. Not only that, but the circumstances of this country were then altogether different to what they had been since the present Government came into Office. The noble Earl forgot to state that the whole *gravamen* of the charge against the Admiralty was that, whereas from 1874 to 1880 we were on excellent terms with France, and had no apprehension of serious naval difficulties, the case was different now. In 1882-3 the French Government spent £2,000,000 additional on its Navy. He (Viscount Sidmouth) did not wish to say that that outlay was made with any hostile intentions towards this country; but he did say that an advance of £2,000,000 in the French Naval Estimate for shipbuilding was an incident which should have made Her Majesty's Government bestir themselves in the matter of shipbuilding. But it was not the French Navy alone that was increasing. The German Navy was increasing in an extraordinary degree, and was being met by no corresponding increase in the English Navy. Spain, too, was moving in the same direction, having nearly doubled the number of vessels she formerly possessed, the result being that she would soon possess a very considerable Naval Force. Great energy, too, was being exerted by Italy in the matter, and she had turned out some of the most powerful iron-clads in the world. Other countries in all parts of the world were also increasing their Navies. France had got now a very important Naval Station within a short distance of Malta, and was active in all parts of the world. He mentioned these matters, not as wishing to urge Her Majesty's Government to regard these steps with any jealousy, but simply as showing the importance which was attached by all the Powers of Europe to an increase of Naval Force as Colonies spread, and as we became more and more connected with distant parts of the world. There were 110 vessels on active service in Her Majesty's Navy, and 500 returned as effective; but at least 71 ought to be struck off the list as utterly unworthy to appear there as sea-going fighting ships. As the matter now stood, there was about an equal number of first-class English and French vessels. We might give ourselves, perhaps, the benefit of one more than the French Navy. The Italians had a most powerful array of ships, which might be, in possible events, added to any other Naval Power; and the Russian Navy was by no means an unformidable one. The Returns he moved for would so far satisfy the country by their seeing exactly what the state of the sea-going ships was at present; and he, therefore, hoped the noble Earl would grant them. A naval officer, who had written to him, pointed out that, since 1872, the year 1877-8 was the best shipbuilding year, and that was when the Conservatives were in Office. Naval officers looked back with regret to the time when the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Somerset) was at the head of the Admiralty. The Navy was then in a flourishing condition; but the Estimates were £2,000,000 a-year more than now. That was soon afterwards largely reduced, and no Government had since had the courage to raise it to the old figure again. He was told by naval officers of high authority that, notwithstanding all the large display which we had on paper of seagoing fighting ships, only six first-

class ships were worth anything at all for fighting. He believed also that the Reserve Forces, so frequently paraded before the country as an important line of our defence, was really, for fighting purposes, absolutely worthless. In fact, it was hard to speak of it as defensive at all. The ships comprising it would be blown out of the water by certain foreign ships. We used to be able to meet any combined Fleet. He was satisfied that we did not spend enough money in the construction of ships; and, so far as he could see, very little was being done to place the English Navy in that condition of superiority which it ought to hold over that of other Powers. It was well known how long it took to build a vessel now, and he was informed that vessels were now waiting until the best model was decided upon. Another superiority which Continental Navies had over our own was, that almost all their vessels were armed with breech-loading guns, while the vessels of our own Navy were very deficient in that respect. As to the boilers, he asked the noble Earl for a Return upon that subject; and he could see no reason why it should be objected to, unless it were that the boilers were not in such a state as the noble Earl would wish to appear before the country. He himself was afraid, from what he could make out, that the boilers in the ships at present employed were in a very deficient state; and also that, in the event of a large and sudden demand being made for new ones, the supply of boilers in the Dockyards was not such as would enable the Admiralty to meet it. The next question, relative to the draught of large vessels, was, no doubt, obvious, the object of it being to ascertain what vessels of large size were capable, in the event of an emergency, of passing through the Suez Canal. This matter had been taken into consideration by Foreign Powers in the construction of their ships; and he thought it was highly important that the Admiralty should turn their attention to this subject, and take care that, in the event of the necessity arising for naval operations in the Indian and China Seas, a sufficient force was always in readiness and capable of passing through the Suez Canal. He hoped the force of the future would be of such construction and power as would enable Her Majesty's Government, at any time, to send a sufficient force in the event of complications arising with other European Powers. He would also urge the protection of the various stations which were connected with the defence of the Colonies. Anyone acquainted with the position of the Colonies must be aware how very dangerous it would be if an unexpected and powerful force were to swoop down upon them. The Colonial Governments, certainly, were using strenuous endeavours to create a Navy of their own; but, unless they were cordially supported by the Government at home, it was quite impossible that they should get officers of that experience and reputation which would enable them to assume such a position as they ought. The only other point he would urge upon the attention of the House was the enormous advantage which other Powers possessed, in the event of a sudden outbreak of war, in their system of training the seafaring population along the coasts. France had upwards of 170,000 men, more or less, drilled to fight on board ship. Although the seafaring population of this country was, perhaps, superior to that of other countries, that advantage was, to a very great extent, diminished by the circumstance that war ships were not now managed by naval skill alone. It had always been understood that the safety of England depended upon the superiority of her Naval Force. He feared, however, that the country might be caught napping, as it had been in previous wars, the prevalent desire to reduce expenses having affected the Navy more than any other branch of the Public Service. He appealed to the Government to explain to the country that the money spent in the construction of ships was insufficient. Sooner or later more money must be spent upon the Navy; and, in his opinion, the Government would have little difficulty in persuading the country to acquiesce in the expenditure. He begged to make the Motion in his name on the Paper.

Moved for—

"Returns of fighting and sea-going ships of the Royal Navy, specifying also the state of forwardness (1) of ships now building; (2) of those under repair; (3) the condition of the boilers of ships in commission; (4) the draught of water of each ship known and estimated when all her weights are on board; and for a Return of the new boilers now in store in Her Majesty's

Dockyards, and of boilers in a state of preparation."—(*The Viscount Sidmouth.*)

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, that no one had a stronger feeling on the matter than he had, that the Navy of Great Britain should be sufficiently powerful not only to undertake whatever work might be required of it, but that, at the same time, it should be equal to perform all the work which could be undertaken by any other Power in the world. He was of opinion that Her Majesty's Navy was not sufficiently strong, and was not what the country ought to have, unless it was able, in European waters, to meet any combination it might be called on to fight. He considered it was not sufficiently strong to fulfil its duty, if an unexpected strain was likely to be placed upon it; and he should, therefore, like to see a much larger sum of money placed at the disposal of the Admiralty than was possible under existing circumstances. He had no doubt, also, that the noble Earl the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) would be only too glad if he had a larger sum of money at his disposal to increase the efficiency of the Navy. They all knew, of course, that the great difficulty in these cases was not with those who were in authority in the different Departments, but with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was responsible to Parliament and the country, which made comparisons of the Expenditure of various Governments at election times. For his part he (the Marquess of Lothian) should be only too glad if the Naval and the Military Departments could be taken out of the category of Party consideration altogether, and that the country were given to understand that a sufficient sum of money should be placed at the disposal of the Admiralty in order to make our Navy worthy of the country. Having said that, he was sorry that he could not support the noble Viscount in asking for the two last heads of his proposed Return. The two first heads of the Motion of the noble Viscount, relating to ships building and those under repair, he made no objection to; but he was sorry that the third head, relating to boilers, and the fourth head, having reference to the draught of water of each ship, should have been asked for. What would be the result, if the Return asked for was laid upon the Table? It would immediately get into the hands of the Foreign Powers, which would be most undesirable. No doubt, they all took great interest in the Suez Canal, and he thought the present Government took as much interest in it as they (the Conservatives) did; but if the Return were made, whenever a ship was sent out, Foreign Powers would look at the Return, and would at once see exactly how far such a ship could go. He hoped, under these circumstances, the noble Earl would not accede to the demand for a Return under the two heads he had mentioned. No doubt, the Return would be an interesting one; but he thought it would be better not to have such a Return, however interesting, when they knew that it would give information to other Powers which it was desirable to keep from them. He was sorry that the noble Viscount had thought necessary to cast discredit on the Navy. He said that out of 500 ships at least 71 were only fit to be broken up. It could not be expected that every ship should be in an equal state of efficiency, and his impression was that all these ships were more or less efficient.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, he wished to explain that the vessels he referred to were not all fighting ships, but vessels of all kinds.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, however that might be, with regard to the Motion of the noble Viscount, he must protest against the idea of issuing forth to the world a Return from which foreign nations could learn the state of the boilers on our vessels, and their draught of water.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, that the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Sidmouth) had suggested that, on a former occasion, he (the Earl of Northbrook) omitted two ships from his enumeration of the number laid down in 1883 by the French Government. The noble Viscount, who referred to the *Charles Martel* and another vessel, was, however, mistaken in thinking that those ships had been laid down. In fact, he (the Earl of Northbrook) doubted whether, as originally designed, they ever would be laid down. It was true that, in the French Estimates for 1885, money was asked for the construction of part of the ships in question; but the French, in their Estimates, were a year in advance of us. It was of little

use to discuss what might be done at the end of this year, or during next year. The question for the public to consider was, what ships were actually being built in France and in England. The fact was that, from 1880 to 1883, we had laid down eight ships to the French four; and in 1884, up to the present time, we had added one, and the French none. He referred only to fighting ships, and did not include gunboats; because many of those being built by France were only suitable for river use. Therefore, so far from overstating the case with regard to the proceedings of the Admiralty, he had rather understated what had been done up to the present time. With regard to the future he would say nothing. When the noble Viscount and the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Lothian) said that it would be desirable that the Admiralty should have an unlimited amount of money to spend on the present type of ships of war, he felt bound to say he was not of that opinion.

THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN said, he wished to explain that what he said was as to the present state of the Navy.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK said, it would, he thought, be an extravagance to spend £2,000,000 of money in the construction of large iron-clad ships. The great difficulty the Admiralty would have to contend with, if they were granted £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 to-morrow, for the purpose referred to, would be to decide how they should spend the money. The House must be aware, or at least anyone who had paid attention to the progress made in the construction of guns must be aware, that the guns put on board the newest type of ships would be able to destroy any armour which could be put on a vessel. We were now obliged to leave portions of our ships undefended, and to protect only certain vital parts. In every new ship the armour had to be thicker; and unless the vessels were built of a larger size a great portion of them must be penetrable. Therefore, the difficulty at the present time was, whether it was desirable to increase the number of those enormous ships of war; and that was a difficulty felt not only by our Admiralty, but, as he knew, by those who had to conduct the naval affairs of other countries. There was, therefore, a great probability that, in future, the number of these vast and costly machines would not be increased; and he was not prepared to say that, even if the money were voted by Parliament, it would be desirable to spend it for that purpose. Then there was another consideration, which made it doubtful whether it would be wise or politic to spend a great sum of money now upon such ships. Some of the best naval officers in the country thought that, in the event of another naval war, the torpedo would be the most powerful weapon of offence, and would be able to dispose of the most formidable ships in the service of this or any other country. Therefore, it would be very imprudent greatly to increase the number of these enormous machines. The noble Viscount had made some comparisons between the numbers of the French and English Navies fit for service at the present time. For his own part, he (the Earl of Northbrook) always tried to avoid such comparisons. But when the noble Viscount told the House that in first-class ships England and France stood on an equality, or that we exceeded France only by one, he begged to assure the noble Viscount that he was mistaken. It was very difficult to say what a first-class ship was. Some thought that tonnage was the best test, others took another test. But he could assure the noble Viscount that, taking what he believed to be a fair test of what a first-class ship was, so far from the two nations being on an equality in that respect, England had 10 first-class ships to the French three actually ready for service. The noble Viscount and the noble Marquess had alluded to the number of vessels in *The Navy List*. It was by no means intended to represent that all the ships put in *The Navy List* were fighting ships. He doubted whether anyone who ever looked at *The Navy List* supposed that they were. It was perfectly true, also, that ships in the Channel Squadron and the Reserve Squadron, now usefully employed, were not of the latest type, and that, as compared with the most recent class, they would be termed obsolete. But of first-class ships, with the biggest guns, very few existed in the world. Supposing a naval war to break out between two countries, in all probability the first-class ships would be soon placed *hors de combat*, and the

nation that had the greater number of other vessels would be able to sweep the seas. No doubt, there had been some considerable delay in completing ships. The reasons were, the improvement in artillery, the great size of the guns we had to put on board, and the difficulty of completing and making perfect the machinery which was to load and work the guns. It was a great satisfaction to the Admiralty, and it might be to their Lordships, to know that we had no more difficulty in mastering those technical impediments than other nations. But progress must be slow and expensive; for nothing could be more costly than building ships, and making alterations to render them perfect. It was always a question of degree. We tried to build fast; but, when a question of importance arose, it was right to submit to some delay, and go to some expense, rather than turn out a ship in an inferior manner. The noble Viscount had mentioned that our great Australian Colonies had taken the greatest interest in developing especially their naval defences, and that they were now in a condition to hold their own against any probable attack that might be made upon them. He rejoiced at the fact quite as much as the noble Viscount; for there was nothing that the Admiralty had more at heart than to assist, by every means in their power, the most laudable and liberal efforts which the Australian Colonies were making. He was glad to be able to say that, only very lately, one of the ablest captains in the British Navy had gone out to place his services at their disposal, and the Admiralty would be glad to assist them in every way. With respect to the Returns moved for by the noble Viscount, he would that night lay on the Table a Return, which had been presented to the other House of Parliament, in which his noble Friend would find everything which could be properly stated with regard to our ships. He agreed with the noble Maquess (the Marquess of Lothian) that it would not be desirable to publish information as to the state of the boilers of our Navy. By an oversight, some years ago, such a mistake was made; but it was not exactly a proper thing to place such information in the hands of foreign nations. The Admiralty would be glad to obtain such information with respect to the ships of Foreign Powers; and, having said that, he thought their Lordships would see it was hardly advisable to give this information to other Powers. He thought that he could say that, not only in his own opinion, but in the opinion of professional officers of the Navy, there had never been a time when the boilers of Her Majesty's ships had been in a better condition than that in which they now were. In 1874, a Committee had been appointed to make an examination into the condition of the boilers of the Navy, and to make suggestions for their better preservation. The result of that Committee had been a Report, giving elaborate instructions for the preservation of boilers which had been of the greatest value. At the present time there were ships—as, for instance, the *Alexandra*—now serving their third commission in the Mediterranean, with no diminution of boiler pressure; and, generally speaking, the boilers in the rest of the fighting ships of the Navy were equally good. He would be glad to agree to the Motion in reference to the boilers if the noble Viscount would amend his Motion accordingly; and as to the whole of the rest of the noble Viscount's Motion, he thought that in the Papers which he should have the honour to lay upon the Table the noble Viscount would find most of the information which he required.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH said, that as to the comparison between the two Fleets of England and France, he had gone carefully over both the French Estimates and our own. France had on the Estimates 15 ships of the first class, 12 of the second class, and eight gunboats. These gunboats, of which the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Northbrook) had spoken somewhat contemptuously, were actually very powerful, and the money spent upon them was equal to that spent upon a first-class ship. Against that, as far as he could make out, we had only 10 ships of the first class on the Estimates and 16 of the second. As to the state of efficiency of the French ships, he had, of course, no means of judging; but from the amount of money spent upon them he thought that they were kept highly efficient. Again, in inquiring into the state of the Navies of the two countries, he had found that only 14 of the 26 British ships on the Estimates had longitudinal bulkheads, which were so neces-

sary for the safety of a ship, only 14 had steam steering gear, and only 12 had breech-loading guns. The noble Earl had told them it was best to wait. That was all very well if we had time; but war might come at a very short notice, and then we should be at a disadvantage. With regard to his Motion, he would consent to amend it as suggested by the noble Earl.

Motion amended, and *agreed to*.

Return of the new boilers now in store in Her Majesty's Dockyards, and of boilers in a state of preparation: Ordered to be laid before the House.

SALMON FISHERIES (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the law relating to the salmon fisheries in Scotland—Was *presented* by The MARQUESS of HUNTLY; read 1ª. (No. 184.)

NAVY (H.M.S. "VALOROUS").

Report by Commodore Cockburn to the Lords of the Admiralty, in 1866, of the proceedings of Her Majesty's Ship "Valorous" on the South-West Coast of Africa: Ordered to be laid before the House (*The Viscount Sidmouth*).

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 10th July, 1884.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — Agricultural Labourers (Ireland), Lord Arthur Hill, *added*.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 1, 2, 3.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Trusts (Scotland) * [279]; Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Manx Children) [280].

First Reading—Newcastle Chapter * [281].

Second Reading—Prisons (Ireland) (Cost of Conveyance of Prisoners) * [275]; Personal Estates (Scotland) [262]; Oyster Cultivation (Ireland) [43].

Referred to Select Committee—Middlesex Land Registry * [91].

Committee—Report—Yorkshire Registries (*on re-comm.*) [264].

Considered as amended—Sheriff Court Houses (Scotland) Amendment * [245].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Colonial Prisoners Removal * [257], and *passed*.

Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (the Labourers Act) (Enniscorthy, &c.) * [236]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * [240]; Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Amendment * [265], and *passed*.

Withdrawn—Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases * [218]; Police * [56]; Royal Irish Constabulary * [176]; Coinage * [187]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) * [109]; Criminal Law Amendment * [271]; Railway Regulation Acts Amendment * [225]; Purchase of Land (Ireland) * [238]; London Government * [171]; Universities (Scotland) * [230].

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND)—DISTRAINT FOR TITHE AT ORMSKIRK, LANCASHIRE.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the statement that recently one Peter Freeman, attended by four bailiffs and five policemen, seized the goods of Mr. John Williams, Back Moss Lane, Burscough, near Ormskirk, Lancashire, in distraint for tithes; that one of the party, named James Draper, felled to the ground Kate Kallaran, aged 18; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will cause inquiry to be made into this alleged outrage?

MR. HIBBERT, in reply, said, that the Government had no information as to the case referred to, but would cause inquiry to be made upon the subject.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—WATER SUPPLY AT URLAUR, SWINEFORD UNION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will be good enough to direct the Local Government Board to send an Inspector to report upon the state of the existing supply of water at Urlaur, in the Swineford Union, county Mayo, there being the greatest necessity for same; and, whether the written statement of the sanitary officer that "water is inconvenient" was discredited, and by whom?

MR. TREVELYAN: I see no reason to direct the Local Government Board to send an Inspector to the district, as they already have full information with regard to the water supply. The statement that it is inconveniently placed for some few of the inhabitants residing farthest from its sources is not, so far as I am aware, discredited. But the

Sanitary Authority and the inhabitants of the district generally—who have memorialized the Local Government Board on the subject—are agreed that the existing supply is ample for the requirements of the locality, and that no expense should be put on the district for the purpose of increasing it; and the Local Government Board see no reason why they should interfere with the discretion of the Sanitary Authority in the matter.

INDIA (MADRAS)—FOREST CONSERVANCY.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Government will listen to the complaints from the Madras Presidency, that within the past year or so the Natives have had their ancient communal rights of grazing and cutting fuel tampered with by Government, and that, these rights having been recognized by Government till recently, they, the ryots, demur to the surrender of the same; and, whether, in particular, he will cause inquiry to be made into the complaints of the people of Hassanoor, in the Coimbatore district, that, though shrubs grow within a few yards of their doors, they are now forced to go twenty miles to Sattiamungalum, to ask the talook authorities for permission to cut these bushes for fuel?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The India Office has no knowledge of any complaints of the people of Hassanoor. As regards the general question of forest conservancy in Madras, I have to inform the hon. Member that a new Forest Act has lately been passed for that Presidency after a careful inquiry, which established the fact that so-called communal rights in Government forests have, generally speaking, no existence. The Madras Government are anxious that privileges of grazing, wood-cutting, &c., in forests shall be restricted as little as is compatible with the conservation of the forests—an object of the first importance; and I have no doubt they will give most careful attention to all complaints on the subject.

ELECTRIC LIGHTING ACT—LICENCES AND PROVISIONAL ORDERS.

MR. W. FOWLER asked the President of the Board of Trade, What number of Licences and Provisional Orders have been applied for since the Electric Lighting Act became Law, and what number of those applications have been granted, and how many central supplying stations are being operated under the provisions of the Act?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: One hundred and twenty applications for Provisional Orders have been made to the Board of Trade since the passing of the Electric Lighting Act. Of these 73 have been granted by the Board of Trade and confirmed by Parliament. There have been 10 applications for licences. One for Colchester will be granted in the course of a few days. The remainder have not been proceeded with by the applicants. The supply of electricity has not been commenced under any of the Orders.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATH OF MICHAEL WATTERS, OF CROSSMAGLEN, IN MOUNTJOY PRISON—THE PAPERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will lay upon the Table all the Papers relating to the death of Michael Watters, of Crossmaglen, in Mountjoy Prison?

MR. TREVELYAN: I cannot undertake to lay these Papers on the Table. It would be contrary to practice to make public confidential official Reports of this character.

MR. HEALY: Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask you a Question on a point of Order. Is it in conformity with the practice of Parliament for the Chief Secretary to refuse to lay upon the Table Papers from which both he and the Solicitor General read long extracts on the occasion of a recent debate in this House? I also wish to know whether it is not a right of this House to have Papers which are quoted left upon the Table?

MR. TREVELYAN (who rose amid cries of "Order"): I presume, Sir, that I may interpose in this Question before you answer it. The Question of the hon. Member was whether I would lay all the Papers relating to the death of Michael Watters on the Table? I have no objection, Sir, to lay upon the Table any Papers that were quoted from.

MR. HEALY: I am glad that the right hon. Gentleman will lay some of these Papers on the Table, as, in the first instance, he declined to lay any at all.

I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he will be kind enough to state what Papers he will lay on the Table?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will gladly lay on the Table any Papers which either I or the Solicitor General have quoted from.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—VACCINATION IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether it was with the sanction of the Education Department that some one (presumed to be in the employ of the local authorities of St. Pancras) on Wednesday last examined the scholars of the Henry Street School to ascertain whether they were vaccinated?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Education Department has not sanctioned, and has not the right to sanction, any visit to schools for the purpose of ascertaining whether the children are vaccinated or not. The managers of the school are the only persons who could sanction such an inquiry.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—DEFALCATIONS OF MR. J. GARDINER, S.S.C., EDINBURGH.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the case that, in November of last year, a charge was made to him against Mr. James Gardiner, S.S.C., who recently disappeared from Edinburgh, of embezzling, in conjunction with other parties, certain trust funds of Mr. Walter Sim and of the late James Macnee, coach-builder, Edinburgh; and, whether, considering the facts now come to light, he will cause the charge then made to be investigated?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): No, Sir; it is not the case that any such charge was made by me against Mr. Gardiner. About the time indicated a charge of embezzlement was preferred against another person with respect to the estate of one of them, which was duly investigated; but Crown counsel considered that it was not sustained by the evidence. The allegation now made with respect to Mr. Gardiner's dealings with Scottish firms is being investigated.

THE TRAWLING COMMISSION—LIGHTS FOR TRAWLING SMACKS.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the evidence, as it has appeared in the newspapers to have been given before the Trawling Commission, in favour of the universally-adopted white mast-head light for trawling smacks when trawling, so strongly recommended by the Select Committee of 1880 on fishing vessels' lights, and supported by Members who took part in the Debate on this question in May 1881; and, whether, taking into consideration the fact that the representatives of the trawling interest who were appointed to the Joint Committee on trawlers' lights in 1882 entered their protest against the proposal of red and white mast-head lights, which they regarded as dangerous, and in view of the strong opposition to the red and white lights being made compulsory, he will agree to abandon the idea of these lights, and sanction the present well-known system of one white mast-head light?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: A very great deal of attention has been directed to the subject of trawlers' lights referred to by the hon. Member. Trawlers are required when trawling to carry the same side-lights as other vessels in motion; but they have been in the habit, contrary to law, in many cases of carrying a single white light only, which is the distinctive mark of pilot vessels all over the world. Endeavours have been made to find for trawlers some special light which should at the same time be acceptable to them; and, after consultation with the representatives of the fishing interests, a red light above a white light was adopted by the authorities, and has received the approval of most Foreign Governments. It does not, however, appear that the trawling interests are so far satisfied with the proposal as to warrant a hope that it would be at once willingly and generally adopted; and the Board of Trade propose, therefore, to communicate with the various authorities concerned in order to procure the postponement of any alteration.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—ESTATE OF MR. WYBRANTS OLPHERT—CO. DONEGAL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Peel, R.M., on visiting, last Friday, the scene of the recent evictions on the estate of Mr. Wybrants

Olphert, in the county of Donegal, found 165 members of the evicted families, including 60 women, 20 infants, and several aged and infirm men and women, lying in the ditches, and ascertained that they had lain there shelterless during the previous three days and nights; whether, although the guardians and the relieving officer had been notified of the condition of the evicted people, and were quite aware of it, and although the relieving officer was on the scene on Saturday last, no food or shelter was provided, and the people had to depend for the means of sustaining life on the care of the Rev. James M'Fadden, the parish priest; whether the relieving officer provided any conveyance to take the people to the Workhouse; whether, before the eviction of these families, the relieving officer had been supplying several of them with meal, at usurious prices, on the "gombeen" system; whether the Report of Mr. Macfarlane, Local Government Board Inspector, who visited the scene at midnight on Saturday, will be laid upon the Table; whether the parish priest on Monday provided means of transport, and conveyed 140 of the evicted people in a body to the workhouse; whether the landlord who had evicted those families, Mr. Wybrants Olphert, was in the Chair at last Saturday's meeting of the Board of Guardians, and refused to put a Motion instructing to temporarily provide food and shelter for the evicted; whether he also refused to vacate the Chair in order to allow the sense of the Board to be taken upon the Motion; and, what notice the Local Government Board will take of these proceedings?

MR. TREVELYAN: Captain Peel, on his visit, found that 141 persons had slept in the open air. On the same day on which he so reported, the relieving officer visited the place and offered to the tenants individually and collectively relief in the workhouse and suitable conveyance there on that afternoon. The people, however, refused to accept this offer, stating that they were to go on the following Monday, when the Rev. Mr. M'Fadden would have them all taken together. The relieving officer, who had been rate collector for many years and had peculiar opportunity of knowing the resources of the people, did not consider that they required temporary relief. He offered meal to one man, and it was declined. The Local Government Board Inspector, who has made inquiry on the spot, states that it is not the fact that the relieving officer had been supplying the people with meal at usurious prices on the "gombeen" system. The relieving officer bears a high character with the Catholic clergy of his district, and is stated to be upright and generous in his dealings with the poor. On the Monday the parish priest did provide transport to the workhouse for the people who had refused to accept it from the relieving officer on Saturday. The Chairman at the meeting of the Board of Guardians declined to vacate the chair on a suggestion made by one Guardian—no other Guardian approving or supporting that suggestion. No such Motion as is mentioned in the Question was duly put—the Local Government Board Inspector, who was present, having explained the powers already possessed by the relieving officer. The Local Government Board do not feel called upon to take any notice of the proceedings—the Guardians having relieved the evicted persons in a legal manner.

SALE OF PATENT MEDICINES BILL—INCLUSION OF IRELAND.

MR. WARTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether he has yet made up his mind as to the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill to be brought in by the Government in the other House for the restriction of the sale of Poisonous Patent Medicines; and, if so, when that Bill will be introduced?

MR. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, that the Irish Government had not yet communicated to him their decision on the point referred to. It depended upon a higher authority than him whether the Bill would be further proceeded with.

EGYPT—INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the promised Papers regarding the internal administration of Egypt, and especially the working of the tentative autonomous institutions, will be in the hands of Members, and whether they will be in time for the Debate on Egyptian Affairs following the Conference, so as to enable the House

to judge of the relations between the Caisse and the Egyptian Assembly in regard to the Budget matters; and, whether the Egyptian Assembly were in any way consulted before the International Tribunals were extended for five years, as were the French and Italian Assemblies?

MR. GOSCHEN wished to ask the noble Lord at the same time, whether the Papers with regard to the general administration of Egypt would include despatches from Mr. Clifford Lloyd and Sir Benson Maxwell, which would throw light upon the controversy between those gentlemen which was going on here?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Egyptian Papers which I promised did not specially relate to the tentative autonomous institutions. They will not be necessary for the debate on the proceedings of the Conference, though I hope to be able to lay them shortly. The Egyptian Assembly was not consulted before the International Tribunals were prolonged.

MR. GOSCHEN asked whether the Papers would also contain despatches from Mr. Clifford Lloyd with regard to the internal administration of Egypt generally?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot at this moment undertake to make a statement on the subject offhand. The Papers I have already promised will not contain Papers relative to the Legislative Assembly, because at this moment the Foreign Office is not in possession of any such communication as would be likely to be of any great interest to the House; but I have communicated with Sir Evelyn Baring, and I believe before long he will be able to present some information to the Foreign Office, which I will be able to communicate to the House.

EGYPT—BRITISH OCCUPATION—EXPENSES.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the event of the British occupation and Military protection of Egypt being continued for several years, in accordance with the Anglo-French agreement, it is proposed that the ordinary cost of the British troops kept there (apart from the head money for foreign service expenses now paid by Egypt), and the cost of any necessary Military operations, should be charged against the Revenue of the protected country or against the British taxpayer?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The question of the charge on the Egyptian Treasury for the Army of Occupation forms part of the general question of Egyptian finance now before the Conference. I am afraid, therefore, that I cannot answer my hon. Friend's Question at present.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Have orders been given for the despatch of troops to Egypt?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir; no orders have been given for the despatch of any additional troops to Egypt.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—LOANS FOR TEACHERS' RESIDENCES.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will favourably consider a Bill to do away with the restriction of loans for teachers' residences in Ireland to schools vested before 1879?

MR. COURTNEY: This matter has not previously been brought under my notice; but I understand my hon. and gallant Friend to allude to the fact that teachers' residences attached to schools vested since May 1, 1879, can only receive aid from the State in the shape of a free grant of £100 instead of a loan of £200. *Primâ facie* this seems a large and sufficient measure of State aid, and I can express no opinion in favour of a change until I have seen proposals for it in a formal shape.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882, SEC. 8 (PROCLAMATIONS)—THE IRISH NATIONAL LEAGUE MEETING, RATHKEALE.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will state upon what grounds, and at whose request, the Lord Lieutenant thought it right to proclaim the proposed demonstration of the Irish National League, which was to have taken place at Rathkeale, county Limerick, on Sunday the 6th of July; whether there are any circumstances in connection with the district of Rathkeale which would point to

the probable occurrence of a disturbance had a meeting of the National League taken place there; and, whether, in future, he will cause proclamations of meetings to be published in time, and not at the very last moment, when the people have assembled, and when it is extremely difficult to cause them to disperse without coming into collision with the police?

MR. TREVELYAN: The meeting was prohibited on the recommendation of the Divisional Magistrate and the Constabulary authorities of the district on the ground that, if held, it was likely to be prejudicial to the peace of the district. The circumstances of the district which led to this apprehension were the number of recent agrarian offences—there having been 19 within six months in the Rathkeale district—and the number of "Boycotted" farms lying idle, and of farms requiring special police protection in the vicinity. The notice of prohibition was not given at the last moment, when the people had assembled. It was served on the promoters of the meeting between 2 and 3 o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday the 5th instant, and posted in Rathkeale and its neighbourhood at the same time; and as the meeting was announced for 2 o'clock on the next afternoon, the prohibition was made public in ample time to prevent the people from assembling.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked whether it was not the fact that the prohibition was only published in the neighbourhood of Rathkeale on the morning of the meeting, and whether the right hon. Gentleman did not consider it improper to have notices put up on the day that a meeting was to take place, and when the people could not have sufficient notice to prevent them coming in?

MR. TREVELYAN said, the information he had communicated to the House and the information he had got was that the notice was posted up between 2 and 3 o'clock on the day before the meeting. If the hon. Member had any special information to the contrary he should be glad to know of it.

SPAIN—COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. CARTWRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in view of the statement, reported in *The Times* of July 5th, as having been made in the Spanish Cortes, to the effect that the Spanish Government had notified its dissent from the terms of the Protocol of December 1, 1883, Whether that statement is accurate; and, whether he is in a position to give the House information as to the precise state in which the question of a commercial arrangement between England and Spain is at present?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: As stated in Earl Granville's despatch to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid, printed in the last Parliamentary Paper published on the subject, the two Governments agreed that the Protocol could not be discussed in the Cortes until the Winter Session, or the clauses respecting the alcoholic changes be submitted to Parliament before April, 1885. The Spanish Government at the time this agreement was come to announced that they had certain objections to formulate against the terms of the Protocol. The Note containing these objections reached the Foreign Office yesterday, and is now under consideration.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND.

MR. W. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the publication or issue of advertisements and circulars in the colony of Natal, inviting ablebodied men who were prepared to provide their own horses and carbines to volunteer for active service in Zululand; whether Mr. Johan Colenbrander, agent of the chief Zibebu, was the person with whom the volunteers were requested to communicate; whether a number of adventurers have proceeded to the Native Reserve, in response to this invitation, and have been engaged in plundering Natives of their cattle; and, if so, why the Natal authorities took no steps to prevent the organization of this illegal force; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government have taken, or intend to take, to restrain white marauders in Zululand?

MR. COURTNEY: The attention of Her Majesty's Government has been drawn to the advertisements mentioned. No official account of the alleged proceedings has yet been received; but Sir Henry Bulwer has been desired to report upon the matter, and when his Report arrives Her Majesty's Govern-

ment will consider what action should be taken. In the meanwhile, it is clearly impossible to give any authoritative answer to the specific Questions of my hon. Friend.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—RE-APPOINTMENT OF SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what principle have the names of the fifty Sub-Commissioners selected for retirement on the 31st proximo been arrived at; and, how many Catholics will there be left on the Sub-Commissions?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Sub-Commissioners selected for reappointment have been chosen as men who will do their work in an able and impartial manner. Their names will be announced in the course of next week. The hon. Member will then be able to ascertain the religion of the gentlemen who are reappointed.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman—as this is important to the people of Ireland—whether he is aware that a strong impression prevails amongst the tenantry that the Sub-Commissioners who have shown interest for the tenants are to be *chasséd?*

[No reply.]

FRANCE AND CHINA.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that the French Government have demanded an indemnity of £8,000,000 from China for the affair at Langson; and, whether he has any information tending to show that the fighting at that place arose because the Chinese General had not received instructions to surrender; and, what steps Her Majesty's Ministers are taking to protect British Commerce with China?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government understand that the French Government have demanded an indemnity from the Chinese Government, but have no information officially of the exact amount claimed. The only authentic information at present received is contained in the statement made by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Chamber of Deputies on the 7th instant, a Report of which has been transmitted by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, and has also been published in the newspapers. No special steps are considered necessary at present to protect British commerce with China; but I may remind the House that towards the close of last year an understanding was come to between the neutral Powers, in accordance with which the commanders of neutral men-of-war in the China seas were to concert together for the protection in case of necessity of neutral subjects.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked if it was proposed to lay on the Table of the House the despatch of Lord Lyons to which the noble Lord had referred?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he did not think it would be advantageous to produce the document.

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE WEST INDIA MAILS.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the contract for the conveyance of the West India Mails, for which tenders were received on the 1st of January last, will be concluded, and laid upon the Table in time to permit of its discussion before Parliament is prorogued?

MR. COURTNEY: It was found necessary to give the West Indian Colonies further opportunity of considering the various points involved in this matter. The present contract has accordingly been prolonged for six months, and there is, therefore, no necessity or probability of obtaining the judgment of the House upon the future arrangements during the present Session.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked whether the hon. Gentleman would give an undertaking that no new contract for the conveyance of these mails would be entered into before Parliament had had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon such contract?

MR. COURTNEY said, that the law provided that.

THE POOR LAW INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS—INSPECTORS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the President of the Local Government Board,

Whether the present staff of four Inspectors is adequate for the efficient inspection and proper supervision of Poor Law Industrial Schools; whether representations have been made from time to time as to the necessity of providing additional help for this important work; and, what steps, if any, he intends to take in the matter?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: Although the duties which devolve on the School Inspectors of the Local Government Board are of an onerous character, the Board consider that at present the staff of four Inspectors is adequate for the efficient inspection of the workhouse and district schools, and they have not received representations to the contrary. The district which includes the Metropolitan Unions is probably the heaviest; and if the number of Unions in which the children are sent out to school from the workhouse continues to increase, there may be some ground for a reconsideration of the present districts of the Inspectors.

NEW SCIENCE AND ART MUSEUM, DUBLIN.

MR. DAWSON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the building of the new Science and Art Museum in Dublin will be commenced, and what is the cause of the delay?

MR. COURTNEY: I much regret the delay in the commencement of this building; but owing to the necessity of obtaining estimates of the probable cost of the selected designs, it has not yet been possible for the Government to decide upon the one to be chosen. But there is work to be done in the way of obtaining the additional land required and preparing the site; and I will take care that there shall be no delay in proceeding with this.

MR. GIBSON: Did not the hon. Gentleman state in the debate on the Estimates that one of the designs had been selected and approved of, and that the Treasury only asked £5,000 this year, because they did not intend to spend more?

MR. COURTNEY: No, Sir, I did not. I stated one design had been recommended by the Committee of Selection; but that until the cost of working out that design had been valued it was impossible to say whether that one would be selected.

MR. DAWSON: Is not it a fact that the surveyor appointed by the Government or the Treasury or the Board of Works has arrived at a conclusion as to what the cost would be; but that there is only a very trifling difference between the cost and the estimate of the architect, and that there is no ground whatever for the delay?

MR. COURTNEY: I am sorry to say, Sir, the difference is not slight.

MR. DAWSON: What is the difference?

In reply to Mr. GRAY,

MR. COURTNEY said: The amount very much exceeds what is proposed to be saved by interest; but I must point out that it would be unjust to the other architects if we were to proceed with this design recommended by the Committee, without inquiring into the probable cost of their designs also.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA UNIFORM.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the event of the Kharkee clothing being adopted as the undress of the Line, the same will be issued to the Militia, who at present receive only undress clothing?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir. The Militia, have only one dress, and it is intended that they should remain in scarlet as at present.

TREATY OF BERLIN — ARTICLES 43 AND 44—JEWISH HAWKERS IN ROUMANIA.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a Despatch has been received, either from Her Majesty's Representative at Bucharest or from the Government of Roumania, relative to the measures taken to prohibit Jewish hawkers in that country from pursuing their calling, and to the refusal to receive petitions from them or grant them any legal redress, in contravention of Articles 43 and 44 of the Treaty of Berlin, which secures to them equal rights to those enjoyed by persons of other religions in that country; and, whether he will communicate the contents of such Despatch, or lay it upon the Table of the House?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have communicated privately to the hon. Member a copy of the despatch which has been received from Her Majesty's Minister at Bucharest. If he wishes it to be laid before the House, and will move for it, there will be no objection on the part of Her Majesty's Government to its publication.

TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE UNITED STATES AND THE WEST INDIA COLONIES—CUBA.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the Government of the United States are now negotiating with the Government at Madrid for the admission of Cuban products into the United States upon advantageous terms as to Customs Duties; whether any reply has yet been received from the United States Government to the Despatch of Lord Granville, requesting that the British Colonies should be included in favoured nation treatment with the United States, and whether Her Majesty's Government will do all that is possible to expedite a settlement of this question; and, whether any negotiations are now being carried on by Her Majesty's Government with Continental Powers, with a view to obtaining a mutual settlement of the sugar bounties question by means of a Conference or otherwise?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It is understood that negotiations in the sense mentioned by the right hon. Member are about to take place at Madrid, and may possibly have been commenced. No answer has yet been received to the Note addressed to the United States Government by Mr. West on behalf of the British Colonies in the West Indies. Her Majesty's Minister will not fail to call attention to the subject again if, after a reasonable interval, no reply is received. As regards the European bounty question, no negotiations are at present being carried on by Her Majesty's Government. I may add, however, that the Board of Trade is the Department which deals with this part of the sugar question.

SCOTLAND—THE QUEEN'S PARK, EDINBURGH—RIGHT OF MEETING.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is a fact that he has forbidden the erection of platforms in the Queen's Park, Edinburgh, for the open air meeting on next Saturday; and, whether platforms have been erected in the park on the occasion of military reviews; and, if so, whether he will not give similar facilities for the holding of popular meeting there?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, he need hardly say that the meeting which it was proposed to hold in Edinburgh on Saturday next had his hearty sympathy, and he should be glad to give any facilities in his power; but he had not felt justified in giving facilities which had always been refused in the past. He found that, on many previous occasions, applications had been made to his Predecessors for permission to erect platforms in the Edinburgh and London Parks, and on every occasion these applications had been refused. He did not think that in the interests of the public generally these applications should be granted. The only exception that had been made was when the Queen in person held a review of her troops. In such cases Her Majesty had given commands for the erection of a platform. He had received a deputation yesterday from the Corporation of Edinburgh on the subject, and he believed he had satisfied them that the demonstration might take place without the erection of tents or platforms.

FOREST OF DEAN AND HUNDRED OF ST. BRIAVELS.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is prepared to state that Her Majesty's Government will nominate a Commission to inquire, locally and otherwise, into the rights, &c. of the Freeminers in the Forest of Dean; whether he can give the names of the Commissioners; and, whether he will postpone the Second Reading of the Dean Forest and Hundred of Saint Briavels Bill until after the Commissioners have given their report?

MR. COURTNEY: The Government have decided to appoint a Commission to inquire into certain matters connected with the Forest of Dean; but I am not at present in a position to say what the exact terms of the Reference will be, nor how the Commission will be composed. I do not intend to ask the House to pro-

nounce its judgment on the Dean Forest Bill until the Commission shall have reported.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—LOANS TO VESTED SCHOOLS.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would exert his influence with the Treasury to procure such modifications in Rules 12 and 17 of the Commissioners for National Education in Ireland as to permit of the one-third which, under these rules, is not granted to build vested schools, being advanced by the Board of Works on good local security?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am not prepared to press this matter on the Treasury, as there is little reason to suppose that they would consent to the proposition. It does not seem unreasonable to expect that a locality interested should meet a grant of two-thirds of the cost of erecting a school house by supplying the remaining third.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—"CORNWALL *v.* O'BRIEN."

MR. HEALY asked the Postmaster General, Whether the precedent in Corry Connellan's case is to be followed in regard to Mr. Cornwall's pension; if not, why; what is Mr. Cornwall's present official position; has he been dismissed; and, what is the "fuller information" which his Department are waiting for?

MR. FAWCETT: Mr. Cornwall, as I stated on Tuesday, has been suspended from duty. I think it will be expedient for me to defer coming to a final decision until the Law Officers have advised the Government upon the case. This being so, the point suggested in the first part of the hon. Member's Question does not arise.

MR. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly say when the Post Office Estimates are likely to come on?

MR. FAWCETT: I wish I could fix an early day.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the police are aware of the whereabouts of Mr. G. C. Cornwall, Secretary to the General Post Office; has he any announcement to make respecting the decision of the Law Officers regarding him; and, if not, when may it be expected?

MR. TREVELYAN: The police are aware of the whereabouts of Mr. Cornwall. I am not in a position yet to announce the decision of the Law Officers regarding him. The question whether the evidence in the case will sustain a criminal prosecution is one requiring careful consideration; but I may state that it is the intention of the Government to proceed against all persons against whom evidence is forthcoming.

MR. O'BRIEN: Mr. Speaker, I beg to give Notice that when the Vote for the salary of the Chief Secretary comes up for discussion I shall move that the Vote be disallowed.

MR. PARNELL: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, whether, pending the decision of the Law Officers in the case of Mr. Cornwall, he has given directions to the police to prevent Cornwall from escaping beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts; and, whether his statement that it is intended to prosecute the persons against whom evidence can be obtained will include the witnesses in the recent trial by the evidence of whom Cornwall's guilt has been brought to light?

MR. TREVELYAN: The latter Question will have to be seriously considered by the Law Officers. With regard to the first Question, the police are watching Mr. Cornwall.

MR. PARNELL: The right hon. Gentleman did not answer my Question. Have the police orders to prevent Cornwall from escaping beyond the jurisdiction of the Courts? The right hon. Gentleman said the police are watching Cornwall; but I apprehend it is a very different thing to have orders to prevent him escaping from justice. I also wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is prepared to follow in this instance the course which the Irish Executive has pursued in the cases of the commission of felonies of another kind, and offer a reward for information with regard to the commission of crimes—[MR. HEALY: £10,000]—coupled with a promise of pardon to accomplices, because I regard the statement which the right hon. Gentleman has made with regard to the witnesses in the late case as calculated to intimidate.

MR. TREVELYAN: Any reply as to who is going to be prosecuted or not

coming from me before the Law Officers have examined the large body of evidence before them would tend rather to defeat than to further the ends of justice. The object and desire of the Government is to stamp out these odious crimes, whether committed by persons connected or unconnected with the Government. With regard to the Question whether the police have orders to prevent Mr. Cornwall leaving the country, it is very well known where he is at present. There are no legal means at present for arresting him, except a warrant is issued.

MR. HEALY: It is a felony, and no warrant is required.

MR. TREVELYAN: This only shows the extreme difficulty of discussing these matters across the Table in this way. One of the gravest questions is whether it is a question of felony. Till a warrant is issued the Government are perfectly satisfied that whenever Mr. Cornwall is wanted he will be found.

MR. O'BRIEN: The right hon. Gentleman did not answer the Question, which is, whether he can give any guarantee of the safety of the witnesses by whose evidence Cornwall's guilt was brought to light. I may say that, so far as the evidence I have—["Order, order!"]——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is out of Order in going beyond the limits of a Question.

MR. O'BRIEN: Then I ask the Chief Secretary whether he expects that I shall give him information before he gives me a guarantee as to the safety of the witnesses? For if he does, I may tell him that I will not trust either him or Earl Spencer with it. [*Cries of* "Answer, answer!" *and Ministerial cries of* "No, no!"]

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I may be Chief Secretary of Ireland; but I am an English gentleman——

MR. HARRINGTON: So was Cornwall.

MR. TREVELYAN: And if any hon. Gentleman, in putting a Question to me, tells me that under no circumstances whatever will he trust my statement, I shall not answer him.

MR. HARRINGTON: Arising out of the reply of the right hon. Gentleman, I wish to ask the Attorney General for England whether it is not legal for a policeman, in case he suspects a felony has been committed, to arrest that person, even without a warrant?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I think it better that such a Question should not be asked without Notice.

MR. PARNELL: I wish to ask the Chief Secretary whether Mr. Fitzgerald, of Cork, one of my constituents, was not arrested in the streets of London without a warrant, although he was neither accused nor sworn against.

MR. SPEAKER: This series of Questions is becoming quite irregular. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) is now debating the Question. A Question can be asked, but a subject cannot be debated by a series of Questions.

MR. PARNELL: In explanation of the series of Questions I felt compelled to ask, I wish to say that the Chief Secretary has steadily declined to answer any one of them.

MR. HEALY: I wish to ask if the next time when a series of Questions is asked without Notice by the occupants of the Front Opposition Bench—[*Cries of* "Order!"]——

MR. SPEAKER: If these Questions continue, I shall be bound to take notice of them. I consider such a proceeding is quite out of Order.

MR. HEALY: I beg to say that the next time any right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench asks without Notice a series of Questions—[*Cries of* "Order!"]——

MR. SPEAKER: I consider the terms of the Question of the hon. Member are not respectful either to the Chair or to the House.

MR. PARNELL: I beg to give Notice that I shall put further Questions on this subject to-morrow. [*Cries of* "Name!"]

MR. HEALY: Name away.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT — FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

MR. DUCKHAM asked Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he will now enforce the provisions of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of 1878, and order the slaughter of animals suffering with foot-and-mouth disease, seeing that the disease is now restricted to two herds; and, whether, in the case of any fresh outbreak, it

will be promptly dealt with in like manner?

MR. DODSON: I am sorry to say that foot-and-mouth disease prevails not in two, but in three herds—namely, in Yorkshire, Norfolk, and Surrey. The slaughter of diseased animals would not suffice to stamp out the disease. In one case the owner was willing that all the animals first attacked should be slaughtered; but the Veterinary Inspector of the Local Authority advised him that that would be of no use, as something like 100 animals had been in contact. In answer to the last Question, I may say that the expediency of slaughter, or otherwise, must in any given case depend on circumstances.

EGYPT—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (for Mr. W. H. SMITH) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will be prepared, within the course of the next week, to make any statement to the House as to the present condition of Egypt, and the measures, if any, which the Government may have in contemplation to remedy the state of the Country?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have no intention of making a statement in the course of next week as to the present condition of Egypt. The whole operations of the Government since the occupation began have been a continued and persistent endeavour, attended, as they think, with very great success, to apply such remedies, or mitigations more or less complete, as the case would admit of, to the particular abuses which have undoubtedly existed in the government of that country. But the information respecting this work which is most fit for the consideration of the House, is, as we think, best conveyed by the Papers presented to it; and there is now in preparation a Paper on the subject, which, as we have the advantage of the presence of Sir Evelyn Baring in the country, I think will put the House in possession of more effective and trustworthy information than I could convey in the course of a speech.

MR. BOURKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the recent disclosures made by persons holding, or having recently held, official positions of great responsibility in Egypt, in relation to the administration of justice and the management of prisons in that country, he will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the malpractices alleged to have been committed with the knowledge of the British Government.

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not gather what are the particular malpractices to which the right hon. Gentleman refers in his Question. The Government have used their influence, as they think with considerable effect, towards the improvement of the prisons in Egypt; and at the present moment there is rather an important question as to the legality of some of the present regulations in their present form which forms a subject of close consideration by the Government. But with regard to the question of a Committee, I own I have great doubts whether at this period of the Session a Committee of this kind would be desirable. It seems to me much more desirable that the matter should be left in the hands of the Executive Government, and that the House should judge from the information given to it what the Executive Government have done, and should call the Executive Government to account if need be. In the first place, such an inquiry would necessarily involve the summoning of persons from Egypt to give evidence, and that would be very injurious to the condition of the country. I think, also, the right hon. Gentleman will see that, at the present period of the Session, it would be hardly possible to appoint such a Committee even if it were desirable.

MR. BOURKE: I am much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for his answer, and I should like to ask one or two Questions arising out of that answer. The particular malpractices to which I alluded have been summarized by Sir Benson Maxwell this morning in the words "a scandalous scene of English lawlessness and licence." I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Papers already promised contain despatches from Sir Benson Maxwell and Mr. Clifford Lloyd with respect to the differences of opinion which existed between them and other British officials; and, also, whether the Papers that will be presented will contain information with respect to the Codes and the Native Tribunals that are being established in Egypt, because the House is aware that the Papers already presented to the House contain no information whatever upon the Native Tribunals.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I answered that Question just now. It is always difficult to give in an answer the contents of a Blue Book. It is intended to present Papers bearing upon the question of which the Report of Dr. Crookshank is a part. There will also be Papers bearing upon other subjects of internal administration, and with regard to various other matters bearing upon the administration of Egypt. I did not intend the Papers relating to judicial matters to be regarded in any way as the satisfaction of the pledge I gave.

MR. BOURKE: Will the Papers relating to the disputes between Sir Benson Maxwell and Mr. Clifford Lloyd be included?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I stated just now that this Blue Book would contain the Report of Dr. Cruikshank and other Papers bearing on the subject; but I must altogether decline to give definite pledges as to particular Papers and as to particular subjects.

MR. BOURKE: I beg leave to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask the Questions I have already put to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: The House will remember that it was stated that in case the Conference came to a successful result the Government would bring forward some Resolution relating to it. Now, at present, no Papers whatever have been presented to the House with regard to the internal administration of the country. Will those Papers be in our hands before the House is called upon to consider this Resolution?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is a little difficult to give a positive answer, because the two subjects mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman are not *in pari materia*. I cannot say more than this—that if we make any proposition on the subject we shall use our best endeavours to put the House in possession of all the information before us at the time.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

MR. HEALY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd is to be re-employed in Ireland; and, if so, will any opportunity be afforded before the Session closes of discussing this step?

MR. GLADSTONE: The case of Mr. Clifford Lloyd is that, in principle, that gentleman is still in the Public Service. When he went to Egypt he still continued to be on the list of Resident Magistrates in Ireland. He went to Egypt and came away upon leave, and, as my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State has acquainted the House, he will not return to Egypt. His leave extends for some considerable time—until September—and no decision has been taken with respect to his future. With regard to the particular place of his employment, and the functions he may be called upon to perform, it will be the business of the Government carefully to consider in what manner his abilities may best be turned to account for the Public Service, and to come to a decision on the point.

MR. HEALY asked whether, if Mr. Clifford Lloyd was sent back to Ireland, an opportunity would be given of discussing that step before the close of the Session?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not certain when the decision may be taken with respect to Mr. Clifford Lloyd; but I have no doubt that if anything is done with respect to him we shall have no desire to evade the opportunity, which hon. Gentlemen connected with Ireland certainly are entitled to make, to comment on the appointment of any particular person in the service of the Irish Government. I have not the least desire that the hon. Gentlemen should have any difficulty in this respect—in fact, I think it would be right that we should endeavour, within a short time, to come to a decision. The thing really has not been taken up yet, simply because there was a considerable period of leave to elapse; but we must endeavour to come to a decision as we approach the last days of the Session.

PARLIAMENT — HOUSE OF LORDS — CONDEMNATORY RESOLUTION.

MR. ANDERSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If, in consequence of what has happened in another place, he will arrange for a day for the discussion of a Resolution which has been for some time on the Order Book, to the following effect:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the continuance, unreformed, of a Legislative Chamber of an irresponsible character, and with legisla-

tive functions founded largely on mere accident of birth, is incompatible with wise legislation and antagonistic to the welfare of the people?"

MR. GLADSTONE: I am very reluctant to answer any Question about giving a day for the discussion of any Resolution, and in what I have to say to the House in a minute or two, I am afraid I shall speak, not of giving days, but of taking days. Therefore, I am not in a position to hold out any hope to my hon. Friend.

MR. ANDERSON: As the reply of the Prime Minister is not altogether satisfactory, I beg leave to give Notice that I will repeat it the next time an irresponsible Legislative Chamber—[*Cries of* "Order!"]—has the audacity to reject a Bill sent up by this House. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The Notice, so far as it reached me, is couched in an irregular form, reflecting upon the other branch of the Legislature.

PARLIAMENT—THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—THE SANITARY CONDITION OF THE HOUSE.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Has the First Commissioner of Works any proposals to make with respect to the serious complaints made of the sanitary condition of the House?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I regret that I was not in the House yesterday when the right hon. Gentleman put his Question to Mr. Speaker. I had been here for some time previously; but as no intimation, public or private, was given to me by the right hon. Gentleman, or by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), that it was their intention to raise this question, I returned to my Office in order to receive the deputation which I referred to earlier this evening. My attention, however, had been called to the complaints as to the smells in the House on Tuesday evening, and I had made inquiries which convinced me that they were due to causes external to the House, and not to defects of ventilation. One proof of this was that the ladies in the Ladies' Gallery of the Lords complained very much, and that when the windows of that House were closed the complaint ceased. I believe also that the same odours were complained of in Palace Yard and Victoria Street, and through a great part of Westminster. It would seem that there was something wrong with the Westminster sewers. I have communicated on the subject with the Metropolitan Board of Works, but have not received any answer as yet. As it appears to be the wish of Mr. Speaker and of other hon. Members that there should be a Committee to investigate the causes of such complaints, I shall make no objection, and I conceive that advantage may result from the inquiries of a small Committee of experts.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

MR. GLADSTONE: I rise to redeem the pledge under which the Government lies towards the House with respect to indicating what they propose should be the course of Public Business during the remainder of the Session. I think I should state, in the first instance, how we should, in the view of the Government, have stood to-day had no remarkable or peculiar circumstances occurred to influence our views. If there had been no remarkable or peculiar circumstances of that kind, there is no doubt before the House a very considerable mass of Business of a useful and valuable character, in the shape of Bills relating to various branches of the Law and to all the Three Kingdoms and the Principality of Wales. But I think that by a Session not unexampled, but still of ample length, reaching probably to a very late date in August, those Bills might have been disposed of, and very useful additions made to the Statute Book. The remarkable circumstance, however, has occurred in the failure of the Franchise Bill. That Bill, as is known to the House, it has been the great object of the Government to forward ever since the commencement of the Session. For four months it has been before the House, and I think we considered it in 26 different Sittings. The view which the Government take of that particular Bill—I do not, of course, wish to defend it or justify it now in any way—is that it contemplates an object of paramount importance, and that it is their duty to ask the House to arrange its proceedings and plans with reference to the measure being again considered. What we wish to do is this. We have a double object in view. The first and

paramount duty which, as we think, presses upon us, is to secure by the proper Constitutional and regular method at the earliest possible date the passing of the Franchise Bill, the principles of which have received—in the House of Commons by positive votes, and in the House of Lords by words not deficient in force—the assent of both Houses of Parliament. Next to securing the passing of the Franchise Bill, we are most anxious to keep, both in spirit and letter, all the engagements to which we have come in respect to redistribution—engagements which might, under certain circumstances beyond our control, be seriously disturbed. For the present, however, our object is to gain those two points, and, above all, to be in a condition to secure, if we can, the passing of the Franchise Bill, and also to be in a condition, at the commencement of the next Session, to proceed as we have always contemplated, and to ask the House to proceed with a Redistribution Bill, and to make it, so far as our powers are concerned, the principal object of the next Session of Parliament. We do not see any way in which these two objects can be attained, except by advising Her Majesty to assent to an Autumn Session, and Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent to the assembling of the House in the course of the autumn for the purpose of again considering the Franchise Bill. The House will now perceive that if we are to ask hon. Members to make the serious sacrifice of coming here during the Recess for the purpose of passing an important legislative measure, it becomes a very serious question how much more are we to ask for in the discharge of the ordinary labours of the Session. The advice has been patriotically given that there should be an Autumn Session, and that likewise we should proceed with all the Bills now before the House, and, in particular, with the London Government Bill; and that, having passed all those Bills, we should then proceed with the Autumn Session. I refer to that in all good humour, to show what would be our duty, if it were possible, morally, socially, or physically, to exact such sacrifices—I will not say from the House of Commons, but from any possible or conceivable body of men that could be assembled within the walls of any possible or conceivable Legislative Chamber. It cannot be; and that being so, and having stated that in our view the passing of the Franchise Bill, and next to that the fulfilment of our engagement in respect to redistribution ought to be our paramount object, we have, with regret, come to the conclusion that we have no option except to make a rather sweeping and very impartial sacrifice of a number of valuable measures which the House has either before it or in contemplation. Of course, I do not speak of all the Bills on the Order Book. The common practice on these occasions is to enumerate all those Bills which appear to the Government to be Bills of importance, and Bills likely to make a sensible demand on the time of the House. We have asked ourselves whether there is any exception that we can justly make in this somewhat sweeping devastation? There is one exception we propose to make, of which the principle is generally recognized by the House. The exception is founded upon the consideration that certain Bills have passed through the Grand Committees; and, therefore, the bulk of the labour which the House would have to give to them may be considered *primâ facie* to have been actually expended, and ought not to be lost. One of these in particular, and the most important, is the Corrupt Practices at Municipal Elections Bill. It is, I believe, generally and universally desired. ["No!"] That is my belief. We think it our duty to contemplate asking the House to proceed with that Bill. There is another Bill also of importance, and which, in our judgment, is very valuable. It is a Bill with respect to the Law of Evidence, and as to it, I am not so certain that a universally good reception can be secured for it. It ought to be distinctly understood that we reserve to ourselves entire freedom to proceed with that Bill. With regard to the rest of the Bills coming within the class I have described, I am sorry to say we are not able to find any ground of exemption which, if allowed, would not lead to the raising of various claims which it would be imposible to defend. These important measures—no less than nine in number—are the London Government Bill, the Railway Regulation Bill, the Universities of Scotland Bill, the Education (Wales) Bill, the Irish Land Purchase Bill, the Sunday Closing (Ireland) Bill, the Coinage Bill, the Police Superannua-

tion Bill, and, finally, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which has come from the House of Lords, and which, like the other Bills, is certain to occupy considerable time in debate, and involves questions of great difficulty. I do not know if the House of Lords is likely to send any Bills of this class; and, therefore, what I say may be an abstract proposition—namely, that if any such Bills should come from the House of Lords, we should not ask the House of Commons to proceed with them. With regard to the Medical Act Amendment Bill, I will not give a final judgment upon it, upon these grounds—my noble Friend the President of the Council and my right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella) are of opinion that they have very nearly arranged the principal disputed points, and a short time will test that; and it is also a Bill which has made considerable progress. It is now in Committee with the mark of "Progress" attached to it, and, that being so, it is a Bill with regard to which we could, without interfering with the course of other Business, sufficiently test whether it is the desire of the House to proceed with it or not. If it is, we reserve to ourselves the title to avail ourselves of that favourable judgment. Under these circumstances, it is obviously our first duty to proceed with Supply, and to make the forwarding of Supply—subject to ample opportunity of discussion—the great object we have in view. This being so, it has, of course, been our duty to ask whether we ought to make further demands on the time of the House. It would not ordinarily be fair, at this period of the Session, and even under pressing circumstances, to raise any question respecting Wednesdays. If we could find that, in the view of independent Members themselves, there was any reasonable expectation of their being able to make effective progress with any of their measures, we might hesitate to think of asking for the Wednesdays which they would lose if they were given to the Government; but the result of our inquiry is that there is no such chance in the remainder of the Session. I regret the interference with the legislation of private Members as much as the interference with that of the Government; but in this state of facts we shall be prepared to ask, upon Notice, and before next Wednesday, that the remaining Wednesdays of the Session shall be given to the Government. Subject to any questions which may be put to me, I have made the substance of the statement I undertook to make, and stated what we proposed in a manner, I hope, not offensive. It would be extremely wrong of me to take advantage of a statement of the kind for the purpose of obtaining surreptitiously any kind of judgment from the House. I have stated that in our view it is of vital and paramount consequence that we should concentrate our attention upon the Franchise Bill, and resolutely endeavour to redeem the pledges we have given with regard to redistribution. Everything else I have stated flows, as a natural and inevitable consequence, out of the view taken on the part of the Government, which it was their duty, at the earliest moment, to communicate to the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Nobody can deny, or would wish to question, the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman has made the remarks he has just addressed to the House; and I hope that in anything that may be said that spirit will be carefully preserved. There are, however, one or two points on which, I think, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, it would be right that some observations should be made; and it would be more convenient that I should put myself in Order by asking leave to move the adjournment of the House in order to consider the statement with respect to the arrangement of Public Business now made by the First Lord of the Treasury.

Leave being granted—

ADJOURNMENT—THE MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I have no wish at all to abuse the indulgence of the House by calling attention to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman; but I think we must take notice of the fact that, as he has himself remarked, we are placed in remarkable and peculiar circumstances; and the consequence of that is that certain measures which the Government are sorry not to proceed with must be laid aside; and the right hon. Gentleman also tells us that it is necessary to call Parliament together at an unusual period of the

autumn for the purpose of proceeding with one particular measure—the Franchise Bill. It is very desirable there should be no misunderstanding on that point. I confess there were expressions of the right hon. Gentleman which I did not fully understand, and I was anxious that those expressions should be cleared up. The right hon. Gentleman says he proposes we should meet in October for the purpose of proceeding at once with the Franchise Bill; and he states that it would be the desire of the Government to proceed immediately afterwards with the Redistribution Bill.

MR. GLADSTONE, interposing, was understood to explain that he had said he proposed to proceed with the redistribution scheme at the time he had already promised.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: What I really wished—and I think the Government will consider it reasonable that we should have an understanding—is that the scheme of redistribution should be before us in the form of a Bill—["Oh!" *and cheers*]—before we are called upon to pass the Franchise Bill. I am sorry if that is not the feeling; the words of the right hon. Gentleman were capable of that construction, which, I thought, was the correct one. I will go so far as to say, if it is the desire of the Government that a complete scheme for the representation of the people should receive the assent of Parliament, I am satisfied there is no other way in which that object can be so well and so properly secured. I earnestly trust that course may be adopted. I cannot help calling to mind that early in the Session, when the question was raised why the two could not be proceeded with, the right hon. Gentleman gave as a principal reason that if he brought forward a Redistribution Bill with the Franchise Bill he would be unable to proceed with other measures, such as the London Government Bill. Now, we see the result—the London Government Bill has to be laid aside, and neither object has been attained. [*Cries of* "Why?"] I believe the right hon. Gentleman will find that much greater facilities will be offered to the passing of the two measures, if they are brought in together as a complete scheme of Reform. I will not dwell upon this portion of the subject, beyond saying that it is my earnest desire to press upon the House and the Government my own conviction that this is the best and most promising way of dealing with the question. There are two questions I wish to address to the right hon. Gentleman. The first is a matter of detail, when and in what part of the autumn he contemplates the House being called upon to meet? It would be convenient for us, and for the country also, to know, as the usual Recess is to be shortened, at what time Parliament is to meet. The other question has reference to the remainder of the Business of the present Session. I want to know what is to be done with regard to any debate on Egyptian affairs? The right hon. Gentleman made no allusion to it; I do not know that it was necessary for him to do so; but it is our duty to ask what is to be done in that respect. The right hon. Gentleman may be able to tell us—I hope now—what is the position of the Business that is being laid before the Conference, and at what time it may be expected we shall receive any communication as to the decisions of the Conference? Or, if any circumstance should occur to prevent a decision being given, he may be able to tell us in what form we may be allowed to express our views on the great and important questions involved in the Egyptian policy of the Government. These are the two questions I want to raise. I do not desire to go into other matters; and I trust the right hon. Gentleman will take in good part, and understand and appreciate the spirit, in which I have made these suggestions. To put myself in Order, I move the adjournment of the House.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: I need not say that when the right hon. Gentleman makes an important suggestion, as he has done to-day, and states that in his belief it is a suggestion which, if adopted, would conduce to the despatch of Public Business, I receive that assertion with the most implicit credence. I have no doubt it is his judgment, but the right hon. Gentleman is, of course, aware that our judgment has, unfortunately, been entirely at variance with his, and, great as has been the difficulties which have beset us in the course we have endeavoured to pursue during the present

Session, yet we were able to obtain the most emphatic support of this House with respect to the Franchise Bill, and to send the Bill disposing of that which is the basis and the essence of every question of Parliamentary Reform to the House of Lords in ample time for the House of Lords to deal with it. We did that upon very full consideration, and I am bound to say that though the belief of the right hon. Gentleman, as far as it goes, is a favourable factor, we are bound to have regard to the materials of which this House is composed, to the relation and discipline of various Parties, and to the absolute duty of the Government to recognize its responsibility with regard to the Procedure of the House—a responsibility with which no other person or Party can be chargeable. We cannot wholly avoid looking back to the experience of 1866, when the process suggested was attempted. We then judged it more convenient to pass a Franchise Bill without its being complicated by a Redistribution Bill; we endeavoured to take that course; the feeling of the House, upon the whole, was averse; we deferred to the feeling of the House, and we brought in our Redistribution Bill. But so far from finding that we were better off for that concession, it was quite evident that the appetites of our opponents was whetted by partial success, and from the moment of the bringing in of the Redistribution Bill, every chance of the passing of the Reform Bill vanished. Since that time the field of redistribution has been greatly extended. Considering the progress the franchise has made, and may make, it is absolutely necessary that there should be something like systematic and methodical redistribution; but, independently of that, something approaching to a methodical Redistribution Bill must be made in order to present a fair promise of durability. Besides that, the wits of men scientific and others have been to work since 1866 upon every description of question with regard to modes of voting. The changes introduced into the aspects of this subject, and the enormous widening of its field by the various schemes of voting of minorities, by the various theories of proportional representation, and the undoubted right of Members to have a fair hearing for their views, convinced us that the burden which redistribution would impose upon the Franchise Bill was not less, but far more formidable than ever it was. With these facts before us, it is impossible for me to hold out to the right hon. Gentleman any expectation of our changing our course. I had certainly thought that my own words had been clear and expressive, because I said that in our view our paramount duty was to promote the earliest passing of the Franchise Bill, and next to endeavour to redeem the engagement under which we had already come with regard to a Redistribution Bill, that engagement being to take the earliest opportunity of introducing it, should we continue to be the Government. [*A laugh, and* "Hear, hear!"] If we are relieved, and I shall be much obliged to that Gentleman, if he will show me a short way out of my anxieties —[An hon. MEMBER: Dissolve!]—if we are relieved of our function, that settles the matter; but if we are not relieved, we are engaged from the beginning of next Session, so far as depends upon us, to devote that Session, in preference to every other subject, to pressing forward the Redistribution Bill. It may be that that course may be rendered difficult by circumstances beyond our control; but my own earnest desire is to keep that engagement. Well, so much on the subject of the Redistribution Bill, with regard to which I must say that it would require evidence far more conclusive and reaching to a far greater extent than any that is now before me to produce any impression on the deliberate conclusion of my Colleagues and myself that to mix the two questions would be an effectual way of preventing progress with either of them. With regard to the two questions of the right hon. Gentleman, I stated that the Autumn Session would be in the month of October. Certainly, our view of it is that it should be in the second moiety of that month; and if I might venture, without committing myself to a date, I would say that about the 20th of October would be most convenient in the general view of the Government. With respect to the second question, the right hon. Gentleman was not only quite justified in putting it, but if it had occurred to me I should have made mention of it. Of course, any arrangement that could be made for clearing the decks of legislative measures in our own hands cannot possibly

weaken any pledge we have given with regard to affording opportunities for a discussion or a vote on the conduct and the policy of the Government with regard to Egypt and the Conference, should there be a desire for such a discussion and for such a vote. I consider that to remain wholly unaffected by anything that has been said with respect to legislative subjects. The right hon. Gentleman wishes to know, I think in a practical way, what I can tell him with regard to the progress of the business before the Conference. I will go as far I can in that respect. He will quite understand that we cannot give a binding account or a binding estimate of the time which will be taken by the Representatives of the European Powers in prosecuting particular business with the same confidence as if they were matters which were being carried on within the precincts of the Government itself. There are two Bodies engaged in the work to which we have to look. First, there is the Commission, which is subordinate to the Conference, and the business of which is, I believe, derived chiefly from the Conference. With regard to the Commission I can give a favourable report. Our confident hope is, great progress having been made in its business, that early next week, probably in the first moiety of next week, the Commission will close its labours. That Commission represents in general a class of men better known on the Continent than here, perhaps, by the name of experts. But, in point of fact, it is a solid and difficult work of detail which they have to prepare and elaborate for the purpose of easing the labours of the Conference. We make no doubt that the Conference will meet on the earliest possible day—that is to say, a day or two after the Commission has closed its work—and our belief is that the matter for the consideration of the Conference will be so carefully and thoroughly prepared by the Commission that we may reasonably expect that the labours of the Conference will not require them to extend their proceedings over a great number of sittings. I should not, however, like at the present moment, before the Commission has concluded its labours, to speak of a day for the conclusion of those of the Conference; but we are sanguine that the whole matter will be concluded in such time as in no degree to abridge the liberty of Parliament to consider the conclusions that we may present to them before arriving at a period of the year beyond that to which we are accustomed ordinarily to prolong our Sitings. I think that this is as much as I can fairly be expected to say at the present moment.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I do not think anyone would for a moment suppose from the tone of the Prime Minister that we were, as all the newspapers, Liberal and Conservative, inform us, in the midst of a great Constitutional crisis—for anything more meek and mild than the attitude of the Prime Minister, and anything more meek and mild than the attitude of the Liberal Party on this most critical occasion, it has certainly never been my good fortune or the good fortune of anyone else to witness. But, Sir, perhaps I may say—and perhaps the House will pardon a little discussion at this moment, because it is probably about the only opportunity we shall have—that the statement which the right hon. Gentleman has just made is, to my mind, and I think will be to the mind of many in the country, the most complete and utter exposure of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and the most complete, and, I will say, unlooked-for and unhoped-for defence of the House of Lords that it would have been possible for the mind of man to have offered. What has the Prime Minister told us is to be the plan of the Government? He tells us that the House is to meet in the autumn in order that we may deal with the Franchise Bill and that the Government may redeem its pledges with regard to redistribution. [*Cheers, and cries of* "No!"] That, Sir, is the statement of the Prime Minister absolutely. ["No, no!"] Those hon. Members who contradict me upon that point will look very foolish tomorrow morning when they read the reports of the right hon. Gentleman's speech in the newspapers. The Prime Minister said—"We will call Parliament together in the autumn in order that we may deal with the franchise and redeem our pledges about redistribution." [*Cries of* "No!"]

MR. GLADSTONE: I may perhaps be excused if I set the noble Lord right. It is quite possible I may have used the expression "dealing with redistribution next Session," but it was perfectly un-

derstood that I did not mean the Autumn Session.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I must say that I do not follow the right hon. Gentleman in what he says. No doubt, he stated the matter in that extremely confused way to the House, and if I had not remarked upon it my understanding of what the right hon. Gentleman said would have been in the minds of everybody—[*Cries of* "No!"]—except, perhaps, of the Members of the Liberal Party who have been taken into the Prime Minister's confidence this afternoon. It could have occurred to no other human mind who heard the statement of the Prime Minister that the Government had any other intention than to call Parliament together in the autumn to deal with the Franchise Bill and to redeem their pledges with regard to redistribution. But, Sir, if that is not so; if Parliament is to be called together in the autumn merely to deal only with the Franchise Bill, what a monstrous and, I say, a criminal and dissolute waste of public time it will be. I cannot, of course, hope hon. Members opposite will agree with me on this subject; but there are others out-of-doors who will be inclined to take a more impartial view of the question. What is the position of the Franchise Bill at the present moment? It is one of suspended animation. It is perfectly open to the other House of Parliament to proceed with that Bill to-morrow or at any time before Parliament is prorogued. The Prime Minister has only got to get up in this House and to follow the course that was pursued in 1882—to adjourn Parliament until October, and then to introduce his Redistribution Bill. The result of such a proceeding would be that the whole question of Parliamentary Reform would be dealt with before the close of this year, and the Prime Minister, if he liked, could take an Election under the new constituencies before Christmas, 1884. In no way whatever could the position of the House of Lords, from the original point of view, be strengthened. I should think it extremely probable that there would be no difficulty whatever in that Bill being read a second time, if he got up and said—"I will adjourn Parliament till October, when I will bring in my Redistribution Bill." What can be the reason why the Government do not take that plain and simple course? From what we have witnessed to-night of this wholesale massacre of measures, such as no one in this House has ever before had any experience of, it is perfectly obvious to me that the whole legislative programme of the Government, which was set forth with so much pomp in the Queen's Speech, was nothing but a gigantic humbug, a stupendous imposture, and a prodigious fraud, and was put forward for no other purpose than to delude Parliament and the country, and to serve for the concealment of a revolutionary attack upon the House of Lords. I ask the House to observe the extraordinary amiability of the Prime Minister upon the present occasion; and, at the same time, to carry their minds back to a certain Friday night, about three weeks ago, when the Prime Minister moved the third reading of the Franchise Bill. On that occasion, the Prime Minister warned the House of Lords to—

> "Beware
> Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,
> Bear 't that th' opposed may beware of thee."

But, having given this warning, the Prime Minister immediately proceeded to set it at nought; and, having entered into a quarrel, so far from his opponents having to beware of him, they merely laughed at him. Anything more humiliating on the part of a powerful Government than the attitude which they took to-night, compared with their attitude on the third reading of the Reform Bill, I am at a loss to imagine. The right hon. Gentleman defied the House of Lords to mortal combat before the bar of the constituencies in the country; he denied the independent legislative rights of the House of Lords. ["No, no!"] I say that was the speech of the Prime Minister—he denied the right of the House of Lords to act as an independent branch of the Legislature, and he threatened them with the consequences of their throwing out the Franchise Bill. He threatened the House of Lords with practical abolition unless they consented to serve as a Registration Office for his own personal acts. Having thrown down that challenge, and the House of Lords having taken it up, the Prime Minister runs away. So far from challenging the House of Lords before the bar of the constituencies, the Prime Minister has taken every possible step

to avoid an appeal to the country. Nothing has amused me more, or interested me more, than to observe what I dare say hon. Members opposite have observed—because they have been intrumental in the preparation of the documents—that all the documents which have been carefully sent up from the various local Caucuses of the country have made it their special prayer to the Prime Minister on no account to dissolve Parliament. No doubt, these local wire-pullers and managers are very competent to give advice to the Prime Minister as to the state of public opinion in the country, even if the result of the various bye-elections had not told him what that feeling is. Then, I say, if the Government are going to take up this extremely prudent, not to say pusillanimous, line, the speech which the Prime Minister delivered on the third reading of the Reform Bill was utterly out of place. It can only be called a piece of Falstaffian braggadocio, because this much must be said—that a person who threatens nearly always discloses that he has a weak case. And, further, the fact of the Prime Minister having made that speech almost necessitated the present action of the House of Lords. While the Reform Bill was before this House I did not by word or deed hinder its progress in any way. I say that with our Constitution unwritten as it is, and, in many respects, shadowy and vague as it is, but, at the same time, for practical purposes definite and tangible —I say that a denial in Parliament of Constitutional rights by a person in the position and with the authority not only of the First Minister of the Crown, but of the Leader of the Liberal Party, absolutely necessitates the immediate assertion of those rights in the strongest manner, and on the broadest basis, or else those rights will infallibly perish. I mean this—that if the House of Lords, after the speech which the Prime Minister made in this House, had tamely submitted to the construction of their duty which he proclaimed from that Table, the rights of the House of Lords as an independent Legislative Body would have been almost infallibly at a point where they never could have been taken up again. Anxious as I admit I was that there should not be this division of opinion between the Lords and the Commons, still every hope I had of averting that was shattered, and the hopes of many others were shattered too, when we heard that speech of the Prime Minister. And this I will deliberately say, so that the public may know it, even if hon. Gentlemen opposite do not like to hear it—that from my own knowledge of what was the opinion of noble Lords in the other House belonging to the Conservative Party, many Peers of influence and position, whose opinion on this question I had the good fortune to learn—I say deliberately, many of them, before the third reading of the Reform Bill, impressed by the undoubtedly conciliatory attitude which the Prime Minister had adopted, impressed by the line which had been taken on this Front Bench, impressed by the statement of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) that the Bill as it stood was in many respects a Conservative Bill, were prepared to approach the consideration of the Bill with open, unprejudiced, and impartial minds. I make that statement deliberately, because I know it of my own knowledge; and if the Prime Minister on the third reading had addressed this House and indirectly the House of Lords in the tone and manner which he has so carefully made use of to-night, that Bill would have been well on its way, in my sincere and earnest judgment, towards receiving the Royal Assent. Now, just let me notice the statement made by the President of the Local Government Board in a very wild speech which he delivered last night. The President of the Local Government Board stated to his audience that I had said that if a date was inserted into the Bill, the House of Lords would not dare to reject it. Now, Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity of qualifying that statement as the most monstrous misstatement which I think was ever made even by the right hon. Gentleman, and of giving to that statement the flattest and the most direct contradiction which you, Sir, in your capacity of presiding over these debates may think Parliamentary. I never said anything of the kind, and I altogether deny the right of a responsible Minister of the Crown —I would deny the right even of an ordinary Member of Parliament—to go and traduce an opponent in a place where that opponent cannot answer him; because I say it is traducing an

opponent to put into his mouth a sentence which he never uttered, and, moreover, a sentence which I venture to say—and this it is which makes it so annoying to me—was the most imbecile and stupid sentence which could possibly have been uttered by a Member of Parliament. I never said anything of the kind, and I challenge the right hon. Gentleman to get up at that Table and quote any expression which, by the wildest exercise of his most romantic and romancing imagination, can be twisted into such a meaning as he stated last night; and if he cannot, I call upon him to retract what he said, and to express his regret for having misquoted—I will not say wilfully misquoted—an opponent. As the matter stands at the present moment, the Constitutional crisis is evidently not in this House. The Liberal Party are evidently not prepared for a Constitutional crisis. I know that there is at the present moment a silly person of the name of Schnadhorst who is meeting somewhere with his myrmidons in the back slums of Westminster in order to devise and concert measures for supporting their great master and their great friend. But I do not think they will be encouraged by the tone of the Prime Minister this afternoon. Nothing could be more discouraging, I imagine, to those faithful myrmidons, for, instead of indulging in denunciations of the House of Lords for daring to thwart him, the Prime Minister did not venture even to name the House of Lords for fear of incurring a debate in this House. I know that there are hon. Gentlemen—particularly the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley), and the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) and right hon. Gentlemen—and very likely I see two of them sitting there together—who are very fond of getting up in this House and careering about the country and calling themselves the people of England, threatening with the direst vengeance all or any who may hinder them in their way. Well, I do not know whether, Mr. Speaker, you recollect a collection of fables which has been handed down to us from the earliest times under the name of Æsop, and with which hon. Gentlemen opposite, with their vast stores of practical knowledge, are, no doubt, familiar. But there is one of those fables, the most delightful and instructive of them all, which relates how a donkey, in the course of his morning's peregrinations, came across a lion's skin, and it immediately occurred to his asinine mind —["Question!"]—that if he were to clothe himself in the lion's skin great power and dignity and profit would immediately accrue to him. So he put it on and he careered about the country, and he frightened a great many old women and children; but, unfortunately for himself, he came across a party of men in the neighbourhood of a town who were well acquainted with the elementary facts of natural history, and who quickly detected the disguise, with the result that the unfortunate donkey was soundly beaten and cuffed and kicked. The history does not tell us whether the donkey learnt wisdom, or whether, having been a donkey once, he remained a donkey always. But this I will say—that whenever I see hon. Gentlemen opposite and right hon. Gentlemen getting up in this House and careering about the country and calling themselves the people of England, I think of the lion's skin. I remember Æsop's fable, and I desire to remind the First Lord of the Treasury of what no one can know better than himself, that there is nothing more easy than to detect the difference between the demagogue's bray and the people's roar.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Mr. Speaker, I shall not attempt to follow the general remarks of the noble Lord, or take up the points which he has laid before the House in a style so peculiarly his own. His mock heroics and his not very tasteful speech may be left to others to deal with. I present myself before the House only in answer to the challenge which the noble Lord has addressed to me. The noble Lord told me at Question time to-day that he intended to make allusion to this matter, and to do so by way of personal explanation. I at once made myself as rapidly acquainted with the speeches of the noble Lord during the debates on the Franchise Bill to which I referred last night as I could do in the time. But I took down only a very few words from his speeches, because I was not aware that reference would be made by him to the subject on an occasion giving an opportunity for debate. I can, therefore, only refer Members who desire an expansion of the passages to his speeches generally

upon the Franchise Bill. The noble Lord made a great many speeches on the Franchise Bill.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No; I did not.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: On two afternoons, I find, when there were matters of great importance being discussed the noble Lord came down. The noble Lord on the 23rd of May—I will ask hon. Members to read the whole speech of the noble Lord. ["Oh, oh!"] I am very sorry to inflict the task upon hon. Members, and if it had depended upon me I would not do so. On the 23rd of May the noble Lord made a very bitter attack indeed on his own Front Bench. The Motion before the House was the Amendment of the right hon. and gallant Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley), which was to prevent the Bill coming into operation until a Redistribution Bill had been passed. The noble Lord made two speeches on that Amendment. He attacked the Front Bench opposite. Speaking of the pledges given by the Government, made in words less strong than have since been used, he said that he was completely satisfied of their binding force; and he then attacked the right hon. and gallant Member, and said that he supposed the right hon. and gallant Gentleman must have some motive in the Amendment, but he could not conceive what that motive was; but that at last he came to the conclusion that the motive must be to damage the chances of those who wished to see this date put into the Bill; and by "this date" he meant the date proposed by the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey). The noble Lord, in one part of his speech, spoke of "the date," in another of "this date," and in another of "a date sufficient to give time" to pass a Redistribution Bill. The noble Lord attacked the right hon. and gallant Member—thus, by implication, speaking of himself as one of those who desired to pass the Bill, and of the Front Bench, as not desiring to pass the Bill. He repeated over and over again that there were those who did not wish that this Franchise Bill should become law—talking of his own Front Bench.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Not at all.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Does the noble Lord, in the face of this House, mean to tell the House that that speech of his—both those speeches of his—were not a direct attack upon his own Front Bench?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Certainly it was not.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I will ask hon. Members to read that speech. I trust that the newspapers throughout the country will reprint that speech. The noble Lord, after distinguishing between those who wished to damage the Bill—those who did not wish the Bill to become law, and those who did wish it to become law, said that the former knew that if this date was put into the Bill the Bill would become law.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: A date.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The noble Lord used the words "this date," and in another sentence "at a date sufficient to give time"—I suppose for the passage of a Redistribution Bill. He said they knew that if this date was put into the Bill, coupled with the pledge of the Government to introduce a Redistribution Bill, it would hardly be possible—it would certainly be in the highest degree dangerous—for the House of Lords to throw out the Bill.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to say that is not the expression he quoted last night. The words he then purported to quote were—"The House of Lords would not dare to throw out the Bill."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I maintain, and I believe it will be the opinion of the majority of the House—of the House as a whole—that if these words mean anything, they mean nothing more or less than that. I was using a short form of the noble Lord's words in saying that the House of Lords would not dare to throw out the Bill. I spoke last night by my recollection. I have applied to many of my Friends, and they all think the words were some such words as I have quoted.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Quote the words.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I cannot. But I assert that nothing could be stronger than the form of words used by the noble Lord in the only report of them that I have had time to consult—namely, that it was hardly possible, and would be in the highest degree dan-

gerous, for the House of Lords to throw out the Bill.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I say one word? [*Cries of* "No!"] The date I alluded to was 1887, the date proposed by the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey).

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I heard the hon. and learned Member who sits by the noble Lord, and who so frequently gives him good advice, which he does not always follow, suggest that the words should be "this Parliament," but the noble Lord sometimes said as to date," and sometimes "a date sufficient to pass a Redistribution Bill." At all events, the Amendment of the right hon. and gallant Member was negatived by the House very largely at the instance of the noble Lord. He attacked the Amendment.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did nothing of the kind.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Well, I am much surprised to hear the noble Lord say he did not attack the Amendment. The noble Lord is reported in *The Times* newspaper——

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I must rise to Order. I ask you, Sir, whether it is in Order for the right hon. Gentleman, or for any Member of this House, although he be on the Treasury Bench, to make an assertion as to the conduct of another hon. Member when that hon. Member has flatly denied that assertion, and when he directly repeats that he made no such statement.

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is putting his own interpretation upon what the noble Lord said.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish, Sir, to point out that the right hon. Gentleman, by implication, accuses me of having told a direct falsehood. Is that in Order?

MR. SPEAKER: If I had thought there was anything out of Order I should have called the right hon. Gentleman to Order. The noble Lord has made a charge against the right hon. Gentleman, and the right hon. Gentleman is endeavouring to answer the charge by giving his own interpretation of what passed. I see nothing disorderly or irregular in what the right hon. Gentleman is doing.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I was within hearing.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I deny it, flatly.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Well, I will only repeat my statement that I hope every hon. Member will read these two speeches, and that every newspaper in the country will reprint them at full length. The noble Lord has drawn a distinction between the date then proposed and the date ultimately inserted in the Bill. I will allude to no matters that are not public. At all events, there was a second debate upon this Bill when a good deal of time had elapsed—namely, on the 17th of June. On that occasion the date moved was that of the hon. Member below the Gangway—my hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). That date was universally accepted by the House. ["No!"] The Leader of the Opposition appealed to my hon. Friend the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey) to withdraw his Amendment, and the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton was inserted without any opposition.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: There was a Division upon it.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The noble Lord did not divide against it. That has no bearing upon my case. I am only concerned with the noble Lord. The noble Lord made a speech on that occasion, and I will ask the whole House again to read that speech. The noble Lord expressed himself as being favourable to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, and said not one word about any other date. He expressed himself completely satisfied with the pledges given by the Government.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Quote what I did say.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I will remind the House of the tremendous storm of cheering from the noble Lord's own side. I cannot quote ironical cheering. On that occasion the noble Lord was not only pleased at our agreeing to the insertion of a date in the Bill; but he made a speech in which he said that only one thing more was wanting to its completeness.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Quote.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I should keep the House till Doomsday if I were to quote all the speeches of the noble

Lord; but he said that the only thing wanting was a Boundary Commission. That proposal was accepted by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, and the noble Lord ceased from troubling, and from that time forward he appeared to support the Bill.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: It is not at all my duty to interfere in the dispute between the right hon. Gentleman and the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). The noble Lord is well able to defend himself; but it is within my own recollection, and within the recollection of all those who sit on this side of the House, that my noble Friend distinctly expressed his objection, not to the Amendment of my right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) upon its merits, but simply on the ground of the time at which it was proposed. No doubt my noble Friend voted in favour of that Amendment. There is a dispute between the right hon. Baronet and my noble Friend as to the speeches of the noble Lord. I prefer to believe the word of my noble Friend to that of the right hon. Baronet. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!"]

MR. SPEAKER: I am sure the right hon. Gentleman has unintentionally expressed a doubt as to the veracity of the right hon. Baronet, and I trust he will not persist in the use of the expression. I am further called upon to interfere on other grounds. The noble Lord, upon a Motion that the matter was of urgent public importance, was perfectly within his right in making a personal explanation; and in the course of that personal explanation he made charges of a certain kind against the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board. The right hon. Gentleman has replied to those charges; and I am bound to say that I do not think the personal question between the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman ought to go any further. I hope the House will not continue to discuss the personal question; but that the right hon. Gentleman will confine his remarks to the Question of Adjournment. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will withdraw any expression which implies a doubt as to the veracity of the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Most certainly; I at once follow your ruling. It was not my intention to make any imputation against the veracity of the right hon. Baronet; but it was my intention to dispute the accuracy of the statement he has made. I will give the House some reasons for doubting the accuracy of the statement of the right hon. Baronet upon this point by a reference to another statement in the same speech which my noble Friend has quoted. The right hon. Baronet does not, at any rate, follow the example of my noble Friend, who, when he has anything to impute to his political opponents, does it to their faces and on the floor of this House; but the right hon. Baronet, when he wishes to do so, does not do it on the floor of this House, but goes down to a Liberal meeting in Middlesex and makes his attack there. The other day he made a statement to which I am anxious to call the attention of the House. Now, Sir, the right hon. Baronet, in very different tones from those which the Prime Minister has, if I may venture to say so, with great honour to himself, assumed this evening, directly threatened the House of Lords yesterday at the meeting to which I refer. He said that they had not exercised their powers with due regard to common decency; he threatened them with destruction if they persisted in that course; and, having done that, he proceeded to make a direct charge against the Conservative Party in this House of Obstruction. Well, now, charges of that kind have been very often made, but hitherto by irresponsible Members of the House, or by junior Members of Her Majesty's Government; but, so far, no attempt has been made by anyone to produce proof of their accuracy. But what did the right hon. Baronet say? I quote his words from an organ which represents his own opinions, and which, therefore, I have no doubt, accurately reports him. The right hon. Baronet is reported to have said that, in prophesying the course the Conservative Party have now taken, he had formerly described the policy of the Conservative Party as a policy of Obstruction in the House of Commons, and of rejection of the Franchise Bill in the House of Lords; and he added—

"Charges of Obstruction have been somewhat dangerous, because, although we were all

perfectly acquainted with the facts, they could not be sufficiently proved."

That is a very wise maxim, and, perhaps, before I have done, the right hon. Baronet will be sorry he did not himself bear it in mind. He went on to say—

"That has ceased to be the case. A few days ago we had an example of Obstruction which has been officially proved."

The right hon. Baronet went on to quote from the official entries in the Journals of the House with reference to the Motions for the adjournment of the debate on the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill, the ruling of the Speaker that one of such Motions was an abuse of the Forms of the House; and he stated that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach and Mr. Sclater-Booth, Members of the late Conservative Government, voted for that Motion. Now, Sir, I shall state fairly the purport of these observations if I sum them up thus—that my right hon. Friend and myself were guilty of direct Obstruction in voting for a Motion which you, Mr. Speaker, had ruled to be an abuse of the Forms of the House. If this had been merely a personal charge against myself, I should not have cared to trouble the House upon the matter; my conduct is to be judged, principally, at any rate, by my constituents and my own conscience. I will say more than that—that even if my right hon. Friend and myself had voted for this particular Motion nothing could have been more unfair than to charge the whole Conservative Party with Parliamentary Obstruction on that account. It would have been as fair to have charged the whole Liberal Party with Obstruction in the late Parliament, on account of certain proceedings on the part of the right hon. Baronet. The right hon. Baronet, however, professed to quote the Journals as to a certain action, which he attributed to my right hon. Friend and myself as official proof of a policy of Obstruction on the part of the Conservative Party. Now, Sir, what are the facts? I refer to the Divisions of the House. Here is the record of the Divisions; I, Sir, was not in the House when the Question on this Motion was put; I never heard your ruling, and I took no part in the Division. My right hon. Friend was in the House; he took part in the Division, and he voted against the Motion. This is a specimen of the way in which such charges are manufactured by a Member of the Cabinet for political consumption among ignorant people. I do not wish to impute to the right hon. Gentleman that he has knowingly made an untrue statement with regard to myself and my right hon. Friend; but the statement is untrue for all that, and I hope he will have the manliness to avow it, and to express his regret for having made the charge. For my own part, I would sooner have voted for half-a-dozen Motions of Adjournment than, in the position of the right hon. Gentleman, have made personal charges recklessly against my political opponents, without first taking the trouble to prove their accuracy. Now, have I put nothing before the House which should justify me in preferring the statement of my noble Friend to that of the right hon. Baronet? I hope the right hon. Baronet, if he refrains from taking the wise and Constitutional course recommended by the Prime Minister, when next he descends into the streets, will at least take care that the charges he makes against political opponents are true.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I have no right to address the House again; but I trust I may claim its indulgence after the direct attack which has been made upon me. The right hon. Baronet has made three distinct statements, as far as I understand him. First, that I charged the Conservative Party with Obstruction on a recent occasion which could be distinctly and officially proved; that I did so out of this House, at a meeting, instead of doing it in the House; and that in the charge I included his name and that of the right hon. Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth). The third statement I at once withdraw; I was mistaken, and I express my extreme regret for having made it. The argument upon which the right hon. Gentleman wastes such an extraordinary amount of indignation—["No!"]—I say "Yes"—was that for the first time there was official proof of Obstruction by the Conservative Party. The right hon. Baronet contradicts that statement, and says I ought not to have made it outside, but inside the House. But the official record exists, and I will read it to the House. As to the statement that the charge was first made outside, I rose in my place the moment after the Division. I called the attention of hon. Gentlemen sitting on the

Front Opposition Bench to it, and the matter was the subject of a debate that lasted a considerable time; but no regret was expressed towards Mr. Speaker for the defiance of his authority. On that occasion I find that the first Motion was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross); the second Motion was made by the hon. Baronet the Member for South Warwickshire (Sir Eardley Wilmot); and the third was made by the hon. Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Hicks). On the third Motion the Division List states—

"Thereupon, Mr. Speaker, having stated his opinion that the Motion was an abuse of the Forms of the House, put the Question forthwith:—Ayes 22; Noes 83."

And in the Division List I find the names of three of the Conservative Whips.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What has that to do with it?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: What has that to do with the official proof of Obstruction? It shows that those who are responsible for the management of that Party in this House supported a Motion which was declared by the Speaker to be an abuse of the Forms of the House. Mr. Akers-Douglas, the Member for East Kent, Mr. T. Thornhill, the Member for West Suffolk, and Mr. Rowland Winn, the Member for North Lincolnshire, voted in the minority; and I thought the matter was so important, and so worthy the attention of the House, that I immediately rose to call attention to the fact at the time. I can only regret that I, unfortunately, included the names of two right hon. Gentlemen which were not there.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: I have not had an opportunity of reading the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, and I had no idea that he alluded to me in it. My conduct was somewhat marked on the occasion, and I am surprised that he should have fallen into the error he did of saying that I voted in the Lobby with the minority. After the expression of regret on the part of the right hon. Gentleman, I have not a word further to say on the subject; but I think it rather hard that any Gentleman should have his name brought prominently forward in a public meeting, in this manner, either in London or elsewhere, and be represented as voting in a certain direction when he did not so vote. There is, however, nothing discreditable in moving Motions of Adjournment, only the practice, unfortunately, is too common. Having said so much, I will venture to recall the attention of the House to the question raised in the earlier part of the discussion. I certainly fell into the same error as the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). I thought from the statement of the Prime Minister that it was the intention of the Government to introduce, not only a Franchise Bill, but also a Redistribution Bill, at the beginning of the new Session. I understood the Prime Minister to say that we should meet in October in order to take the Franchise Bill, and to enable the Government to fulfil the pledge they have given to bring forward a Redistribution Bill. That was my understanding of the language of the right hon. Gentleman; and I must confess that I fell into the same error as my noble Friend. If the next Session of Parliament was to commence in October, how the House was to suppose that the right hon. Gentleman was speaking of a Redistribution Bill in connection with an adjourned Session after Christmas, I really do not know. I have been entirely misled; and I only allude to the circumstance to express my regret that such is not their intention, and a hope that they will reconsider their decision. I am satisfied that if the Government desire to make progress, and to induce Parliament to pass this measure of Reform as a whole, they will act wisely if they not only bring forward the Franchise Bill in October, but, simultaneously, introduce with it their Redistribution Bill. I should not have alluded to this, but for the questions which have arisen between my noble Friend and the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board. I followed my noble Friend in that discussion, and I must express my opinion that what my noble Friend said was, that if the Prime Minister desired the House of Lords to look favourably on a Franchise Bill, he must insert a date in the Bill. Nothing could be more different from the language used by my noble Friend than that which has been imputed to him, that the House of Lords would be afraid to deal with a measure in which a date had been inserted.

MR. T. THORNHILL: As my name has been mentioned with regard to the Division which took place a few nights ago, perhaps I may be allowed to say a few words in my defence. I know I am supposed to be one of the Whips for my Party; but I do not consider myself an official, because I suppose that an official means a person who receives some pay. I may say that I have received no pay up to the present time; indeed, the case is rather of a contrary character. I thought that on the occasion in question I had a right to vote as I liked, without being liable to be blamed by the right hon. Baronet opposite for having done so, especially as a great many hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial Benches did not vote with the Prime Minister. I protest against my name being brought forward by the President of the Local Government Board.

MR. HICKS: After the very marked manner in which the right hon. Baronet has alluded to me, I think I shall not be transgressing the bounds of moderation if I ask the kind indulgence of the House for a few minutes, even from hon. Members who sit below the Gangway, while I make a few observations upon the subject. After the reference to myself, I beg to draw the attention of the House to what the state of Business was on that occasion. We had all come down for the purpose of listening to a great debate on a Vote of Censure upon the Egyptian Question. The Prime Minister moved that the Orders of the Day be postponed in order that the Vote might be discussed. What took place afterwards? The Prime Minister's own followers, by the direction of the Whips of the Party—the paid officials—went into the Lobby and voted against him. The House was then called upon to discuss questions which they were not prepared to deal with; and after discussing a Bill in regard to which there were a great number of Amendments on the Paper, they proceeded, in defiance of the Votes of this House on previous occasions, to make progress with a Bill, which, instead of diminishing the burdens of local taxation, proposed to add to them. We were here without our Leaders—without those who had been in the habit of taking a prominent part in the discussion of these questions; and I and other Members had to consider whether it was fair and just and right to the ratepayers of the country that we should go on with the measure under the circumstances to which I have alluded. We were told that there were 330 Members present in the early part of the evening, but many of them had never been in the House since; and, among the rest, our Leaders were absent, not having had the slightest idea that the question was intended to be brought on. In moving the adjournment, I had no notion that I was doing anything out of Order. The power to move the adjournment is the only weapon which the minority have to protect themselves against the action of a tyrannical Government. My action was taken after consulting with a few agricultural Members sitting around me, and it had nothing whatever to do with the Conservative Party in this House.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope, at least, that we have now got rid of personal questions. I have no desire to take part in the controversy any further than to say that the last two speakers have entirely overlooked the point of the charge made against them—namely, that they continued to support that vote for a Motion for Adjournment after the Speaker had declared—as it is entered on the Journals—that the Motion was an abuse of the Forms of the House. If a man is a paid official or not—and it is a fair subject of comment, and also of censure—at all events, I am fully of opinion that if he votes for a Motion, declared from the Chair to be an abuse of the Forms of the House. he is a person who may be fairly charged with Obstruction. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] That is my opinion. The point is, that Gentlemen opposite do not think that that is Obstruction, and they support that policy now by their cheers. They accept the doctrine that to vote for such a Motion, declared by the Speaker to be an abuse of the Forms of the House, is not Obstruction. [An hon. MEMBER: Who accepts it?] I assert that to support a Motion which is declared to be an abuse of the Forms of the House is Obstruction. [*Cries of* "No!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite deny that proposition. They think it is a proper Parliamentary way of supporting the dignity of the House to vote down the opinion which the Speaker gives. I am content to leave the matter as it stands; and if a large number of Gentlemen did not take

that view on that occasion they show by their cheers now that if they had been there they would have taken it. [*Cries of* "No!"] Then, why do they shout against my assertion that it is Obstruction to go against the ruling of the Speaker? [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] I accept those cheers as an absolute confirmation of the statement I have made. I will now proceed to other matters, for I do not desire to pursue that any further. The country is now in a position to judge of that view, and I am happy to see that it is endorsed by the cheers of the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), one of the leading Members of the Front Opposition Bench opposite. [Mr. GIBSON: It was not.] Now, I go to a more important matter, and it is the assertion coming from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth) that he had joined in the extraordinary misapprehension, as he calls it, which was entertained by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill)—namely, that the Prime Minister, by his language, had intimated that the Government had ever contemplated introducing a Redistribution Bill in the Autumn Session. Nothing can be more contrary to the intention of the Prime Minister or of the Government, and I do not myself understand how that idea could have prevailed in the mind of anyone who heard him. Perhaps we, who know so well what the view of the Government is, saw it clearer than hon. Gentlemen opposite did. From the very first, we have always maintained it to be absolutely necessary that the Franchise Bill should be passed first. That is the view which we stated at the commencement of the Session, on which we acted all through the Session, and which we propose to act upon in the Autumn Session of this year. We are of opinion—and when the words of my right hon. Friend are reported it will be found that he said—that the Government will be prepared to introduce the Franchise Bill, and the Franchise Bill alone, in the Autumn Session. In our opinion it is necessary that that Bill should be disposed of in the year 1884, in order that we may fulfil the pledge which we have given to devote the year 1885 and the energies of Parliament to the passing of a Redistribution Bill. That is distinctly our view, and it is desirable that there should be no misapprehension about it. It is for that purpose that we have most reluctantly sacrificed a great deal of useful legislation. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Yes, Sir; we have done it with great regret. We think that it is a great sacrifice, and the country will have to understand that, so far as the Government are responsible for the conduct of affairs, no Business of importance to the nation, no Bills or legislation of any kind of importance can be proceeded with until the Franchise Bill has been disposed of. Let there be no mistake about that. It is for the Franchise Bill that all these measures now and hereafter are sacrificed. We will keep before the country the Franchise Bill, and the Franchise Bill alone, until that matter is disposed of; and I hope there is no ambiguity about that statement. The noble Lord was dissatisfied because he thought the Prime Minister was too tame in his language. He said—"Are we not in the midst of a Constitutional crisis?" The noble Lord told an admirable fable from Æsop which is capable of more than one application. In his attitude he reminded me of another familar story—that of the Irishman who walked through Donnybrook Fair trailing his coat, and asking if anybody would tread on the tail of it. The noble Lord seemed extremely distressed that the Prime Minister had not made a violent speech. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.] He said it was pusillanimous; but I would describe it as not being violent. The noble Lord is a great critic of style. He has criticized two speeches of the Prime Minister; one of them as being so violent that it lost the Bill, and the other as so tame that he is afraid it will lose the Ministry. The noble Lord is difficult to satisfy. He thinks the Prime Minister is too violent at one time and not violent enough at another. And I suppose that when my right hon. Friend, having acquired the ripe experience of the noble Lord, has become a master of style, he will learn not to outstep the *juste milieu* which is characteristic of the oratory of the noble Lord. The noble Lord is mistaken if he thinks that the Prime Minister or his followers have departed from the spirit of that passage of Shakespeare which was quoted in the speech to which he referred. We are not anxious to enter into a quarrel; but

the noble Lord will find that when a quarrel is forced upon us we shall not retreat from it; and the question whether or not there is a Constitutional crisis rests not with us, but with another Body altogether. The noble Lord has yet to learn that it is not the people who use the biggest words who are always the most resolute. If the noble Lord should ever be placed in a position of responsibility, I hope he may not deserve the taunts that he has addressed to-night to the Prime Minister for having, in circumstances as grave as I venture to say as any which have ever occurred in this country, used moderate language befitting the responsibility of his Office. I do not think that his Conservative Friends either in the House or out of it will thank the noble Lord for the inflammatory language he has used to-night, or the attempt he has made to exasperate the spirit of Party, and to endeavour to taunt those who are opposed to him into language, and into courses of violence, on which they are most reluctant to enter. That is all that is necessary for me to say with regard to the speech of the noble Lord. I would not have risen except on account of the serious misapprehension that seems to have arisen in reference to the attitude of the Government. I wish it to be clearly understood—and I speak on behalf of the Government—that from this time forth, with reference to the House of Commons, in the House of Commons, and out of the House of Commons, we have only one object; and that is to prosecute, before all things, to one end—to its legitimate end—the passing of a Bill for the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 of the people.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: From the somewhat pompous and inflammatory style of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down, I think he must, during his remarks, have forgotten for a moment that he was addressing this House, and have thought that he was already engaged in that campaign against the Tory Party and the House of Lords to which he is looking forward with such satisfaction. He accused my noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) of using inflammatory language, and he praised by contrast the Prime Minister for his moderate utterances in this House. Unless public report has much falsified what occurred at the meeting of the Liberal Party to-day, we shall get a very different idea of the moderation of the Prime Minister when we read to-morrow's newspapers from that which we may gather, either from the Prime Minister's speech in this House this evening, or from the general tone of the advice just given to us by the Home Secretary. The right hon. and learned Gentleman taunted the Conservative Party with Obstruction. It would be easy to quote from the right hon. and learned Gentleman's own career very gross instances of Obstruction. Similar instances might also be readily cited from the career of the right hon. Gentleman who now sits next to him. [MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No.] And I would ask whether any more obstructive proposal, in the strictest sense of the term obstructive, was ever made than that which has been made by Her Majesty's Government to-day? Obstruction is a waste of the public time, by which measures of public utility are imperilled; and I say that the Government, by coming down to the House to-day and throwing over all their Bills, and announcing an Autumn Session, have gone through the most obstructive operation ever performed by any Ministry. Every hour which has been spent by either House upon any Bill, and even upon the Franchise Bill itself, will be absolutely thrown away by the action of the Government. Nor is that all. But how will the time be spent when you have got your precious Autumn Session? I presume that the House of Lords will do just what they have done now. And the Autumn Session will be as absolutely wasted as the Spring Session. And why do I think that the House of Lords will do that? Why, because every argument which should induce them to do it in July will exist in October or November; and there will be this additional argument—that the Government, by having an Autumn Session, will show that they are afraid to do what the House of Lords has declared they ought to do—namely, appeal to the country. I cannot understand why hon. Gentlemen should doubt that the Franchise Bill must meet with a similar fate in the Autumn Session. Do they think that the other House will be frightened by the loud talk of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite? By

their manifestations they seem to say they think so. I decline to believe that any assembly of English Gentlemen are to be frightened by such bluster as that of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), or ribaldry such as that of the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers). No man on the Conservative side of the House would support an Assembly which was incapable of performing its primary function; and if the House of Lords were to continue to exist under such circumstances it would only exist by the contemptuous indifference of its enemies. I rose, however, to point out to the House and the country, as clearly as possible, that the course which the Government have determined to adopt of dropping every measure of public utility in this Session and wasting the next Session of Parliament deserves the name of wilful and persistent Obstruction.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) has thought it right to apply the word "bluster" to language that I have used. I can only say that I have never used any language outside the House which I am not prepared to use in it. I claim that I have said nothing elsewhere about the House of Lords which is not fairly within the mark of criticism, and, as I think, of just criticism. I am not, however, going now to argue this question. I will only say one thing, and that is, if I wanted a good argument against the House of Lords—if I wanted an argument to justify that contemptuous indifference to which reference has been made, I should find it in the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. He is like the executioner in *Barnaby Rudge*, who was delighted with hanging and scourging other people, but when his own turn came to be hanged his screams were more heartrending than those of his victims had been. The noble Lord can find nothing more original, nothing more witty, nothing more high bred, than to compare a political opponent to a donkey.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon; I never called him so. I never imagined that the hon. Gentleman would put the cap on.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: This is surely a rather juvenile kind of irony; it is a species of youthful sarcasm which I hope the noble Lord will get the better of. I am not sure that there are not fables relating to lower organisms than donkeys which, if one wanted to do it, might be applied to the noble Lord. But the point to which I wish to direct the attention of the House is an argument and a statement of facts on the part of the noble Lord. He said that had it not been for the language used by the Prime Minister in moving that the Bill be read a third time, certain Peers among noble Friends of his own would have voted in favour of the Bill.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said that, to my knowledge, I sincerely believed that there were many noble Lords who would have approached the question of Reform in a different way, and with open and impartial minds.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: The noble Lord distinctly said the Bill would have been well on its way to the Royal Assent by this time. Does the noble Lord deny that he said that?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said that I believed it might have been on its way to the Royal Assent. ["Oh, oh!"]

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I am not going to argue this question with the noble Lord. I am speaking in memory of the words which are in the possession of the House. Whatever the noble Lord said hon. Members in the House heard it; and, at all events, he attributed very important action on the part of noble Lords in the other House to resentment of the words spoken by the Prime Minister. Does the noble Lord deny that?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Certainly not.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: The noble Lord admits that important action was taken in the other House because of their resentment.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I stated my opinion.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I cannot go into these metaphysical distinctions of knowledge, and belief, and opinion. I want the noble Lord and his Friends to consider what that statement means. It means that the House of Lords, or an important section of it, in a moment of crisis, is going to plunge affairs into confusion, is going to provoke irritating discussions, and is going to throw the

Business of the Session out of gear, not out of public spirit, but out of *pique*. Let the noble Lord say what he pleases; let the words of the Prime Minister be objected to as much as he or his Friends like; let them be charged with petulance if you choose. I say that even if they were petulant—which I, for my part, by no means admit—yet they were only a few words; and to think that the Members of a great Party, the Members of a great and august Chamber, are to produce all the confusion we see for the sake of a few petulant words—I want no stronger argument than this when I next have occasion to go careering about the country. I did not rise for the purpose of noticing the noble Lord's fables—Æsop's and others. There is one matter of much greater importance in regard to which I wish to make a suggestion. I think what has happened since the Prime Minister traced the probable course of Business in the Session must make it more doubtful even than it was whether that programme is likely to be carried through. What I wish to suggest is that it would be much better to take all the time between now and the Prorogation in order to push on the remaining Business of the Session.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, he was sorry that the strife and quarrels of Parties had resulted in wrecking the Franchise Bill. There was not one of the Three Kingdoms which so much required a measure of enfranchisement as Ireland. Nowhere did there exist so much as in Ireland the necessity for granting to an important but unenfranchised class a voice in the legislation which so closely concerned their welfare. He believed that the vast majority of the electors of the Three Kingdoms were in favour of household suffrage in the counties, and he believed that the House of Lords would discover that that was the case; but, at the same time, he could not understand why the Government shrank from accepting the challenge of the Lords. The Tories had openly defied the Government upon the question of the extension of the franchise; and instead of taking up the glove which the Peers had thrown into their face, Her Majesty's Government fell back upon the refuge of an Autumn Session. What did they expect from an Autumn Session? As a matter of course, unless the Peers were as contemptible and cowardly as their bitterest opponents alleged, the proceedings of the other evening in the House of Lords must simply be repeated in October or November, when the Franchise Bill was again before Parliament. The only manly and the only wise course was to accept the challenge of the Peers, and to demand the verdict of the constituencies. The Irish National Party, at any rate, were not afraid of a Dissolution. And, in the meantime, how did it fare with Ireland that day? Why, if there were no other reasons, the proceedings of the Imperial Parliament to-day too clearly proved what a farce, what a delusion, what a mockery was Imperial legislation for Ireland. What had become of the Government measures which professed to remedy even admitted defects in the Government legislation for Ireland? What had become of the boasted Land Purchase Bill, which was to have been the parent of so many magnificent possibilities to Ireland? It had been dropped, it had been abandoned, because the Government, instead of meeting the challenge of the Peers, had preferred to cling to Office for a few more miserable months under the pretext of a useless Autumn Session. What was now the prospect for the remainder of the present year, for the whole of the coming year, and perhaps for another year into the bargain? Instead of any remedial and useful legislation being introduced for Ireland, English attention and English politics would be occupied with the sterile recriminations of the two English competitors for Party and for place. He called upon his countrymen in Ireland to reflect upon the spectacle of to-day. It showed how once more the dearest wants of Ireland were sacrificed to the miserable exigencies of English Party ambition. It was only the other day that the columns of the Irish National Press were filled with heartrending accounts of the cruel evictions in Donegal, in Mayo, in Kerry, and in a dozen other Irish counties besides. How many more helpless families would be cast upon the roadside during the months and during the years that the two English Parties would be fighting out their quarrels by mutual vituperation upon a hundred English Party platforms? The manner in which all useful Irish legislation was thus cast aside was another and crowning argument in favour of a Party in Ireland, and among the Irish

race, which he was glad to see increasing day by day—a Party which taught the Irish race that not on the floor of that House, but on a wider area, must the great struggle for Irish National independence be fought and won. He equally condemned the anti-Irish attitude of the Tory Party, for if there was one thing more conspicuous than another in all their speeches to-day, it was their utter indifference to and their utter oblivion of the fact that there existed such a place as Ireland. He called upon his countrymen to meditate upon its lessons, to fortify themselves in the firm resolution to trust in themselves and in the millions of their countrymen throughout the world to win for Ireland Ireland's right to National Self-Government.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK pointed out to the hon. Members for Ireland that the interests of their country were as much involved in the passing of the Franchise Bill as the interests of England. He regretted the remarks of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), because he hoped even now that the House of Lords would defer to what was certainly the general wish of the country. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) seemed disappointed at the courtesy and moderation of the statement made by the Prime Minister, and surprised that no violent speeches had been made from that side of the House. This was not, however, from any want of conviction or determination; but they entered into the contest—if enter into it they must—coolly and with calmness, because they had the certainty of ultimate victory. As regards the Bills now before the House, he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would state what course he proposed to take with reference to the rehabilitation of the coinage. The Coinage Bill only dealt with one part of the question, and he supposed the Chancellor would proceed with the rest of the scheme. He trusted the Savings Banks Act Amendment Bill would not be proceeded with this Session, for it had only recently been printed, and its details would require much consideration. Although anxious at all times to preserve the rights of private Members, yet as no useful legislation could now take place he would impress on the Government the desirability of taking the whole of the time of the House for the purposes of the necessary Business.

MR. GRANTHAM pointed out that they had heard a great deal of warm language used with regard to the House of Lords; but when the Peers rejected the Ballot Bill some years ago they were threatened in exactly the same way. And in the following Session an improved Ballot Bill was brought in, which the House of Lords then agreed to. In the same way the present delay might lead to an improved Franchise Bill, and that next Session a complete scheme of Reform would have passed both Houses. He believed that in the near future, when the franchise and redistribution had been satisfactorily passed, the Liberals should agree with the Tories in their satisfaction at the action of the House of Lords.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that on other occasions the House of Lords had taken up positions antagonistic to the views and wishes of the people of this country, but had found it advisable to alter their minds and their votes. Noble Lords might adopt a similar course in the Autumn Session. It was a significant sign that one-half of the Bishops had abstained from voting on Tuesday, and the other half had supported the Reform Bill. No doubt the Notice which had been given by an hon. Member of his intention to move a Resolution declaring that the Bishops should be removed from the House of Lords had had some effect in bringing right rev. Prelates into sympathy with the wants and wishes of the people. The majority of Peers in favour of Earl Cairns's Motion was not so large as had been expected, and 30 votes would be sufficient to alter the verdict of the Lords. It was asked what would happen if the Lords threw out the Bill a second time. He could only say the supporters of the Government were perfectly satisfied with the prospect. The Prime Minister had given universal satisfaction to his own Party by the course he had taken, and had spoken in strict moderation in explaining the policy of the Government. If there were a protracted agitation in the country the responsibility must rest on the House of Lords. He doubted the professions of Lord Salisbury and his friends as to their anxiety to pass the Franchise Bill, looking at the declarations of the Conservative Leader antagonistic to organic

changes; and with regard to the coming struggle he was sure it would be a short one. Though the agitation might not take the form it did in 1831, still, with the increased direct power the people had over the House of Commons, and the increased indirect power they had over the other House, there could be no doubt as to how the struggle would end than there ever had been as to the issue of any struggle which had been finally settled, and in which the popular cause triumphed. They would find opposed to the action of the House of Lords all those whom the Bill had proposed to enfranchise, and the great majority of those who already possessed the franchise.

MR. BOURKE said, there was one Bill in the Orders—namely, the East Indian Unclaimed Stocks Bill—to which he had a very strong objection. Although he supposed it would not be proceeded with, he hoped some Member of the Government would be able to say so. He also wished to know, as a matter of convenience, about what date the Prorogation would take place? The House was aware that the Government was pledged to give full discussion with respect to Egyptian affairs; and, of course, on his side of the House they would wish to know the probable date, so as to make their plans for that discussion. It was very desirable that a full House should be present on the occasion.

MR. BRYCE, as a Metropolitan Member, complained of the conduct of the Government with regard to the London Government Bill—conduct which, he said, had greatly discouraged the municipal reformers of the Metropolis, and had correspondingly elated the enemies of the Bill. He expressed no opinion regarding the Bill itself, but desired to point out that if they had doubted their power to carry it this Session they had better not have brought it in, and, anyhow, ought not to have moved the second reading unless they were resolved to get the second reading. If the Government did not intend to press the second reading, why had time been occupied which might have been devoted to useful work? They knew last Thursday, when the second reading was moved, as well as they did now, that the Lords would throw out the Franchise Bill. He believed that considerable discouragement had been given to the cause of municipal reform in London by the action of the Government with regard to that Bill, since its withdrawal before a second reading had been obtained would be claimed by its opponents as being practically a victory.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, the scene that they had witnessed that evening was extremely humiliating to the English nation. If his dusky Majesty the Maori King occupied a seat on the Gallery and inquired what was the cause of all this excitement, he would be surprised to find that it was a petty personal quarrel between an English Lord and an English Baronet. What occurred that afternoon? They had been listening to the observations of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and the foolishness which he was indulging in appeared to have been contagious, for the Home Secretary followed in his usual ponderous and weighty manner, and his speech was little less foolish. If the Members of the House had paid for their admission to a theatre they might have been amused at the speeches of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock and the Home Secretary, and might have found some enjoyment in them. But the feelings of an average Irish Member of Parliament who had spent the afternoon listening to such speeches must be and could not be otherwise than profoundly sad. There were a number of Irish measures on the Paper which should be proceeded with, instead of having the whole afternoon occupied with silly speeches and the settlement of personal quarrels. It was intolerable that the Irish Members should be compelled to sit there listening to these personal assaults by one English Gentleman upon another English Gentleman, while they were impressed with a great sense of the fact that their country was being neglected. He regretted the intention of the Prime Minister, as stated by him that night on behalf of the Government, to abandon many of the measures which were to have been got through that Session in order to discuss the Franchise Bill. If the Government were not afraid of the House of Lords they should have accepted the challenge which was flung down by them and gone to the country. He protested against the conduct of the Government in abandoning the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bill in order to have an Autumn Session for the purpose of

again discussing the Franchise Question in that House. Such a determination on the part of the Government would be viewed in Ireland with pain and regret. It was a monstrous thing that such a Bill should be abandoned simply through fear of the House of Lords. He protested against the practice of turning that Chamber into an arena for the settlement of private quarrels while the interests of Ireland were being neglected.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that the debate had been worn so thoroughly threadbare that he rose only to answer one or two questions. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) asked what was to be done with the Coinage Bill and the Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill, and the East Indian Unclaimed Stocks Bill had also been mentioned. These were Bills of the third rank, and were not of sufficient importance to be included in the list with which the Prime Minister dealt. While the Government would be glad to proceed with those Bills, if there was no serious opposition to them, yet, on the other hand, they should have to consider that it was their chief duty to close Supply; consequently, if the opposition to any of these Bills was likely to cause a great expenditure of time, they would have to share the fate of the more important measures. His hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) had made a remark which he was bound to take notice of in one or two sentences. He complained of the action of the Government with respect to the second reading of the London Government Bill, for he said they must have known that the Bill could not be proceeded with, as they must have been aware of the threatened action of the House of Lords on the Franchise Bill. The hon. Gentleman complained of the Government having commenced that discussion. He (Mr. Chamberlain) must say he thought his hon. Friend a little ungrateful, because it was at the strong desire of himself and other hon. Members primarily interested in this question that the Government commenced the debate. So far as the Government were concerned, at all events, they were perfectly *bonâ fide*, and they hoped to make real progress with the Bill. It was too much of his hon. Friend to say that the Government were aware of what would be the result of the action of the House of Lords. It was impossible for the Government up to the last moment to know, although undoubtedly threats were uttered by Members of the Conservative Party, what the action of the House of Lords would be. There were many who believed that the House of Lords would be wise in time, and would not take the extreme course they had pursued with regard to the Bill. With regard to the last question put to him by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Bourke) whether they could give any idea of the date of the Prorogation, the Government would be delighted, he could assure the House, to make a prediction if they could do so with any confidence; but the date of the Prorogation depended on the course of Supply. They should do all they could to advance it, and nothing except the promised debate on the Egyptian Question would be allowed to interfere with progress with Supply. The Government hoped, though they could not give an assurance, that Supply might come to an end earlier than it had done lately, and that the Prorogation might take place in the early part of August.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, in reply to the challenge of the Home Secretary, that the Conservative Party and the House of Lords were not afraid of an appeal to the people. They challenged the Government to come to a Dissolution, to which, no doubt, the Government did not wish to have recourse. The Government had deliberately swamped more than 20 Bills, which they might have carried to a successful conclusion in the ordinary manner, and they did that in order to get up a Party agitation, which might serve them in their contest with the House of Lords. If they were so anxious to pass a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill, why not call Parliament together a few weeks earlier in 1885, instead of having an Autumn Session and throwing all the blame on the House of Lords? Probably the result of the agitation about to be got up would be that they would spend a good deal of money on drums and banners, and then send round the hat to pay the expenses. The House had heard from the Home Secretary that the Franchise Bill was to take precedence of everything. But that very

Home Secretary told the House a few days ago that he would not answer for the cholera if the London Government Bill did not pass. And so they had been told by the President of the Board of Trade that the preventible loss of life at sea was terrible; and yet, in the teeth of these declarations, both the London Government Bill and the Merchant Shipping Bill were dropped. One word with regard to the charge of Obstruction brought against the Opposition. The proceedings the other night were very exceptional. The Conservative Party on that occasion found themselves jockeyed out of a great debate, and several measures were brought suddenly on while a number of Gentlemen who were interested in those measures were absent. He was not present at the time; but he understood that the House was confused, and neither side knew what to do. Three Divisions took place. He was aware that the Speaker ruled that the last Division was a breach of the Privileges of the House; but he would respectfully point out that that was a case upon which there might be a difference of opinion. As had been stated before, the President of the Local Government Board and his Colleague the President of the Board of Trade adopted tactics in 1878 which, if followed by Gentlemen on the Conservative side, would have called forth expressions of reprobation from Members on the other side. The Conservative Party need not be in the least alarmed by the wild but calculated menaces of the Radical Party, who would probably find the House of Lords more popular than they imagined. There had been two or three significant elections lately—in the populous constituency of Mid Surrey, and in the very important manufacturing and populous constituency of North Warwickshire. In both the cry of the franchise against the House of Lords was raised, and the result was the return of the Conservative candidates by bigger majorities than ever. He hoped the House of Lords would stand to their guns, and would insist on the Government bringing in a fair, honest, and complete Bill. The country understood the case very well. It understood that the Prime Minister had only to insert a clause in the Franchise Bill to insure that it would not come into operation until the Redistribution Bill was passed, and the Franchise Bill would be passed, not only in October, but now in July. The object of the Government was to go to the country on the new electorate without redistribution, in which event the Radical faction, the men of the Caucus, would not only have the Conservative Party at their mercy, but, in addition, their own more moderate Colleagues in the Cabinet.

MR. WARTON said, with reference to the charge of Obstruction on the day when the House met to discuss the affairs of Egypt, that the Government ought not to have taken advantage of their own wrong, but ought to have adjourned the House instead of bringing on Bills when Members interested in those Bills were not present to discuss them.

MR. SPEAKER said, that the House was not now discussing what took place on a previous debate, but the arrangement of Business for the future.

MR. WARTON submitted that though the Speaker ruled on the occasion in question that what had been done was an abuse of the Forms of the House, that did not make it wrong for a Member to vote according to his conscience.

MR. BIGGAR, as a spectator for a considerable time, wished to point out to the Government the manner in which time had been wasted by them. The Government had alleged that they could not pass both a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill this Session; but he was strongly inclined to controvert the statement. Much time was lost over the Egyptian Question. They knew, as a matter of fact, that Members on the Front Opposition Bench were never anxious to challenge a discussion on such a subject unless they felt the ground sure under their feet, and they were perfectly justified in what they had done, because there never was more gross mismanagement from first to last in any country than that of the Government. They went first to Egypt on account of the bondholders, and now the only thing they could promise them was a reduction in the rate of interest.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in Order in discussing during this debate the details of the Egyptian Question.

MR. BIGGAR: I am anxious to show that the Government have wasted time——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in Order in continuing this debate upon Egypt.

MR. BIGGAR said, he only wished to show that the Government had wasted time in a manner which made it impossible for them to deal with matters which they ought to have dealt with. They wasted time by not giving information, and that led to a system of Questions and cross-examinations day after day. Then there was the case of the London Government Bill. One would have imagined that the Government meant to pass it; but they wanted it only as an Election cry. It came very badly from hon. Members opposite to threaten an agitation against the House of Lords, because he believed if the question of the Franchise Bill was to be decided by ballot in that House a larger majority would be found against it on the other side than there was the other night in the House of Lords.

MR. HEALY said, he wished to offer a few remarks about the general conduct of the Government in regard to the management of Irish Bills. Before doing so, he thought it right, as one who had voted in the Division to which the Home Secretary and the President of the Local Government Board had taken exception, to protest against the extraordinary dictum that because he had voted in support of a Motion which the Speaker had declared to be an abuse of the Rules, therefore he was guilty of Obstruction. The Government were attempting to set up the Speaker as a species of fetish. He had great respect for the Speaker and his rulings; but so long as the Rules of the House permitted them to vote despite the ruling of the Chair, it was futile to describe that voting as Obstruction. It did not lie with the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) to speak of Obstruction, for in the last Parliament he was in continual conflict with the Chairman of Committees (Mr. Raikes), and defended the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) by the hour for Obstruction. He had heard with astonishment the cool statement of the Prime Minister that the Land Purchase Bill was to be dropped. The Government had promised, on the 4th of March, to bring in that Bill; but they did not introduce it until June, and then, on the 10th of July, it was dropped, as being of no consequence. The truth was, that the Government never intended to carry that Bill, and merely intended to dangle it before the eyes of the Irish people to amuse them. Yet two Morning Sittings had been wasted on the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, and three nights on the London Government Bill. These five Sittings would have sufficed to pass the Land Purchase Bill. It was atrocious that right hon. Gentlemen who had shown themselves so incapable of measuring out the time of the House should make a charge of Obstruction against another Party because of a Division which occupied five minutes. The cry was purely factitious, and intended for the General Election. Having listened to the speeches of the Prime Minister and of the Solicitor General for Ireland as to the necessity for curing the defects of the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act, he was surprised at their not even shedding a tear over the coffin of the Government measure. He did not think Public Business was advanced by bandying about charges of Obstruction. It was a pity that the time of the House should be spent in wranglings of that kind. The Government intended to pass measures to which the Irish Members entertained a strong objection, and to refuse to pass measures in which they were deeply interested. In that quarter of the House there was the strongest objection to the Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill, and he warned the Government that if they persisted in pressing forward that measure the Session would not be brought to a close by the 1st of August. He would give to that Bill the same amount of opposition as to the renewal of the Crimes Act, because he regarded some of its provisions as fatal to the liberties of his country. Supply must be passed, and in Committee of Supply the Irish Members would have to debate the history of a number of Government officials—the tastes of gentlemen like James Ellis French, Gustavus Cornwall, and Corry Connellan. The Government pretended that they were now going into a struggle with the House of Lords. For his own part, he had not the slightest confidence in the *bona fides* of the Government with regard to this matter. He had no confidence in the House of Lords; but knowing, as he did, that the Cabinet

was stuffed with Lords, the notion of the Government getting up an agitation against the House of Lords was ridiculous. The House of Lords was absolutely safe to throw out the Bill as many times as they pleased. They would be great fools if they did not. They were not such fools as to take a pig in a poke—to take the Bill without a Redistribution Bill. He would gladly take part in an agitation against the House of Lords; but it was absurd to talk of it. But the Caucus of Birmingham would pass its resolutions, the penny newspapers would talk about a tremendous crisis. But their Leaders did not believe a word of it. Would anybody tell him that the Home Secretary was not quite satisfied with things as they were? [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Not everything.] Not with Irish Members, perhaps. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman were in the House of Lords he would do the same thing as the House of Lords. He was glad the House of Lords had thrown out the Bill. There were some sincere persons, like the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who really desired to get up an attempt at such an agitation; but it was too ridiculous.

MR. PARNELL: I wish to express my dissent from the Parliamentary law which was laid down by the Home Secretary some hours ago, that everybody who votes for a Motion of which the Speaker has expressed his disapproval is guilty of Parliamentary Obstruction. This dictum of the Home Secretary is decidedly new, and it is also a distinct advance upon anything we have heard yet with regard to the Law of Obstruction. It is in my judgment the most audacious statement I have ever heard proceeding from the Government Bench on this question.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Pardon me—[*Cries of* "Order!"]——

MR. PARNELL: The right hon. and learned Gentleman can explain afterwards.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: But that is not what I said.

MR. PARNELL: It would simply lead to this, that the independence of Members would have to be surrendered to the Chair and the Government Bench. For my part, if I had been in the House the other night I should have been too glad to have voted in the minority as a protest against the waste of time by the Government in persisting with the Bill in question. To set up such constructive Obstruction is, I trust, a long way in advance of anything which will ever be thought of for suppressing the independence and liberties of unofficial Members in this House. There has been much talk about Obstruction in this and other Sessions. The term Obstruction has been generally applied to the opposition of Irish Members to measures of an unconstitutional character which the experience of their working has shown to be against the interests of their country. The charge of Obstruction now made against Conservative Members was then made against Irish Members. The Conservatives now see the result of their foolish and ill-judged action in joining with the Government against the Irish Members. I consider that the charges of Obstruction which are now made against Gentlemen sitting on the Conservative Benches have just as little foundation as the charges of Obstruction made against the Irish Party. The charges against the Opposition and the other House of Parliament are made because they have asserted the rights which the Constitution gave them. Then we are told that because the Franchise Bill was opposed there is no time for other measures. Although I have been a fervent well-wisher of the Franchise Bill, I am bound to say that the charges of Obstruction which were sought to be trumped up against the Opposition in regard to it are most unfair, and entirely unfounded. The House of Lords had a Constitutional right to throw out the Franchise Bill or any other Bill—just as much right as hon. Members sitting on the Ministerial Benches had to pass it—and it is unfair Party conduct, in my judgment, to make charges founded upon their action against a Body which is recognized in the Constitution, and which has equal rights with this House in the Constitution. So long as this House chooses to tolerate the existence of a Second Chamber constituted of hereditary and irresponsible Legislators the Government is certainly not entitled to make charges of Obstruction against that Body for their action within the Constitution. If you wish to do away with them act in a straightforward manner, and take steps which are necessary to get rid of them.

These charges of Obstruction are absolutely unmaintainable, and the common sense of the country will see through them and judge how unfounded they are. I am not very much concerned with regard to this struggle which we are told is about to take place between the two Houses of Parliament. The House of Lords has always been an enemy of the Irish people during the 82 years which have elapsed of the Parliamentary connection between England and Ireland. It will be to a certain extent to our advantage, of course, if really Radical measures are taken as a result of the present position. But I do not believe that these Radical measures will be taken. My hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) has told us that it is impossible to expect that any real axe will be directed to the root of the evil, in view of the fact that the present Cabinet is stuffed with Lords. I join with my hon. Friend in his belief. No doubt, the people of England will do their part; but it will be much cry and little wool, and in the end we shall find things will remain as they are, and the foundations of the Constitution will still be unshaken. Whatever is done the Parliamentary outlook for Ireland is hopeless. During the whole of this Parliament there was no real desire on the part of the Cabinet to give any time that they could possibly help to the consideration of Irish Business. That Ireland has benefited has not been because of the Cabinet, but it has been because agitation in Ireland rose to such an extent that it was absolutely necessary to meet it by remedial legislation. Had it not been for this agitation we should have been left to whistle for legislation during this Parliament. Parliament is overburdened with work, and Governments are obliged to take refuge in the cry of Obstruction because there is not time for one-tenth of the urgent Business that ought to be done. Yet no influential section of politicians has any idea of doing the only thing that would remove the block. Irish Members, therefore, have practically no interest in facilitating the Business of the Government; and there is no reason in the world why we should abate our attempts to lay bare the infamy of English misrule in Ireland and the iniquity of Dublin Castle. We have not had one single measure passed for our country this Session, and there were only one or two small ones at the end of last Session. The Government have scandalously mismanaged the time at their disposal. They brought forward the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, which nobody wanted. I wish to express neutrality with regard to that question, but at the same time I am bound to say nobody in Ireland that I could discover wanted it. They spent two days discussing it. These two days devoted to the Irish Land Purchase Bill, amended in a way to meet the views of all Irish Members belonging to every section of the House, would have been sufficient to pass that measure, and we should have had something of utility for the country. The Poor Law Guardians Elections Bill passed its second reading without opposition. I am speaking in the interest of Public Business when I say it would be right to devote some time to the Committee stages of those Bills belonging to private Members which have passed second reading. Why should not the Government, between now and the end of the Session, give to the perfecting of these Bills two or three Government nights? I regret exceedingly that we should have lost this Session; but having carefully watched the conduct of Parties, I do not think there is any ground for the charge of Obstruction. I join my hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan in protesting against the Law of Evidence Bill. That is a measure we should not feel justified in assenting to without serious consideration and extensive discussion. It is not fair to persist with a measure of this contentious character. I trust that we may have some reassuring statement from the Government with regard to this Bill and the Poor Law Guardians Elections (Ireland) Bill.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, the Peers had thrown out the Franchise Bill, and the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) threatened that they would do it again. That was an important statement, coming from him. The rejection of the Bill had been accompanied by a speech which, for contempt of popular will and popular opinion, had, perhaps, never been equalled. It would be childish for this country to occupy its time in any agitation to induce the House of Lords to pass the Franchise Bill when again introduced,

The crisis which they were now entering upon, and which had been created by the other House, was a very serious one. It was no more nor less than a conflict between a few hundred gentlemen and the people of this country. The question was, whether the people now living in England were to be a self-governing people or not? It would be a waste of breath to try to induce the House of Lords to pass the Bill. There was an amount of latent anger in the country at the idea of the popular will being controlled by any power not of a representative character which would insist on that power being removed out of the Legislature of the country. This was the only thing he was concerned about. He would have been glad if the Bill had been passed; but, as it was not passed, remembering how former measures had been emasculated or thrown out, he said the country had borne this long enough, and this feeling must be the key-note of any agitation which might take place. It was useless for the Government to complain of Obstruction, or that measures were delayed. They were under Party government—a form of government which he believed in. It meant government by a majority, and that majority should be used freely and with effect. He should not complain, if he was in a minority, of the majority having their will; but he claimed, when he was in a majority, that that majority should have its will. He thought that the simple remedy for Obstruction would be for the Government, at the commencement of each Session, to bring forward a limited number of measures, and keep the House sitting until they were disposed of.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE admitted that if the House of Lords were an anomalous Institution, out of harmony with the spirit of the times, it would be better that it should be reformed; but, in his opinion, their recent action was within their power, and had the approval of the country. The hon. Member who spoke last seemed to want to govern the country by means of the Birmingham Caucus of 900, as against the 500 Members of the House of Lords. So far as he was concerned, he was quite content to set the 500 of the Upper Chamber against the Birmingham Caucus, and let the country decide between them. He failed to see why redistribution should not be dealt with as well in October as it could be in January. He was quite ready to go to his constituents, and support the action of the House of Lords.

MR. CLARE READ asked what would be the Business for to-morrow?

MR. COURTNEY: The Government propose to take Supply.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he objected to the scheme of government by majorities proposed by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), and said that if minorities were to be trampled on as he desired, there would be an end to all respect for the decision of the House. He advised the Government, who themselves, when in Opposition, originated the existing form of Obstruction, to cease making such a charge against their opponents, because it was apparent that under that charge they desired to hide their own delinquencies, their own delays, and their own inefficiencies. If the Motion had proceeded from the Irish Benches, they would have been told they were occasioning Obstruction; while this waste of four hours of the public time was allowed without any protest. The Irish Members had a special reason to complain of the manner in which Irish Business was put upon the Notice Paper of the House. The Government put forward upon the Notice Paper measures which were most objectionable in their character to the Irish people, while they left in the background questions upon which there would be no dispute. After a Coercion Bill, they were shown some measure of practical good to Ireland, and they were told that they must first swallow the Coercion Bill. This Session the Government had put forward the Irish Sunday Closing Bill, which had been simply jockeying every measure of real importance to Ireland, and then they were told that they could get no legislation until that was passed. The Government simply offered a premium for Obstruction by their action. With regard to the Constitutional question, he maintained that if they were to have government by Party, they must have a Government in which the minority should have some voice as well as the majority; and it would be highly detrimental to the interests of the country if, whatever Government happened to be in power for the time, it should have an absolute and uncontrolled

exercise of their will. As to the rejection of the Franchise Bill by the House of Lords, he was one of those who thought that it would confer a great boon upon a large class. It had been said that the House of Lords had exercised their Constitutional right in rejecting it. While no one would deny that, he contended that they would not have exercised that right if the Government had really been in earnest about the Bill. They had been told that the House of Lords would throw it out again, and they would be safe in doing so, unless, in the meantime, the Government took the trouble to press upon them the fact that it had really the support of the people, and so force it through Parliament. While there were so many Members of the House of Lords, and expectant Members, there would be no idea of reality about the intentions of the Government.

MR. H. H. FOWLER regretted the empty condition of the Treasury Bench and the absence of any Cabinet Minister. The Government had told them that they intended to call the House together on the 20th of October, that Her Majesty had been pleased to take that advice, and the discussion of the question of an Autumn Session was therefore of no avail. What he wished to impress upon them was that if they were to be called together again on that date they had a right to ask that the present Session should be brought to a conclusion at the earliest possible moment. He appealed to the Government to deal with the matter in a practical, common-sense way, and not to nibble at one or two Bills and to say that they would try to pass this Bill and that Bill. If they were going to sacrifice all the larger measures of the Session it would be idle attempting to get the minor measures passed, and it would be far better at once to sweep from the Order Book every Bill of a contentious nature. The House was bound to sit till Supply, which was greatly in arrear, was passed, and he would suggest that if the Session was to be brought to an end at the time the House desired it was absolutely necessary that the Government should at once take possession for the rest of the Session of every working day in the week. Therefore, in the Motion which the Prime Minister would make on Monday or Tuesday he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to ask the House to extend the Rule which enabled the House to go into Supply on Mondays and Thursdays without any questions being raised to Tuesdays and Wednesdays, so that they might set to work and finish the Session. If independent Members as well as official Members were to be asked to come there on the 20th of October, they had a right in return to ask the Prime Minister to put an end to all those disputable Bills and to afford facilities for passing through Supply, which must occasion great discussion, in order that they might bring that Session to as early a close as possible.

MR. MACIVER said, he had the strongest objection to the suggestion made by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton. He thought that in asking the Government to deal in a practical, common-sense way with any subject, that hon. Member was reckoning without his host. There stood on the Notice Paper for next Wednesday a Bill relating to shipping which could not receive the discussion which from its importance it deserved, if the Government were allowed to appropriate the remaining Wednesdays of the Session. The hon. Member was proceeding to quote opinions expressed by Sir Thomas Farrer, the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade, when—

MR. SPEAKER, interposing, intimated that he was not in Order.

MR. MAC IVER said, he disclaimed any intention to discuss on the present occasion the details of any Shipping Bill; he would, however, conclude by respectfully but earnestly protesting against next Wednesday being taken by the Government instead of being devoted to the consideration of a measure of vital public importance, which really involved no question of Party.

MR. GREGORY wished to second the appeal which had been made to the Government by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton to clear away from the Order Book the mass of Bills which they could not now hope either to pass this Session or to discuss for any practical purpose, and to wind up the Session by proceeding only with such Business as was absolutely necessary for the interests of the country.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the development of circumstances, since he made his statement earlier in the evening, showed that probably the Government

would not be justified in spending the time of the House in dealing with the Law of Evidence Amendment Bill, and, though reluctantly, he should be prepared to withdraw it. He would also consider what had fallen from the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), and also from the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory), who, he must say, always spoke with much authority on questions relating to the Business of the House, because he brought to them not only a very intelligent but also a very dispassionate and impartial mind. The Government and the House were in this position. There were five working days in their week, and of these, speaking generally, two were available for the purposes of Supply. With regard to the other three days, any legislation being out of the way, it would be a very great solecism if they destroyed a large number of Bills of great importance, some of which had made considerable progress, and also Bills of private Members which had likewise made some progress, for the purpose of nominally putting forward Supply, but really of spending the day in the discussion of preliminary questions. He therefore thought it was evident that if the destruction of those Bills proceeded much further it would be necessary, in order that the House might consistently attain its own object—namely, the rapid termination of the Session, to apply, as a temporary measure, the Monday and Thursday Rule to some further portion of the week.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, that they would, no doubt, all wish to get away as fast as they could; but as there seemed to be some confusion in the minds of hon. Members below the Gangway, he wished to ask the Prime Minister whether the Autumn Session would terminate by Prorogation before Christmas, and whether they would start with a new Session at the beginning of the year, or whether there would be a continuous Session from October until the next year, with an Adjournment of Parliament instead of a Prorogation?

MR. GLADSTONE said, that the Autumn Session would be an extra Session.

MR. GIBSON: Complete in itself?

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he would appeal to the Government to take into consideration a Bill which the Scotch people were greatly interested in —the Police Bill. He thought it did not contain much controversial matter, and the Bill promised to be of great advantage to Scotland.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND appealed to the Home Secretary to bring in a Bill with regard to the office of Public Prosecutor. A Committee had been sitting considering this matter, and it was hoped that by the change the Committee had recommended a large saving would be effected to the public, and also that justice would be administered in a much more satisfactory manner than hitherto. He believed that but a very short Bill was necessary to enable that change to be made; and he, therefore, hoped that the right hon. and learned Gentleman would still be able to introduce one.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he wished to add his appeal to that of the hon. Baronet as to the Scotch Police Bill. The Committee had nearly finished its labours, and the Bill, after it passed the Select Committee, was not likely to lead to any contention. Another Bill which the Scotch people were very much interested in was the Secretary for Scotland Bill, and although he had heard that this Bill was to be sacrificed he hoped that would not be so. He suggested to the Government that it would be to the benefit of Public Business to consider the necessity of doing away with the Half-past Twelve o'Clock Rule.

MR. GIBSON said, the reply to the remarks of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) had placed the proceedings as to the Autumn Session in an altogether new light. They were only beginning to understand now what was intended by the statement which the Prime Minister had made to the House with great temper and reasonableness in the earlier part of the evening. Many Members on the Opposition side of the House were under the impression that it was intended to present the two measures of franchise and redistribution together. ["No, no!"] That was an erroneous impression. He believed it was now clear that the Autumn Session, which was to begin on or about the 21st October, and was to close before Christ-

mas, was to be complete in itself, and that in the following year there was either to be a new Parliament or a new Session. Was the House to understand that the Autumn Session, beginning on the 21st of October, was to be confined to the isolated transaction of the Franchise Bill, that the Government did not intend to introduce any other Business whatever, and that as far as they were concerned this was to be the sole Business? Private Members who brought in Bills, or who dealt with other topics, would have to leave them in an incomplete condition when the Session closed at Christmas. He desired, in these circumstances, to know what the precedent of the Government was for this course of action? If there was no precedent to produce, the Government would then have taken on this occasion a course of procedure entirely without precedent, entirely exceptional; and they would be in the position of having deliberately abandoned their measures because they had found that they were not calculated to meet with public approval, or because they had not nerve and courage enough to go on with the measures which at some time or other they thought were good.

MR. GLADSTONE: We have all spoken.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I believe that I have the right to say a few words in reply; and I must express my great astonishment that the question of my right hon. and learned Friend has met with no answer at all. It would have been perfectly easy for some hon. Gentleman on the Front Bench to give an answer; or, if there was no one who had not already spoken, the indulgence of the House would have been gladly extended upon so important a matter to any Minister who had addressed the House. We have not had the advantage of being at the Foreign Office to-day. I do not know what the hon. Gentlemen who have had the advantage of being present at the Foreign Office to-day can have known. They have probably known all through a great deal more than we have known; but so far as the Members on this side of the House are concerned, we have been arguing the whole evening that the Autumn Session was to be of a character such as we have known in former years. There have been some Autumn Sessions which have been in continuation of the Session in the earlier part of the year. I quite understand that that is not the Session now proposed by the Government, because it is intended to bring forward a Bill which has already been before the House, and to enable the Government to bring it forward again there must be a new Session. Therefore, I perfectly understand that after the Prorogation, which is to take place in the course of a few weeks, there is to be a Session in October which is to be a new Session for the purpose of taking up the Franchise Bill. We have had a good many other cases in which the Session has commenced in the autumn, and gone into the following year; but I never remember to have known or seen or ever to have read of a Session that was to be adopted at the end of the year, to be complete in itself in that year, deliberately undertaken as a new Session, to be called only to deal with a single measure, and which is expected to last only a few weeks. I think we have a right to know upon what precedent this proposal is founded. If there is no precedent, we have a right to know, at least, the reasons for the peculiar mode adopted. I think the House has not been fairly treated. The right hon. Gentleman began with what seemed to us a very moderate statement, made in thoroughly good temper and in good spirit, and one which we so accepted; but I am bound to say that we have not been treated fairly in having been allowed to continue the discussion during the whole of the evening under an impression entirely different from that which is really the fact. I think we ought to have an answer to the question of my right hon. and learned Friend. I wish, therefore, to know whether it really is the intention of the Government to call Parliament together in October, to begin the Session with a regular Queen's Speech, to discuss a particular measure, and then, when that measure has been disposed of, to close the Session altogether; afterwards to take a new Session, beginning with another Queen's Speech —a waste of time quite unnecessary— for the purpose of going on with the other Business closely connected with the Franchise Bill? The Government have, no doubt, much to consider with regard to the course they ought to take with respect to this Bill; but I do think also that the House has a right to be informed

with regard to this matter at the earliest period.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman has invited someone to answer the question. The uncertainty may have arisen, and I take the blame upon myself, through my not having expressed myself as clearly as I should have done. I intended to say, as clearly as I could, that it was the intention of the Government to have two Sessions of Parliament—and I used the words "two Sessions" advisedly—one Session this year, to be devoted exclusively to the Franchise Bill, and another Session next year in which we are to fulfil the pledges given about redistribution. Hon. Members cannot now complain that I have not distinctly told them what we intend to do. The right hon. Gentleman also asks about precedent. It is not easy to quote precedents off-hand, as I have not had occasion to verify them; but my recollection is that in the days of the first Reform Bill, Parliament was called together to consider the sending up of the Reform Bill a second time to the House of Lords, and that no other Business occupied the attention and time of Parliament. But as to precedents for the course we propose to take, Parliamentary precedents are always made when the occasion is adequate for them, and I venture to think that this is an adequate occasion on which we are entitled to make any precedent which the condition of affairs requires. As to Bills, to my mind it is very difficult to make a distinction between one Bill and another, or to give satisfaction to everybody, for any distinction which did not include the Bills in which other hon. Gentlemen took a special interest would not by them be regarded favourably. There is a good rule in bankruptcy that there is to be no favour shown to any creditor, and it would be a species of fraudulent preference to favour any particular Bill in our present state of bankruptcy of legislation. This bankruptcy of legislation, and the impossibility of proceeding with any measure of legislation, is part of the penalty we have to pay as the result of what has occurred. Those who suffer from the absence of that legislation must bear in mind the cause and who is responsible. That is the answer the Government make to all appeals of this character. I may go further, and say that I refer not merely to past Bills, but to Bills in the future, and I wish to repeat that in the opinion of the Government, so far as they can direct the Business of this House, there can be no other Business of any importance undertaken now or hereafter until the question of the franchise has been finally disposed of. As far as we are concerned, the House of Commons can and will do nothing until that Business has been disposed of. I hope that declaration is distinct, and that it will not mislead the House as to our intentions or as to our view of the situation. We have desired to pass the Bills which have been mentioned, and others which have not been mentioned. That being the case, we say that, as far as we are concerned in the conduct of Public Business, we cannot advise the House to transact any other Business whatever in the way of legislation until our primary and supreme object has been attained by the passing of the Franchise Bill into law.

MR. E. STANHOPE: It seems to be quite clear that there is no precedent for the course the Government are taking, and I think, that before they adopt this course, they should search for precedents. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Hon. Members may object, but I am entitled to discuss the matter, and to discuss the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. The Prime Minister has always shown the greatest deference to Parliamentary precedent, and whenever he has been able to produce a precedent, he has always done so in favour of the course he was adopting. I think I am therefore justified in saying that the Government have searched for precedents in support of the course they are pursuing, and have not been able to find any, or they would not have put up the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to say that they are not bound by precedents. The right hon. Gentleman tells us the Government do not want a precedent, and that they are going to act without one. We now have the full meaning of the course which Her Majesty's Government are about to adopt. In the present controversy the greatest watchfulness will have to be exercised, and care must be taken that the proceedings of the Government are strictly within the lines they are entitled to take. There is one thing more. If the action now proposed to be taken

by Her Majesty's Government is adopted, we shall, at the end of the present year, have had six Sessions in the present Parliament, and I think hon. Members will recollect very well that in the course of the last Parliament they heard, over and over again, animated attacks upon a Conservative Government for entering upon a seventh Session. After telling us that we were acting in a manner almost unconstitutional, for the right hon. Gentleman to propose now to take a sixth Session in the course of the present year, and then to come to Parliament again next year to wind up the Business in a seventh Session, is, I think, a matter deserving the attention of the House.

MR. RYLANDS: I cannot say that I attach much weight to the last statement of the hon. Gentleman. It is proposed that there shall be an Autumn Session for about two months, and to urge that as a ground of complaint against the Prime Minister because that Autumn Session will make six Sessions is hardly a matter worthy of the notice of the House. The Prime Minister, in his reference to this matter, alluded to Annual Sessions. I rise now as an independent Member to express my gratitude to Her Majesty's Government for rising to the position I think the nation has demanded of them. Hon. Gentlemen opposite talk about precedents; but whether there are precedents or not—and I believe that practically there was a precedent in regard to the great Reform Bill—but whether that was so or not, I think the Government are perfectly justified in the course they are taking. With the majority of the House of Commons at their back, and the public opinion of the country in their favour represented by the majority in this House, they have been treated with contempt by another branch of the Legislature, and we, the majority of the House, would be perfectly justified in making a new precedent if we thought it right and necessary to do so. I have heard the determination of Her Majesty's Government with the greatest satisfaction. I believe, until this issue is decided, it will be perfectly futile to attempt any other legislation; and I shall be glad indeed if Her Majesty's Government will recognize that as fully as possible with reference to all the various measures which are now upon the Table of the House. I trust that, as soon as they have had an opportunity of obtaining Supply, they will adjourn the House, in order that hon. Members may take council with their constituents. As to the Government establishing a new precedent, if it be a new one, their only object is to carry out a measure which the country is anxiously expecting; and I believe their action will ultimately result in the triumph of the majority of the House, and of the opinion of the people.

MR. MOORE: I do not think there is any considerable amount of interest taken in the question of the franchise in Ireland, although, no doubt, we do anticipate in the future considerable gains from the passing of that Bill. At present there is an absence of interest in the question, and I think it is impossible to point to a single meeting, or to a single resolution in Ireland in favour of the Franchise Bill. I do not know whether the number of Members representing Ireland is likely to be increased under the new franchise. At present we have 103 Members; and all that I can point to at present is that there have been very important questions which the Government have promised to deal with and have failed. So far as Ireland is concerned the Session has been a perfectly barren one. There is one question which affects that country most nearly—namely, the permanent settlement of the Land Question on a lasting and satisfactory basis; and I must say that the postponement of the Purchase Bill is a severe blow to peace, order, and security in Ireland. As a supporter of the Government, I deeply regret that that measure has been abandoned; and I should like to ask whether that portion of the Bill which deals with the constitution of an Appeal Court under the present administration of the Land Court is likewise to be abandoned? Because, whatever may be said of the measure itself—and I am not here to say that in every clause it is a desirable measure, or that it is not a measure that requires considerable amendment—still I must say that it is a measure in the right direction and based on sound principle. I wish to ask the Government if they are prepared to throw over the Bill which proposes simply to carry out the law effectually in Ireland? The clauses referring to the

Appeal Court, which this Bill contains, are of paramount importance, because everybody knows that the Appeal Court is at present blocked. I do not wish to discuss the principle of the Bill; but I must say that the measure contains certain clauses which are absolutely necessary in order to remedy the dead-lock now existing. [*Cries of* "Order!"] Hon. Gentlemen may cry "Order!" but the simple question is one of definite and immediate importance in regard to the administration of the Land Act, and I regret to find that Her Majesty's Government are about to allow this House to disperse without passing a measure to improve the condition of the Land Court in Ireland. We have also had an important discussion on a question which is now of secondary importance—namely, the Labourers' Bill. The Chief Secretary has raised objections to that Bill, some of which are of a weighty character; but when that Bill was thrown out we were given to understand very clearly that either a Royal Commission would be issued, or a Select Committee appointed, not to inquire into the measure proposed by my hon. Friend opposite, but into the working of the Act of last Session. The case was one of pressing importance, and I contend that the settlement of the Purchase Clauses, involving, as it did, the condition of the labourers in Ireland, was a question of paramount necessity. [*Cries of* "Order!"] I think the question is peculiarly one of Order. We are discussing the state of the Public Business and the "massacre of the innocents," as it is commonly called; and among the Bills abandoned I cannot help expressing my regret that these two important measures should have been included, when a very few hours would have served to complete one, and the appointment of a Committee, or the issue of a Royal Commission, would have paved the way for the settlement of the other. All the work of legislation has now been thrown into arrear, and when we come to Supply we shall, undoubtedly, lose our grip over the Executive Government. No one will deny that these are most important questions for the Irish people, who are now living under the stringent provisions of a Coercion Act; and it is also desirable that some means should be afforded for discussing the appointments which have been made in Ireland. Recent investigations have shown that we cannot keep too strong a check over Irish officials. I deeply lament the course the Government feel themselves bound to take. So far as regards the interests of Ireland, whatever hon. Members may think, and whatever amount of abuse in reference to another Assembly may be thought to condone the shortcomings of Legislative Pusiness, I can only say that the Session, so far as Ireland is concerned, has been a most barren and unfruitful one.

MR. MACARTNEY: I should not have intruded upon the time of the House but for the remarkable speech of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands). His manner of viewing the majority of the House is quite different when the majority happens to be a Liberal one from that which he adopts when the majority is composed of Members who now sit on this side of the House. When the Conservatives were in Office, the hon. Member was fond of speaking of them as a tyrant majority, who did not represent the people of England; but now that the Liberal Party are in a majority he sees everything from a *couleur de rose* point of view, and does nothing but express his gratitude to them for throwing over the measure they are now abandoning, endeavouring all the while to throw the blame upon another Assembly. It seems to me that the Government were only too anxious to get rid of these puny measures, or, as some hon. Members have characterized them, these "miserable measures." Personally, I should be very sorry to apply those words to them; but I must allude to the extreme despotic tone which has been assumed by the Liberal Government. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down alluded to the coercion under which Ireland is at present suffering. No doubt, Ireland is suffering from coercion; but, if she is, it is not for want of provocation, for it was the action of a certain section of the people of that country which brought about the coercion of which they now complain. But I deny that this House has been guilty of anything that would justify the act of coercion it is now threatened with. A fresh Session is to be appointed for the latter part of the year, and during that Session we are told that no measures will be allowed to be brought forward, and that the House

will consider nothing except what the Government chooses.

MR. GLADSTONE: No.

MR. MACARTNEY: I certainly heard the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary say so.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I said that, so far as the Government were concerned, they would promote and encourage no legislation except what was necessary for settling the question of the franchise.

MR. MACARTNEY: The words of the right hon. and learned Gentleman were—"We cannot and will not allow any other Business to be brought in."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: No.

MR. MACARTNEY: If I misquote the right hon. and learned Gentleman, I shall be glad to be corrected. I certainly understood him to say that no Government Business, except the Franchise measure, would be undertaken; and I suppose if any hon. Member on this side of the House were to introduce a Bill, or to endeavour to press one forward, he would be looked upon as an Obstructive. May I ask whether, if allusions are made to Egypt or South Africa, or other matters which interest the public, it will be regarded as Obstruction, and that nothing will be considered except this darling pet of the Government—the Franchise Bill? It is just possible that the next Session may be brought to an end without a Franchise Bill being carried. If so, when a third Session is summoned, is it the intention of the Government that no Bill of any kind shall be introduced until the Franchise Bill is passed? The Government certainly appear to be acting as if they had the ball at their feet, and they are treating with complete contempt all those who do not agree with them.

MR. TOMLINSON: There is one matter which has not been alluded to, but which is a matter of great importance. We were promised last Session that the Indian Budget should be brought forward on an early date. It was generally admitted that it was discreditable to bring the Indian Budget forward at the fag-end of the Session, and I have risen now to ask what steps the Government propose to take in regard to bringing that Budget forward?

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: I should also like to ask when the Government intend to bring in the Navy Estimates? I put that question in consequence of the short discussion which took place with the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War the last time the Estimates were before the House. It was then understood that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was to be the means of partially correcting certain defects due to the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts; but it is more important now to have an understanding as to the course proposed to be taken in reference to these Acts, in consequence of the announcement made by the Government to-night of their intention to withdraw the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. The noble Lord will recollect that a deputation waited on him not long ago, when he told the deputation that the Contagious Diseases Acts would be dealt with by the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. I think it is desirable, having regard to the results which may follow, that the Government should give the House an opportunity of discussing the question at large now that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill has been withdrawn—I believe the noble Lord will confirm what I say—that an opportunity may be given for raising the question either on the Army or the Navy Estimates. I therefore wish to know whether the Army or the Navy Estimates are to be discussed first? Perhaps, if the noble Lord is not able to answer the question now, he may be in a condition to make a reply to-morrow.

MR. TOMLINSON: I trust that I may receive an answer to the question I have put in regard to the Indian Budget.

[No answer was given.]

Question put, and *negatived.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £31,846, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum

necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Officers of the House of Lords."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he hoped that, as they had now wasted a considerable amount of time, they were about to proceed to business. It seemed to him almost providential that on the day they resumed the consideration of the Civil Service Estimates the very first Vote should be that which the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair had just proposed to the Committee. There were a good many details in the Vote to which exception might be taken, as the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords were much larger than those of the corresponding officers in the House of Commons. For instance, the Black Rod received a salary of £2,000 a-year, whereas the Serjeant-at-Arms received only £1,200. The Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod received £1,000; the Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms only £800. The First Clerk in the House of Lords £2,500; the First Clerk in the House of Commons £2,000; the Second Clerk in the House of Lords £2,000; while the Second Clerk in the House of Commons only received £1,500. There was no reason why these discrepancies should exist. But he did not propose to attack the Vote upon these minor items, because he was going to ask the House to refuse the entire Vote. He had given Notice of his intention to move the reduction of the Vote to a sum which would have been sufficient for a librarian and a housekeeper; but he found already that £12,000 had been voted, and he thought the exigencies of the case would be better met by asking the House to refuse the remainder of the Vote. If a Vote were brought before the House for a picture gallery, containing pictures nobody cared to see, the Committee would absolutely refuse to pass it; but how much more reason was there to refuse a Vote for officers to fulfil functions which were considered pernicious to the whole country? He had no desire to speak with disrespect of the House of Lords. It was a co-ordinate branch of Parliament, and as long as it remained so it ought not to be spoken of with disrespect. It was composed of gentlemen who, individually, were perfectly honest and honourable men; but he thought they were men who possessed very little wisdom, and who were exceedingly narrow-minded in their particular capacity. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen said "Oh!" but that was a matter of opinion, and it was certainly the opinion of most of those who agreed with him. He did not complain of them for looking after their own interests like other gentlemen. They owned hereditary rank; they were in the House of Lords as Legislators by the mere accident of birth, and they were taken almost exclusively from one class of the community—namely, the great landed proprietors. That being the case, they only looked after their own interests—the interests of land; and not only did they look after their own interests, but, as their interests were bound up with things as they were, they wished things to remain precisely as they were. History showed that they had been opposed in every single instance to Liberal measures, and they must continue to be opposed to Liberal measures from the very nature of their existence. He was himself personally in favour of one Chamber; but it was not necessary that hon. Gentlemen should entertain that view in order to vote with him on this occasion. He understood quite well the argument in favour of having two Chambers. He could easily understand another House composed of hereditary members of the aristocracy. He did not himself think that it was desirable; but he could understand why other Gentlemen thought it was. If, for instance, all those gentlemen were what Burke represented that the Members of the House of Commons should be in his famous letter to the Duke of Bedford, he thought the theoretical objection to an hereditary House of Peers might be differently weighted by the practical advantage of having such excellent and good men as Legislators. But in this country we had Party government, and in the House of Lords there were Party men. That must be so as long as they had persons who belonged to one Party or the other. They must have ambitious Leaders in the House of Lords, who were naturally anxious to acquire power, when the occasion demanded, to rally to themselves the support of obscure Peers who had the instincts of Conservatism in them, and who were able to dominate the will

of the House of Commons unless that will went with them. It was all very well when a Conservative Ministry was in power. The machine worked admirably then, because both Houses were in unison; but when a Liberal Ministry was in power and responsible for the administration of the country, how was it possible to pass measures in the House of Commons, and also in the House of Lords, where there was a Party majority against them? They all knew what occurred. He presumed that in the Cabinet, when any measure was brought forward, someone said—"You must do so and so in order to carry it in the House of Lords." The result was that measures were emasculated from their very birth before they came into either House of Parliament. They then went up to the House of Lords. The House of Lords, as a general rule, was too clever to throw out a Bill except on rare occasions; but they proceeded to cut out certain parts of the Bill, and to add other provisions by way of amendment, and then sent the Bill down again to the House of Commons. In that way it became a matter of compromise, and it was not necessary for the House of Lords to throw out the whole of a Bill if the House of Commons would consent to yield upon certain points, the Lords yielding upon others. The result was, that when a Liberal Ministry was in power that Liberal Ministry found itself unable to carry out its own views and opinions in regard to the Government of the country. The House of Lords could do more than that. Being composed essentially of Party men, it could force a Dissolution of the House of Commons whenever it wished. [*Cries of* "No!"] He said "Yes," although hon. Gentlemen said "No." He would suppose a case. Let them suppose a Reform Bill brought in; let them suppose that it was sent up to the House of Lords, and then thrown out again; let them suppose a third Session, and a Reform Bill thrown out again.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have been waiting for some time to see how the hon. Member proposes to connect the observations he is now making with the Vote for the payment of salaries now before the Committee. The Vote is for the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords, and has nothing to do with the political power enjoyed by the House of Lords itself as part of the Constitution of the country. I must, therefore, ask the hon. Member to direct his observations to the Question before the Committee, which is the Vote for the payment of salaries of certain officials of the House of Lords.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he could perceive how it was. The Chairman had not yet seen how he was going to connect his observations with the Vote before the Committee. Now he was not going to ask the House to abolish the House of Lords on this occasion; but what he wished to say was that the country regarded the retention of the House of Lords, as a Second Chamber, as a pernicious principle.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that, by the courtesy of Parliament, Members in each House are called upon to speak with respect of Members of the other House.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would not think of using in that House language of a disrespectful character in regard to the Members of the other House; but out of the House he would use what language he liked. [*Cries of* "Name!"] Out of that House he claimed his right as an Englishman, and he considered that he was at perfect liberty to go before his countrymen and attack any Institution which impeded and prevented the progress of the country. If that was not allowed in the House itself, how was he to explain the ground on which he objected to the Vote? Could it be said that if a Vote were brought forward for the payment of officials in charge of a picture gallery that they could not discuss the pictures in that gallery? If that was the ruling of the Chair he had nothing more to say, and he would only remark, with regard to the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords, that he was simply expressing an opinion as to the necessity of retaining those officials. If any hon. Member wished to know what the opinion of the country was let him go to a Liberal meeting, and he would find a general feeling that in the view of the people of the country no money was no utterly wasted, and worse than wasted, than the £31,000 which was now spent on the officials of the House of Lords. If they asked why, all he could say was that he was not permitted to inform them. He knew that many of these officials individually were

excellent and worthy men; but somehow the country had come to the conclusion that the money of the nation could not be worse spent than upon these officers. As, however, he was precluded from going into this matter, and as the House of Commons was obliged to vote upon these salaries without expressing an opinion as to the necessity of the officials themselves, he would take a Division upon the Vote without saying another word.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) intended, as he understood, to object to the whole of the Vote, and the consequence of rejecting the Vote would be that, so far as the House of Lords was dependent upon it, it would have to rely upon voluntary contributions. Thus, if the Motion of his hon. Friend were carried, they would have to witness the scandalous spectacle of the House of Lords putting out a notice that for the future prosecution of Business they were dependent on voluntary contributions. He could hardly think that that was a step which the House could contemplate with any sense of justice. Already the Committee had passed one Vote to provide the House of Lords with fuel, and with candles; and, having gone so far, he thought they ought not to withhold the Vote which had reference to the salaries of the officers of the House. If his hon. Friend had made his appeal to the Committee on the ground of extravagance in regard to the payment of the officers of the House of Lords, and had proposed a reduction of the Vote on that ground, he would have been disposed to agree with him, and would have been quite ready to support him on a Division, because it was somewhat remarkable that while the expenditure for the officials of the House of Lords was £43,000 a-year, the officials of the House of Commons, who had to work during very much longer hours, and were required to perform much more extended functions, only cost the country £51,000. From that comparison the Committee must see that there was room for a considerable reduction of expenditure in the salaries and expenses of the officers of the House of Lords. He hoped the hon. Member for Northampton would forgive him if he ventured to say that his hon. Friend had taken up a somewhat unreasonable position. If his hon. Friend would substitute for his present proposal a more reasonable Motion to reduce the Vote by by £1,000 or £2,000, he would be happy to support it.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, the hon. Member for Northampton commenced his remarks by saying that it was almost a godsend in the present position of affairs that this Vote, in connection with the House of Lords, was the first to come before the Committee.

MR. HEALY: I rise to Order. I wish to know whether the observations of the hon. Gentleman have any relation to the Question before the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not yet had an opportunity of judging.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, it was not necessary for the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) to have been so very impatient, as he would have an opportunity by-and-bye of addressing the Committee himself. The country would now have some idea of the depth of low comedy to which the antipathy of a certain section of the House towards the House of Lords extended, and of its really artificial nature. The proposal now before the Committee was to refuse the necessary means for allowing the Business of the House of Lords to be carried on. According to the ideas of hon. Gentlemen opposite there should be no coals provided for the Opposition Lobby in this House, and that when a Liberal Ministry were in power every facility should be withdrawn from their opponents for carrying on an Opposition. If hon. Members were consistent, why did they not make a direct proposal to that effect? The Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton rested on the assumption that everybody who opposed the measures of a Liberal Government must be starved into subjection, or made to die of cold. Now, he belonged to those who believed the presumption was that Liberal measures were bad until the contrary was made apparent.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is now departing from the Question before the Committee.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, he hoped the Committee would not even treat seriously a Motion which proposed to reduce the Vote for services which had already been rendered, especially as

the hon. Gentleman himself admitted that there must be a Second Chamber.

MR. LABOUCHERE: No.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he would not trespass at any length upon the time of the Committee; but he wished to call the attention of the Treasury Bench to a particular point connected with this Vote. It was this—that the accommodation provided for the Members of the House of Commons in the House of Lords might be very materially improved. In the House of Commons they provided comfortable Galleries for the Peers, and they were always pleased to see Members of the House of Lords when they came down. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Well, speaking for himself, he was always pleased to see them. But when he went up to the Upper House, he found that the accommodation provided for the House of Commons was of the most inferior description.

THE CHAIRMAN: I may point out that the hon. Member is now discussing matters which would be more appropriately referred to upon another Vote.

MR. BROADHURST said, he differed from the views which had been expressed by his hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), and he hoped that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) would go to a Division upon the subject. With regard to the remark made by the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) as to the discussion commencing in low comedy, he thought it would not end in low comedy. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Northampton, and he would not hesitate to disallow the provision for coal and fuel, because it appeared to him that the House of Lords were now providing themselves with a material which was calculated to do away altogether with the necessity for a supply of that kind.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK wished to point out to hon. Members opposite that a salary of £4,000 was paid under this Vote to the Lord Chancellor for the performance of certain functions in the House of Lords. Some years ago an arrangement was made in reference to the salary of the Lord Chancellor, by which that noble and learned Lord became entitled to receive £6,000 from the Consolidated Fund, and £4,000 under the present Vote. Therefore, if the reduction proposed by the hon. Member for Northampton of the whole Vote, or the partial reduction suggested by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), were agreed to, the result would be that the country would be deprived of the services of its principal Law Officer. In their haste to do something disagreeable to the House of Peers, hon. Members opposite had entirely overlooked the fact that the salary of the principal Judicial Officer of the country was included in the Vote. It would, therefore, be a great misfortune if hon. Members below the Gangway were to succeed in their efforts.

MR. RYLANDS wished to draw the attention of the Committee to two points—one was that the general expenditure on account of this Vote was very excessive, and the next was that the rate of payment was higher for the officials connected with the House of Lords than for those who were connected with the House of Commons. He thought, in the interests of economy, there might be a considerable reduction in these items; but, at the same time, he could not support the proposal of the hon. Member for Northampton, because he thought it right to point out that towards the amount of money they were asked to vote they received something like £30,000 a-year in the shape of fees for duties performed by the House of Lords. Having received fees to that extent, they were only called upon in reality to pay the charges which exceeded that sum. At the same time, he was of opinion that the salaries paid were higher than they ought to be; and as he was not indisposed to make a definite reduction, he would move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £30,846, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Officers of the House of Lords."—(*Mr. Rylands.*)

MR. HEALY said, he was surprised that the Committee had had no explanation of this Vote from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, because he was sure that hon. Members would have listened with great delight to his defence of the House of Lords, and his justification of the Estimate now presented to the Com-

mittee for their assent. He confessed that he had waited for some time in order that they might have had a suitable reply to the arguments addressed to the House against this Vote by hon. and Radical Gentlemen of a revolutionary frame of mind like the hon. Member for Northampton. He should have listened with pleasure to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, if he had felt it his duty to defend the Vote, and if he had passed a suitable eulogium on the purposes for which the Committee were asked to pay the money. He was disappointed in finding that it was left to an hon. Member like the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) to take a statesmanlike view of the question. He was surprised to find that the sentiments of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) did not more widely prevail in that part of the House, and that there were some Gentlemen who, whatever might be the fate of certain measures to which they were deeply attached, were still willing to stand by the necessity of paying adequate salaries to a number of gentlemen they did not know anything about, and for doing they did not know what. It was gratifying to find such general patriotism. He thought, however, that the Committee were somewhat embarrassed by the series of rulings which the Chairman had just delivered, and he presumed that the House would now be called upon to vote the items included in the Estimate *seriatim*. The first item was that for the Lord Chancellor. Well, suppose they began with the salary of the Lord Chancellor. He would ask, did the hon. Member for Northampton object to the Lord Chancellor? He should be surprised if the hon. Gentleman objected to a noble and learned Lord who performed such great public duties as the Lord Chancellor. They all knew that the Lord Chancellor presided over the Assembly which the hon. Gentleman had criticized, and he presumed that it would not be out of Order for any hon. Gentleman to address himself to the question whether the Lord Chancellor was an absolute necessity to the House of Lords. He would not say that it was desirable for hon. Members to address themselves to the question whether the House of Lords was an absolute necessity to the Lord Chancellor, because that would be out of Order, but they might discuss whether the Lord Chancellor was necessary to the House of Lords. Of course, that proposition was necessarily somewhat involved; but he should say, if he were asked to give his own opinion as to the necessity of a Lord Chancellor, that he was not necessary at all, or, at all events, he was very dear at £4,000 a-year. In his opinion, that noble and learned Lord did not do a sufficient amount of work to justify the payment of that large sum of money. They knew that the Speaker of the House of Commons had to sit here for very long hours; and if he were to enter into a comparison of the utility of a Speaker of the House of Commons and contrast it with the value of a Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, he thought the balance to the credit of the Speaker would be very considerable. Therefore, if the economical mind of the hon. Member for Northampton had been stirred by the payment made in regard to the Lord Chancellor, he presumed the hon. Gentleman would have been in Order in asking for some defence of the Vote now before the Committee. What did the Lord Chancellor do to entitle him to £4,000 a-year? The noble and learned Lord sat in the Cabinet. Was it for that that he got £4,000 a-year? Probably, and he said it with all respect, there were some Members of the Liberal Government who were worth even £4,000 a-year. No doubt, there were many Members of the Tory Party who would say they were not; and, perhaps, if they were to have a good Lord Chancellor, or if they wanted a Lord Chancellor at all, they would not be able to get a good one for much less than £4,000 a-year. It was said that the hon. Member for Northampton did not recognize the serious bearing of a question of this kind, and that if they wanted to have a Lord Chancellor they must be prepared to pay for him. The next Vote was an item for the Sergeant-at-Arms in attendance on the Lord Chancellor. He had been so impressed by the ruling which had been given by the Chair, that he found it difficult to criticize the Vote in any other way without incurring the censure of the right hon. Gentleman, which he very greatly wished to avoid. Well, the next item was for the Serjeant-at-Arms in attendance on the Lord Chancellor. He would like to hear the Secretary to the Treasury discuss the relative value of the amount of work done by the Ser-

jeant-at-Arms in attendance upon the Lord Chancellor as compared with that performed by the Serjeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons. Was this officer really worth £1,500 a-year. He understood that the Serjeant-at-Arms sat in the House of Lords only for a very limited period—that the House met at a quarter past 4, and that it generally disposed of all its work by a quarter past 5; on the other hand, the Serjeant-at-Arms of the House of Commons came down to the House at 4 o'clock, and was frequently in attendance until 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. These were facts which might induce some hon. Members to support a reduction of the Vote in the sense which had been moved by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), and probably many of them would rather take a Division against the Vote as a whole; but, unfortunately, he must confess that he had considerable difficulty in dealing with this Vote in consequence of the ruling of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. and learned Member—

MR. HEALY: Not learned, Sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has entirely misunderstood what I said. It is quite competent for the Committee to discuss the duties performed by the officers of the House of Lords, and to submit any proposal for diminishing the salaries; but what I stated was that this Committee has no power to interfere with the constitution of Parliament, and that by the courtesy of Parliament Members of this Chamber are bound to speak with respect of Members of the other Chamber.

MR. HEALY said, he thought he had been very respectful indeed; but he considered it necessary to discuss this question on the utility of the Vote as a whole. If they were expected in that House to speak with respect and to act with respect towards Gentlemen in "another place," he thought it was not unreasonable to discuss the converse of that proposition—namely, how Gentlemen in "another place" acted in respect of Members of the House of Commons. If that were so, he was certainly prepared to say that the House of Lords had not acted with very marked respect towards the House of Commons. [*Cries of* "Order!"] He hoped that hon. Members would kindly hear him, because he was bound to discuss the Vote, so far as the House of Lords was concerned, in reference to its utility, and he must discuss the utility of it in reference to the utility of the institution for which it was voted. Of course, he did not propose to discuss the Constitution of the country; but what he said was that they were entitled to receive that relative amount of respect for which they paid £43,000 a-year, and that they were as much entitled to receive respect from the House of Lords as the House of Lords was entitled to receive respect from them. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the House of Commons paid a considerable amount of money for the House of Lords, while the House of Lords paid nothing for them. That was an additional reason why they were entitled to expect more utility from an institution they were required to pay so largely for. This was not the first time, he thought, that a Motion of this kind had been moved; and, that being so, the general ruling of the Chair on the subject was somewhat novel, and was scarcely guided by the authority of the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessors. He found that the House of Lords paid their Chief Clerk, or, as he was styled, the "Clerk of Parliaments," £2,500 a-year. Now, he would ask any hon. Member who was acquainted with the House of Lords whether there was the same amount of complicated work performed by the Clerks in "another place" as there was in the House of Commons? Of course, they knew that they had exceptionally valuable officials in that House, who were extremely able and learned men. Probably they were equally able and learned in "another place;" but he certainly thought he had heard complaints of the way in which some of these gentlemen in the House of Commons dealt with the Business of the House; and if that were so, it would be quite in Order to discuss the question. There might, however, be an opportunity afforded of discussing it on the next Vote; and he would, therefore, prefer to postpone his observations in regard to that subject until they came to that Vote. On glancing over the present Vote he found that there were a number of extremely large salaries paid. Of course, he was not going to ask for an explanation in regard to every item; but he saw they were paying £2,000 for a Black Rod, and he thought that sum was

really more than such an official ought to be entitled to. He was strongly of opinion that they could get a Black Rod for less than £2,000 a-year. Then, again, there was a Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod, who received £1,000 a-year, while the principal door-keeper had £600. He thought those amounts were very large, and perhaps it was the largeness of the salaries paid that induced the House of Lords to take up an aggressive attitude towards the House of Commons. Probably, if the salaries paid in the House of Lords were not of this large and voluptuous character they would not find the same amount of aggressiveness prevailing there as that which was exhibited at the present moment. If they voted down all the salaries for that Assembly, what would be the position of the case? Why, that their Lordships would not be able to go down to the House of Peers at all if they had not these men to guard them, especially after what had recently occurred. In paying large salaries of this kind they should consider the effect it had. The effect of paying large salaries induced noble Lords to go down to the House of Lords and place themselves under the protection of Clerks of Parliaments, Reading Clerks, Clerks Assistants, Black Rods, Yeoman Ushers of the Black Rod, and so on; but if the salaries were refused, they would have no one to manage their affairs, and the result would be that they and their official Staff would melt away altogether. He, therefore, believed that the refusal of Supplies to the House of Lords would have an excellent effect. If the staff of policemen were reduced, for example, either their Lordships would not come down, or they would be more likely to acquiesce in the decisions of those who paid their officers, and it would be found easier for the House of Commons to pass their measures. They might, in fact, have payment by results. The Black Rod now got £2,000 a-year. He would suggest, then, that the next time it was necessary to summon an Autumn Session, or when the Estimates were next presented, and they found everything going on unsatisfactorily, they should reduce the salary of the Black Rod by £1,000 a-year. He did not mean to say that that was exactly the way to meet the crisis which now existed; but why should they pay a large sum of money for keeping up an institution of this kind which had no effect whatever except to thwart the legislation of the House of Commons. They were now paying £43,000 a-year; why not begin to cut it down to £30,000, then to £20,000, next to £10,000, and, finally, from £10,000 to £5,000 or £1,000, and reduce the Lords and their officials to bread-and-water salaries? The discipline thus brought about would have a marvellous effect, and their Lordships would be much more inclined to acquiesce in matters of reform that were passed by the House of Commons.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he hoped that the hon. Member for Northampton would go to a Division, and regretted that the Motion of the hon. Gentleman had not been received with that earnestness by hon. Members below the Gangway which the hon. Member was entitled to expect, seeing that the Motion was only the logical conclusion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister when he attacked the House of Lords the other day. This was the Vote under which the salaries of the House of Lords were paid. The Prime Minister had declared that the House of Commons were entitled to act by themselves without regard to the House of Lords. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton had at once taken the matter up, and had put, in a practical shape, exactly what the Prime Minister proposed. He hoped, therefore, that hon. Gentlemen opposite would support the hon. Member; and he trusted that the hon. Gentleman would insist upon a Division, in order to show whether his Friends were prepared to support the Prime Minister in the only logical conclusion at which they could arrive. For his own part, he certainly should not vote against the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton; but he should walk out of the House. He should like to leave the Front Bench opposite and hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to get out of the difficulty in the best way they could. As he said, the only logical conclusion they could come to in regard to the agitation against the House of Lords was to support the hon. Member if they were really in earnest; and if they were not, let them throw him over, and show the country that this was only a humbugging agita-

tion which they were afraid to carry to a practical issue.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) propose to reduce the Vote by the sum of £1,000?

MR. RYLANDS said, that, with the leave of the Committee, he would withdraw the Amendment.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, it seemed to him an extraordinary thing that no Member of the Government had risen to offer at least a justification or defence of the Vote. No doubt, there was much in the Vote which did require justification and defence, because it comprised money jobs and sinecures. He would take the case of the Assistant Accountant, who received a salary of £350 a-year for the performance of merely nominal duties. Who was the Assistant Accountant? It appeared from the foot-note that he was an old man who was on the retired list of Admirals; that he was provided with an official residence; and that he received fees as an officer of the Order of the Garter. There were many things which it would be as well for the Secretary to the Treasury to explain to the Committee. No such system was pursued in the House of Commons, and it was the duty of the hon. Gentleman to explain or justify the system adopted in the House of Lords.

MR. COURTNEY said, the hon. Member had expressed his disappointment that he (Mr. Courtney) had not risen earlier in the debate; but it appeared to him that it would have been altogether irregular on his part if he had risen to reply to the observations of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), seeing that they had been ruled by the Chairman to be out of Order. The question of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was in a different position, because it related to a financial matter to which the attention of the Committee might be properly directed. He might say, however, that the hon. Member had only made a cursory examination of the Estimates, and had not perfectly mastered the details of which he complained. He thought the hon. Gentleman had somewhat confused the emoluments of the Assistant Accountant with those received by the Black Rod, who was an Admiral, and was also in receipt of fees for his own use. He ought to explain that the salaries in the House of Lords were originally paid by fees received by that House; but some time ago an arrangement was made with the Treasury, who received the fees, and with the House of Commons, who voted the salaries. For some time the fees received were quite equal to the salaries paid; but of late years they had not reached the amount of the salaries. For instance, the fees this year amounted to £30,000, against an expenditure which reached £43,000. In 1882-3 the receipts were £39,000, which were very nearly equal to the salaries voted in that year. As the fees now received by the House of Lords were handed over to the Exchequer, it was a matter of delicacy to interfere with the salaries paid by the House of Lords, and which were fixed by statute. The matter, however, would not be lost sight of; and as the attention of the Committee had been directed to the apparently excessive nature of the salaries, he would endeavour to ascertain, from time to time, what steps might be taken to reduce the amounts paid to a more reasonable limit. He was under the impression that on the last occasion the Office of the Black Rod became vacant there was a Committee which sat upon the Office, and effected a considerable reduction. He hoped it would not be forgotten that all these salaries were originally paid by fees, and that the fees now received by the Treasury, although they did not quite meet the expenditure, very largely contributed towards it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he should like to know what the nature of the fees received by the House of Lords was, because a large amount of the legal business of the House of Lords consisted of Scotch appeals. As, at all events, it was admitted that the fees received did not fully meet the expenditure in the House of Lords, and as it was further admitted that the salaries paid were extravagant, and as there was no reason why there should be any extravagance, he should certainly vote for the reduction of the Estimate.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was not disposed, after the remarks of the Secretary to the Treasury, to persist in the Motion for a reduction of the Vote; but he hoped the paring down which had been commenced would be continued. He did not know how far the Treasury had

any influence over the Committee upon the Office of Black Rod; but he was afraid it was very slight indeed. Great dissatisfaction had been expressed in the House of Commons against the extravagant expenditure in the House of Lords, and he thought it might be met by some other reduction.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD intimated that, as his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had withdrawn his Motion, he would propose the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £30,846, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the House of Lords."—(*Mr. Arthur Arnold.*)

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY said, it seemed to him that the Government ought to receive with gratitude the suggestions of his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), as they would get them out of a serious difficulty. He thought the country would be disappointed if the Treasury Bench failed to set a good example by following the opponents of this Vote into the Division Lobby.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, his hon. Friend proposed to reduce the Vote by the sum of £1,000, and the Chairman had put the Question, "That the sum of £30,846 be granted to Her Majesty." In the event of that Vote being rejected, would the Committee have an opportunity of voting upon the whole sum?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had asked the question because other hon. Members might wish to move further reductions.

THE CHAIRMAN: First of all, I shall put the reduced sum, and then, in the event of that Motion being rejected, I shall have to put the Original Question for the entire sum.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 33; Noes 138: Majority 105.—(Div. List, No. 156.)

Original Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 147; Noes 23: Majority 124.—(Div. List, No. 157.)

(2.) £36,388, to complete the sum for the House of Commons Offices.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he wished to make an appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, whom he was glad to see in his place, to consider whether the salaries of the officers of the House were commensurate with the duties which they performed? They had heard a great deal as to the salaries of the officers in "another place" being too large; but he did not believe that that was the case. On the contrary, he believed that the officers of the House of Lords were not more than adequately remunerated. There was, however, no doubt that the officers of the House of Commons had a great deal harder work to discharge than the officers in the other House of Parliament. He did not consider that the time during which the two Houses sat was any index of the amount of labour which the officers of either House had to undergo, because he apprehended that the officers of the House of Lords had to work when their Lordships were not sitting; but, as he had said before, there was no doubt that the officers of the House of Commons worked harder than the officers of the other House. The question was, therefore, whether the officers of the House of Commons should not be placed on larger salaries? He thought they should be, and therefore he appealed to Her Majesty's Government as to whether they could not increase the present salaries? He had made this appeal on former occasions, and to a previous Financial Secretary to the Treasury whose untimely death they all deplored; and he thought it was now time for the Government to consider whether they were doing justice to a body of men who were doing worthy service, and to whom the House was largely indebted. A great deal of extra work was sometimes thrown upon these officers. Two years ago there was an Autumn Session, and year after year the hours in this House became later and later, and while Members of the House could remain or leave as they pleased the officers of the House were obliged to stay till the House adjourned. Under these circumstances, he hoped

the Government would see their way to increasing the salaries of these officials.

MR. HEALY said, no one could have received more courtesy from the Clerks at the Table than he had; but he wished to say that in his view, instead of those gentlemen having the power of revising Questions to be put upon the Paper, there ought to be a Committee for dealing with such matters. As there were no rules for the guidance of Members as to what they ought or ought not to ask, it was, he thought, too much to say that the Clerks at the Table should have such absolute discretion; and, therefore, he thought there should be a small Committee appointed each Session to whom such matters might be referred. The work and labour thrown on the Clerks at the Table by Irish Members he admitted was enormous; and it must be so when local friction arose almost every day, upon which there must be conflict between Members and the officials. Either Rules of the House should be drawn up, so that a Member might know what to do, or else Members should be allowed to put down Questions in their own way. The Speaker was at all times open to be advised by the officials especially when the Speaker or Chairman was new and could not be expected to have 20 or 30 years' experience; but he objected to Members having to depend on opinions supplied by the officials. What he should like to have was a Standing Committee, so that Members might be able to appeal to a competent body who should have written Rules to guide them. The present Speaker was comparatively new and inexperienced, and was bound to resort to the Clerks continually for advice and information, and that practically gave the officers of the House control over Members. He thought a Committee appointed by the House would be far more valuable as a last resource; and if Members thought there was any point that was not sufficiently brought out would be able to debate it on the appointment of this Committee. At present if the Chairman decided one way there was no appeal, because everyone knew what was the consequence of coming into collision with the Chairman, and was careful to avoid that. But if a Committee was appointed it could not be said that a Member was denouncing the infallibility of the Chairman; and, therefore, he would suggest that great inconvenience would be avoided if a Committee of this kind was appointed. The officials of the House were naturally anxious to get on with the work of the House; and when Members wished to bring grievances before the House they took a different view of the functions of the House, and might consider it far more important to pass Bills which the country did not want, such as the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, or the Sunday Closing Bill, than to consider the grievances of Members. He would like to know whether in another Session the Government would consider this idea of the appointment of a Committee of Referees to whom questions of dispute could be submitted. This matter concerned Conservative Members as well as Irish Members. Liberal Members dare not ask any Questions at all; but when they were in Opposition, as he trusted they would be after the General Election—and he should do his best to put them in that position—they would, no doubt, display great activity, and come into conflict with the authorities, and then they would find it a very agreeable thing to have a Committee of this kind. Therefore, he hoped the House would consider this question, not in a Party spirit, but with a view to relieving the Clerks of functions which must sometimes lead to conflict. It was too much to say that when the Speaker was new and inexperienced the House must be the sole guardian of its own Order. That could not be. It was not the Members of the House who decided everything, and the Speaker, with whom the decision rested, had no rules to guide him. It was no use for the Liberal Party to get up a cry because Questions were asked; for if there were grievances, those grievances must, and would, break out. The Government wished to shut up everything; they wanted to have their own way; and if they could not have it, then they accused Members of Obstruction. It would also be well to have a Committee to whom questions of Privilege and other matters with respect to personal questions and disputes could be referred, instead of having unseemly wrangles such as there had been.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I will say a few words upon the observations of the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor,

and the hon. Member for Monaghan. The Lord Mayor has suggested that it would be desirable to raise the salaries of the officials of this House; and he has said, rightly enough, that it is not in the power of any private Member to propose to raise those salaries without the sanction of the House. The House is, probably, not aware that the salaries of the officials are specially regulated by Statute. There is under the Statute a Committee, consisting of Mr. Speaker, the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls —if he be a Member of the House—the Attorney General, and the Solicitor General, by whom the salaries of the officers of this House are regulated, although, of course, the salaries can be reduced in Supply when the Vote for the salaries comes on. It is not the function of the Treasury to deal with these salaries, although the Treasury may deal with some of the allowances. Therefore, if the question of increasing the salaries of the officers of the House should be raised, that would be considered, in the first place, by that special Committee—and, as a matter of fact, I have acted on this Committee with both the late Speaker and the present Speaker; and if it should be the opinion of the Committee that any particular salaries ought to be increased or decreased, provision is made accordingly. As to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), putting aside some of his remarks, I am bound to say that the hon. Member stated the case very fairly. He admitted that Members came very constantly to the Clerks at the Table, and received from them every courtesy and assistance. But he suggests that the Clerks at the Table, in dealing with Questions proposed to be put by hon. Members, would really be benefited by the assistance of a Committee appointed by this House, and that before these Questions appeared on the Paper the Committee should decide whether any alterations should be made in them, and the form the Questions should take. The putting of Questions occupies much more of the time of the House than formerly; but I fear there would be nothing gained, but, on the contrary, much time lost, by having a Committee to supervise the wording of Questions. I have great doubt whether, practically, many cases have arisen in which the decision of the Speaker as to the propriety of particular words would have been overruled by a Committee of the House. The hon. Member talked about the infallibility of the Speaker being recognized by the present practice, as if he were a Pope; but this is not so. Indeed, there are two opinions about the infallibility of the Pope; and it is sometimes held that it is subject to the review of a General Council. Undoubtedly, the decisions of the Speaker are strictly subject to the review of the House; the Speaker cannot decide on any question of this sort finally, for it is always in the power of the House to overrule such a decision. I remember that the late Dr. Kenealy, in a matter of this kind, did contest the decision of the Speaker, and the House affirmed the decision of the then Speaker. But I would put it to the House whether—I was going to say in its own interest, but I would say in the interest of those who ask a large proportion of the Questions—anything would be gained by the proposal? Now what happens about Questions? The great majority of them are put on the Paper the day before they have to be answered. In some cases hon. Gentlemen give two or three days' Notice—sometimes even longer; but a very large proportion of the Questions put at Question time only appear on the Paper that morning. I do not know that it is the case with the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Healy); but some of the hon. Members who sit on the Front Bench below the Gangway opposite express a good deal of dissatisfaction if a Minister is not able, almost off-hand, or, at any rate, within a few hours after he receives Notice of a Question, to give an answer to it. Now, what will be the position of hon. Members who are in the habit of asking Questions if, instead of their Questions being dealt with promptly, as they are now by the Speaker on the representation of the Clerk at the Table, they have to go before a Select Committee? They could not possibly go before a Committee except on Notice. Moreover, I do not think it is practicable to expect Members of the House to form a Select Committee to meet every day to consider Questions put on the Paper the day before. I cannot, therefore, help thinking that if the proposal were adopted it would cause great inconvenience and delay to the Questioners.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

I doubt whether it will not be better, as a matter of public convenience, to leave things as they are now. My impression is that the change would result in such great inconvenience that the House would very soon revert to the present practice. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) will recognize that the subject is a perfectly new one, and that I am only answering his remarks by stating what, at the first blush, appears to me to be the difficulty which surrounds it. I should be sorry off-hand to give a final opinion pledging the Government on the subject; but my first impression is that the House would dislike the change which the hon. Member proposes. I hope, therefore, the House will not be committed to such a change until Mr. Speaker, and the Government, and those who are in the habit of asking Questions, have had more opportunity of considering the proposal.

MR. STORER said, he did not rise so much to oppose this particular Vote, because he felt, as he was sure other hon. Members felt, that the officers of the House fully deserved the salaries they at present enjoyed, as to express his surprise that the ultra-Liberal Members who sat below the Ministerial Gangway appeared to have abnegated altogether their functions of keeping that inspection over the expenditure of the House, which was their profession, and which ought to be their practice. Nowadays there were only 20 or 30 Liberals who were found to go into the Lobby in favour of any question of retrenchment. He reminded this Liberal Ministry who entered Office on the promise of retrenchment that the time was rapidly approaching when all the Votes would be inspected by the country in a very different sense in which they had hitherto been inspected. In view of the present depressed condition of trade and agriculture, the people of the country were surprised that a considerable reduction had not taken place in official salaries. That a revision of every salary from the highest to the lowest would have to take place before long if things continued as at present there was little doubt. Land was yielding now one-third less profit than at any previous period. When wheat was the staple commodity as much as 56*s.* a-quarter was received; but now it only yielded 36*s.* a-quarter. The people would, before long, demand that official salaries and the general expenditure of the country should be reduced in a like proportion. He did not wish to obstruct the Vote, but merely to impress these facts upon the minds of hon. Members.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he agreed in the remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). He fully recognized the courtesy of the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had met the proposal of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Healy); but the difficulty still remained. Undoubtedly some such plan as had been suggested would have to be devised in order to meet the difficulty in question, which was growing in proportions every day. He confessed that when he compared the Standing Order which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had read with the ruling of the Chair on several occasions, he felt himself in a greater difficulty than ever in reference to the putting of Questions. He did not wish to complain in any way of the ruling of the Chair as to whether Questions came within the Standing Order or not; but he could not help saying that when the ruling of the Chair was against him, an hon. Member felt it very bitterly. Only a few days ago he endeavoured to put on the Notice Paper a Question which he believed in strict accordance with the Rules of the House. He measured those Rules by Questions he had seen on the Paper from time to time, and he did all he could to bring his Question strictly within the lines of other Questions he had seen. The Question he wished to put raised a subject of considerable importance affecting a large class of people in Ireland. It was a subject of the most urgent public importance, and with the permission of the Committee he would briefly describe it. For some time there had been a considerable feeling in Dublin with regard to proselytizing efforts, which were made in connection with certain Homes, and he wished to ask a Question with regard to an excursion, given by one of the Homes, with which the family of a Judge was connected, and in which a County Court Judge had actually participated. The County Court Judge and others had induced a Protestant clergyman to preach on the occasion of the ex-

cursion to Roman Catholic children. He (Mr. Harrington) took the matter up because he considered the Judge had been guilty of gross misconduct, and he thought it was a fitting subject on which to put a Question. He was, however, precluded from putting a Question; and, strange to say, while he was endeavouring to ask the Question, the Judge was sitting in judgment upon one of the proselytizing Homes for having detained a Catholic child against the consent of her parents. He (Mr. Harrington) did not complain. There was simply a difference of opinion between him and the Speaker and the Clerks at the Table as to whether the Question was admissible. Certainly, had there been any Rules to which he could have had recourse so as to bring his Question within the limits of Order, he should have been glad to have complied with them. Though he did all he could to adapt the Question to the Forms of the House, he was precluded from putting it, or even any part of it. He did not hesitate to say that there would really have been a saving of time had he been allowed to ask the Question; because now he should feel bound to move, at the proper time, to disallow the salary of the Judge in question.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he noticed an item of £429 for police attendance on both Houses of Parliament. Was that a charge for police attendance inside or outside the House? Of course, as far as the House and Palace Yard were concerned, hon. Members had every reason to thank the police for the way in which they discharged their duties; but the police stationed just outside Palace Yard were very negligent in the performance of their duties. At the commencement of every Session they heard that the approaches to the House were to be kept open for Members; but his experience was that hon. Members very often ran great risk to life and limb in approaching the House. Just outside Palace Yard there was usually a great concourse of vehicles; but the police did nothing at all to facilitate the passage of Members to the House. He should, therefore, like to know whether this Vote included anything for the police stationed outside the House, because if it did, he should be inclined to move to reduce the Vote.

Mr. COURTNEY said, the Vote only applied to the services of the police within the House; but the complaint of the hon. Gentleman as to the conduct of the police outside Palace Yard was certainly inconsistent with his (Mr. Courtney's) experience.

Mr. HEALY said, he was much obliged to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the courteous manner in which he had met his (Mr. Healy's) proposal. Of course, the proposal he made was only intended to apply to Questions about which there was any dispute. He would like to make a suggestion with regard to another matter which fell upon the Vote for the House. He thought some readier means ought to be adopted of allowing strangers to communicate with Members. Very often half-an-hour elapsed before a card or note was delivered to a Member. He would like to know whether that was the fault of the staff—whether there were sufficient attendants? He scarcely thought there were. Again, if a Member was wanted there was no knowing where to find him. Surely some system might be devised by which it would be possible to let a stranger know at once where to find a Member, or where to deliver a card to him. Again, there was another matter which was worthy the attention of the authorities of the House. Members were frequently put to a great deal of trouble with regard to the Notices given in the House. He was of opinion that there should be a series of printed Notices. For instance, the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) must find it a very inconvenient thing to be continually writing out blocks to Bills. He (Mr. Healy) did not see why the hon. and learned Gentleman should not have forms at his disposal, and in the same way forms might be provided for Questions. At present, Members were required to write out, perhaps half-a-dozen times a day, the full heading, "I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland," or, "I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade," just as the case might be. There were forms for admission to the Strangers' Gallery and the Ladies' Gallery; surely it would be a small matter for Her Majesty's Stationery or Printing Department to supply forms for Questions and other Notices, which could be procured in the Library or Lobbies of the House. The supply of such forms

would save a great deal of labour, especially to such an energetic and hard-working Member as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), who really was most constant in his attendance, and went through more labour than any half-a-dozen other Members put together. What he (Mr. Healy) suggested was a very small matter, involving very little expense; and therefore he trusted his proposal would receive the favourable consideration of the Secretary to the Treasury or the First Commissioner of Works.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that in this Vote there were a number of small items for fire-lighters, watchmen, and others. He believed that a salary of £500 a-year was paid to the Surveyor of the Sanitary Arrangements of the House. Now, it appeared to him that that was a sinecure appointment. [MR. COURTNEY: Buildings in Class I.] Yes; but this was not a building, but a man, and he received a salary. That salary should be provided for in this Vote; and if it had been, he should have asked the Secretary to the Treasury if the Inspector of the Sanitary Arrangements of the House ever visited the House at all; and, if he did, how often a week?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Gentleman was not entitled to refer to the official mentioned, inasmuch as the salary was not included in this Vote.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was objecting to the defective form in which the Vote was submitted to the Committee. He complained that an item which ought to appear did not appear in the Vote, and that in consequence he was precluded from doing what he wished.

MR. COURTNEY explained that the form of the Vote was more correct as it stood. This officer was attached to the building, and was a person whom he had frequently seen about the House.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £39,609, to complete the sum for the Treasury.

MR. HEALY said, he wished to repeat a question as to the way in which the Estimates were arranged, to which he had on a former occasion called attention; and whether a full list of persons receiving pensions under the Superannuation Vote would be given each year?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked what the Treasury proposed to do with regard to other classes of Civil Service Estimates, such as the Votes for writers; and also what they would do with respect to the division of clerks?

MR. COURTNEY said, that a Parliamentary Paper, issued during the last few days, dealt with the question of the lower division of clerks, and gave particulars as to the decision of the Treasury. With regard to the question of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), a full list of persons receiving pensions under the Vote in question had been issued until recently; but it had been thought sufficient to give in future the annual additions to the list and omissions from it.

MR. HEALY said, he regarded this matter of including the pensioners as one of the greatest importance. It was very important, in his opinion, that the public should be able to see this list, and the question of expense was too small to be worth considering. He, therefore, hoped there would be some further explanation on this point. The hon. Member had said that a reform was instituted by himself; but the reform had been carried too far in the case of Mr. Corrie Connellan. It was monstrous that this list of pensioners should be hidden away in a lumber room, and he hoped the Government would give a satisfactory explanation; otherwise he would be obliged to push the matter a little further.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he thought the hon. Member for Monaghan was quite right, for Members were perfectly entitled to know who these pensioners were. If this information was given, he thought it probable that more money would be saved a year than the information would cost for printing.

MR. HEALY said, that as he was unable to obtain the courtesy of a reply from the hon. Gentleman, he thought Progress had better be reported, so that the hon. Gentleman might have time to consider the matter and make up his mind upon it. Unless the hon. Gentleman could give some assurance upon the matter, he should make this Motion.

MR. COURTNEY promised that before the Vote for pensions came on he would consider the matter.

MR. BIGGAR said he accepted the promise of the Secretary to the Treasury as reasonable, and was in favour

of a change from the new to the old system. He thought the House should exercise supervision over the various Departments as far as possible within reasonable limits.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

PERSONAL ESTATES (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 262.]

(*Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr, Craig-Sellar, Mr. Arthur Elliot, Mr. James Campbell, Mr. Webster, Mr. Bolton, Mr. Dalrymple.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, the object of the Bill which he was about to ask the House to read a second time was to clear up the difficulty which existed in the legal procedure of the two countries with regard to personal estates of domiciled persons. As to the manner of doing this, he was prepared to admit that there might be other means of gaining the same end, although that which he now proposed commended itself most to his judgment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Cochran-Patrick.*)

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour) said, there could be no doubt that there was a difference between the laws of the two countries which ought to be reconciled. He need not go into the matter further than to say that it was one that, in his opinion, ought to be made the subject of legislation, which there seemed to be room for not only on this, but on various other matters of jurisdiction as between the two countries. They were all agreed that this subject should be dealt with; and therefore, without affirming that the present Bill went to the root of the whole question, he was prepared to assent to its being read a second time.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell) said, his right hon. Friend spoke entirely from the Scotch point of view. He was not going to differ from him with regard to the second reading of this Bill; but he would remark that the question which it involved was a very difficult one, and that Englishmen had some slight interest in the matter. The Bill did not deal with the property of domiciled Englishmen and Scotsmen in the same way, and it was his opinion that that was a matter which ought to be dealt with on some common basis. The principal object to be kept in view was that the estates of persons, wherever domiciled, should be administered where they could be administered most economically, and the question was as to the best way of carrying that into effect. He was not quite satisfied that the best way was proposed in the Bill. He quite agreed that everything pointed to the desirability of arriving at an agreement on this subject in accordance with the views of both countries; and he had only risen for the purpose of raising the question as to whether the best way of doing that had been found.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

YORKSHIRE REGISTRIES (*re-committed*) BILL.—[Bill 264.]

(*Mr. Dodds, Mr. Charles Palmer, Mr. Barran, Mr. Isaac Wilson.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title).

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, he had had a number of letters sent to him on the subject of the Bill; and as they required consideration, he trusted that no further progress would be attempted at that hour (1.55).

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, he was, of course, in the hands of the hon. Member who had just spoken. But there was this to say. It was open to the gentlemen on whose behalf the hon. Member spoke to have made their representations with regard to the Bill at an earlier stage. The Law Societies in Yorkshire had sent to London a committee who, after a full conference with the hon. Member in charge of the Bill, had expressed themselves fully satisfied with its provisions as amended by the Select Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he hoped his hon. Friend would not press his Motion to report Progress. The Bill had been referred to a Select Committee, of which he was Chairman, and had been most carefully considered; and he believed it had been received with almost unanimous approval by those persons in Yorkshire who were interested in the matter.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, this Bill might be good for Yorkshire; but he doubted whether it would be good for the country at large. The fact was that the passing of these good measures for particular localities would prevent the adoption for the country as a whole of a thorough system of registration of title. He believed it would be better to drop both this Bill and the Middlesex Registry Bill, and wait until some comprehensive and settled scheme had been worked out which was capable of application at once to every county in the Kingdom. That was a work which would be worthy of a great and statesmanlike Administration. If the matter was to be dealt with in this piecemeal fashion — if there was to be an Act passed for a county in the North and another Act passed for a county in the South—he was forced to the conclusion that the rest of the country would be left in its present disgraceful condition with regard to the registration of titles.

MR. A. PEASE thought the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) hardly understood the position. There was a registration in Yorkshire now; but an improved one was desired. If Yorkshire had to wait for the whole country it might be required to wait for ever. Personally, he could not understand how the passing of this Bill would be a barrier to the adoption of a scheme of registration applicable to the country at large.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he was afraid he should be obliged to oppose the Bill unless considerable Amendments were made. At any rate, he must ask that the debate be adjourned. He must therefore press the Motion that the Chairman do now report Progress.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 2 to 26, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 27 (Memorials, &c. exempt from stamp duty).

MR. COURTNEY said, he objected to this clause, inasmuch as it provided for the abolition of the Stamp Duty on Memorials. His hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) would see that it was impossible for him (Mr. Courtney) to assent to the clause.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY considered the proposal was founded on the principle of justice. As his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) knew, he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had no choice, in face of the opposition of the Treasury, but to assent to the omission of the clause. He, however, assented most unwillingly.

MR. A. PEASE said, he thought the Committee ought to be told how the matter stood. In Yorkshire they had to pay Stamp Duties on title deeds; but, in addition, without any service rendered, they were, by Act of Parliament, charged 2*s.* 6*d.* for Memorials of registration of deeds. Every cottager, therefore, who bought a small cottage had, in addition to the expenses of conveyancing, to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* He (Mr. A. Pease) agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) that there was no justification whatever for the charge. It was rather remarkable that the Treasury should seek to retain this charge when the people of the country were demanding that the transfer of land should not only be made simpler, but less expensive. By the Bill which had been introduced by the Government relating to the transfer of land in Ireland, very considerable reductions had been made in respect of the Stamp Duties. He thought the Treasury might have treated Yorkshire a little more liberally.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would attempt some defence of his opposition to the clause. Especially when there was no service rendered, this seemed to be a very arbitrary charge.

MR. COURTNEY said, in answer to the argument that this duty was an exaction of payment for which no service was performed, that in the case of every stamp duty no service was rendered. Stamps were a portion of the machinery by which the taxation of the country was levied. The general law required that all Memorials, wherever registered, should pay a stamp duty of 2*s.* 6*d.*; and by this clause it was proposed to exempt Yorkshire from the operation of

the general law. To make an exception in favour of Yorkshire would be most invidious.

MR. DODDS said, he did not think the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was justified in saying that this would be peculiar to Yorkshire. There was no registration of deeds in any county of England, except in Middlesex and Yorkshire; and why the people of Yorkshire should have to pay this exceptional and additional charge he could not understand. In 1853 a Bill relating to the registration of land throughout the Kingdom generally was introduced in the House of Lords by the Lord Chancellor, and that Bill contained a stipulation that the Memorials should be free from Stamp Duty. The Bill, however, never came down to that House. There was no justification whatever for the charge; and he hoped the hon. and learned Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) would not consent to the striking out of this clause.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that if the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) thought fit to go to a Division he, for one, would support him. He confessed that he heard a Radical Secretary to the Treasury defend this charge in Middlesex and Yorkshire as a very proper charge with considerable astonishment. It always had been one of the chief points of the policy of the Liberal Party to make the transfer of land as cheap as possible. This was a wholly indefensible charge; and he could not help thinking that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) had received a mandate from the Treasury to oppose the clause, on the ground that it was a blow at the Stamp Duties.

MR. COURTNEY pointed out that the Stamp Duty of 2*s.* 6*d.* on Memorials extended to all Memorials wherever registered, as, for instance, in the Court of Chancery. Indeed, any Memorial registered in any Court in England or Ireland was subject to a 2*s.* 6*d.* Stamp Duty. If hon. Gentlemen referred to Clause 97 of the Stamp Act of 1870 they would find the duty distinctly laid down.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, he supposed that, as a matter of fact, the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) and the Commissioners of Inland Revenue could not afford to part with the duty, because, in case the Revenue shrunk hereafter, they would not be able to re-impose the duty. They, however, knew that all the charges on registration ought to be done away with, as being charges which restricted the conveyance of land.

MR. DODDS said, he might, perhaps, be permitted to point out that if a small conveyance was now registered at full length in the North Riding of Yorkshire no additional duty was payable; but if, with the view of saving expense, a short Memorial was registered, a duty of 2*s.* 6*d.* attached. It was a most unjust and indefensible charge.

MR. HEALY said, it was very gratifying to see the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds) take an interest in registration. He should like to ask whether the hon. Gentleman's son was the solicitor for the Bill?

Clause *negatived.*

Clauses 28 to 52, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Schedule *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

OYSTER CULTIVATION (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 43.]

(*Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Shea, Colonel Nolan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Blake.*)

MR. TREVELYAN said, he had no objection, on the part of the Government, to the Bill being read a second time. When the Bill was in Committee he might feel it his duty to propose certain Amendments.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

—o—

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (MANX CHILDREN) BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

MR. HIBBERT moved for leave to bring in a Bill—

"For enabling Manx children to be sent to Reformatory or Industrial Schools in Great Britain."

MR. WARTON inquired whether the authorities of the Isle of Man had been communicated with?

MR. HIBBERT said, it was at their request that the Bill was introduced.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill for enabling Manx Children to be sent to Reformatory or Industrial Schools in Great Britain, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 280.]

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. SEXTON moved—

"That the Select Committee on Agricultural Labourers (Ireland) consist of Twenty-two Members."

He explained that if this Motion were agreed to it was his intention to move "that Mr. Trevelyan be added to the Committee." It was of great importance that the right hon. Gentleman should be added to the Committee, because it was well that the Chief Secretary should have his mind accurately informed upon the subject. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would allow his name to be added. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would say whether he expected or intended that the Committee should make material progress during the present Session.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Select Committee on Agricultural Labourers (Ireland) consist of Twenty-two Members."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

MR. TREVELYAN respectfully asked the hon. Gentleman not to press the Motion. He assured the hon. Member that he should await the Report of the Committee with the very greatest interest. He did not introduce the Labourers Bill; but, as the hon. Member was aware, he took an extreme interest in it. The framework of the Bill, no doubt, required amendment; and, therefore, there was no fear of his not examining most carefully the results produced by the Committee. The Irish Office would be represented by his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker), than whom none was more competent; and the Treasury would be represented by an hon. Gentleman who had taken a great interest in the question—the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Herbert Gladstone). He (Mr. Trevelyan) would be glad to serve on the Committee if he could; but he assured the hon. Gentleman that during many weeks of the Session he had absolutely no spare time whatever in the course of the day except the time that he was waiting for Irish Bills to come on on Wednesdays. He was quite unable to spare the time which would be necessary for a Select Committee; but the hon. Gentleman might rest satisfied that in case the Government brought in an amending Bill no ill effects would result from the fact that he (Mr. Trevelyan) had not served on the Committee. As to the labours of the Committee, the Government would be very glad if progress could be made by the Committee during the remainder of the Session. His impression was that the Committee would probably begin by examining the President of the Local Government Board, and perhaps the Legal Advisers, and perhaps the Inspectors; and it was not impossible that they might find, from the evidence of these gentlemen, that the elucidation of the subjects they desired elucidation upon would be promoted by a postponement until the arrangements under the Provisional Orders were carried out. He thought it very probable that the Committee would find that an adjournment at the end of the Session would be a very useful adjournment. At any rate, he hoped the Committee would set to work at once.

MR. SEXTON: What day will they meet?

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Members of the Committee would settle that amongst themselves. His hon. Friends who would be official Members desired that the Committee should meet with as little delay as possible.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN reminded the Chief Secretary that the Assizes were about beginning, and several of the hon. Gentlemen on this Committee would have to attend the Assizes.

MR. HEALY said, it was unusual, when the House was going to meet for an Autumn Session, to have a Select Committee appointed in this way. He thought it unlikely that the Committee could finish its labours in the next fort-

night; and he thought that was a point worth the consideration of the Government.

MR. TREVELYAN admitted that this was an important matter; but the Committee would proceed as far as they could. The question whether the Committee should be re-appointed during the Autumn Session would have to be considered.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends had postponed the Bill until the Assizes were beginning, so that it would be impossible for Irish Members to attend.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

TRUSTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill to amend "The Trusts (Scotland) Act, 1867," *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 279.]

House adjourned at half after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 11th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*First Report*—Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod [No. 187].

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Building Societies Acts Amendment (188); Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) * (189).

Second Reading—Licensing Act (1872) Amendment * (160).

Report—Post Office Protection * (185).

Third Reading—Indian Marine * (170); Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment * (180), and *passed.*

BUILDING SOCIETIES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in presenting a Bill to amend the Building Societies Act, 1874, said, that he did not do so as a Member of the Government, but in accordance with a request which had been made to him by the Building Societies' Protection Association. A decision had been lately pronounced in their Lordships' House that all questions connected with Building Societies, not only under their rules, but also under mortgages and other contracts between a Society and any of its members, must be determined by arbitration, and that they were excluded from ordinary remedies in Courts of Law and Equity. He had not himself agreed in that decision; but of course he accepted it as conclusive with respect to the present state of the law. It had been a surprise to those Societies; and they were unanimous in their desire to be restored to the position which, in this respect, they occupied before the Act of 1874. The Bill he now introduced had been prepared for the Societies; and as the matter was one of some urgency, he asked that the Bill should be read a first time at that late period of the Session. Of course, if it should turn out that there was any disagreement with regard to the Bill it would not be pressed forward; but as it had the unanimous support of the Societies he did not apprehend any opposition in either House of Parliament.

Bill to amend the Building Societies Act, 1874—*Presented* (The LORD CHANCELLOR.)

Bill read 1ª. (No. 188.)

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—SPEECH OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

EXPLANATIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I have some observations of a personal character to make with respect to a very remarkable speech which was delivered by the Prime Minister at the Foreign Office yesterday, of which a report appears in this morning's papers. The Prime Minister there stated that certain offers were made to the Tory Party in the House of Lords and were rejected; and some observation has been made on the fact that no notice of that circumstance occurred. As far as I know, what took place was this—I had no communication by word, or by writing, with any Member of Her Majesty's Government; but just before the dinner hour on Tuesday, my noble and learned Friend who sits by me (Earl Cairns) asked me to come out, and informed me

that some communication had been made to him verbally by the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville); that, in the course of conversation, the noble Earl had peremptorily refused anything in the nature of Colonel Stanley's Amendment, but had suggested a more emphatic and formal promise—made emphatic by the process of special Resolution—on the part of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Redistribution Bill next year. My noble and learned Friend, at the same time, informed me that he had obtained leave from the noble Earl to communicate the matter to me, and asked my opinion. I gave him the opinion that it made no change in the circumstances, because we did not suspect—we had never professed to suspect—the absolute sincerity of Her Majesty's Government—of noble Lords opposite, I should say—in their intention to propose to introduce a Bill of Redistribution next year. A simply more emphatic and solemn reiteration of that intention, however solemn and emphatic it might be, was simply superfluous; it was labouring a point that was not contested; it was giving us no security on the points on which we felt anxiety. The points on which we felt anxiety were two—first, that Her Majesty's Government, however sincere their intention of bringing in a Redistribution Bill, might not be in a condition to pass it before a Dissolution; and, secondly, that if they did, that Redistribution Bill might be of such a character as, in our judgment, to be so inequitable as not to form a reasonable basis for the settlement of the question, and that if the Franchise Bill were passed without a measure of Redistribution, we should not be so free as we otherwise should be to deal with that Redistribution Bill next year. I understood, however, and my noble and learned Friend understood, that the communication was absolutely informal and confidential. I felt myself absolutely precluded from making any allusion to it; and, indeed, when I was speaking in your Lordships' House, and referring to the indisposition of Her Majesty's Government to give us Colonel Stanley's clause, I was very careful to frame my words so that there should be no suspicion that anything had passed between us—so absolutely confidential did I believe the communication to be. But I have something further to say. Not satisfied with thus bringing forward and relating communications which, to our minds, were absolutely confidential, the Prime Minister goes further, and states a reason why these offers were rejected; and the reason he gives is this—that the offer was rejected because the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords said he could not discuss redistribution "with a rope round his neck;" and he went on to dwell upon this, and to make capital out of it; and he preaches a sermon, if I may say so, about the rope round the neck. It was, he said, a penalty inflicted in certain ancient Republics for innovators who failed; and he described it as being a "monstrous statement" on my part. He inferred from it that I considered the franchise as "a poison," and that I considered that the persons to be enfranchised were "a set of wild beasts;" and he goes on through a great number of sentences enlarging on all the enormities to be deduced from the circumstance of my having refused the proposal, as, he says, because of "the rope round my neck." Will your Lordships believe that this statement is an utter fabrication, and has not a vestige of foundation? I have made no communication to Her Majesty's Government by word or by letter. My noble and learned Friend is prepared to state to you that he made no communication of such a kind on my part; and there is not the faintest basis for the extraordinary statement which the Prime Minister has put forward. I will not dwell on the matter further; but I shall only ask, are these the poisoned weapons by which the Prime Minister is about to fight this battle? Is he not only going to use for controversial purposes the results of purely confidential communications, but to thrust into the mouth of his opponent statements which he never made, pretending that they were made at an interview at which the Prime Minister was not present, and with regard to which he could not have any certain information whatever? I think such a policy on his part not only shows but little confidence in the justice of his cause, but it is a sufficient indication to us that that misunderstanding of our actions, which it is essential for the Government to produce, will be compassed by the familiar and easy process of misrepresentation.

Earl CAIRNS and the Earl GRANVILLE rose at the same time to address the House.

Both noble Lords being called upon, after a short time it was

Moved, "That the Earl Cairns be heard."—(*Earl Beauchamp.*)

Amendment *moved* to leave out all the words after ("That") and insert ("the Earl Granville be heard.")

On Question, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?

Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 26; Not-Contents 27: Majority 1.

Resolved in the *negative*.

Amendment *agreed to*.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I do not feel any triumph on winning the Division. I regret very much interposing between the noble and learned Earl and the House; but I think that your Lordships will see that the vote of your Lordships' House just now is not a very unreasonable one. Here is a question raised, partly with regard to my conduct, and partly with regard to another person, for having done something in "another place;" and this without the slightest Notice having been given to me of the intention on the part of the noble Marquess, or of the noble and learned Earl—of the one to begin, and of the other to follow up an accusation against Her Majesty's Government. My Lords, I apprehend that after what has passed, the noble and learned Earl has no objection to my stating what I believe passed between us. I will read to your Lordships a short memorandum of the interview that I had with him; and he will correct me, I am perfectly sure, if there is any inaccuracy contained in it. The memorandum is as follows:—

"On Tuesday I called on Lord Cairns in his private room at the House of Lords before the Orders of the Day were read. I said that, notwithstanding former success in averting differences between the two Houses, I did not feel sanguine now, and was only induced to trouble him because it had been suggested by a Conservative Peer that I should do so, and also by the assurance which he (Lord Cairns) gave in his speech that a special provision offered by the Government might settle the whole matter. I asked him whether he could make any suggestion. Lord Cairns made a suggestion, which, though not in similar words, was the same in substance as Colonel Stanley's Clause. I stated that such an arrangement was impossible for the Government to accept. I then suggested for his consideration that the Government should pledge themselves, if the House of Lords passed the present Bill, to propose an identical Resolution in both Houses, reciting that they have passed the Representation of the People Bill in reliance on the enagement tendered by Her Majesty's Ministers that they will, so far as depends on them, introduce and use every effort in their power to pass in the ensuing Session a Bill for the redistribution of seats in the United Kingdom, and a joint Address by both Houses, laying the same Resolution at the foot of the Throne. Lord Cairns asked whether I could give my words in writing, and, after my having done so, whether he might show them to Lord Salisbury. Later in the evening he returned my paper with the observations that—'This does not appear to give any higher security than that which is already given by the assurance of the Government. If the Government admitted an Amendment, either (1) that the Bill should come into operation on a day to be named in a subsequent Act of Parliament, or (2) should come into operation on January 1, 1886, unless an earlier day was named in an Act to be passed next Session, it would be sufficient.'"

Now, that is all that passed between us. The memorandum goes on—

"I communicated this result to Mr. Gladstone, and we agreed that the refusal of the Leaders of the Opposition was not decisive against our making the proposal to the House of Lords. But I had received an appeal for an adjustment from a Conservative Peer, not on the Front Bench, who expressed a desire, on the part of himself and some other Peers, to find a means of avoiding a vote against the Bill. I therefore sent him the proposal, which he returned with an intimation that it was not sufficient. Under these circumstances, the Lord Chancellor and I were of opinion that it was not desirable to make a proposal in the House of a somewhat novel character, as it was sure to be rejected by those to whom it was addressed."

Now, my Lords, I should decline any explanation to-day without any Notice had I not got this morning a letter from Mr. Gladstone himself on the subject. Mr. Gladstone says—

"10, Downing Street, Whitehall,

"July 11, 1884.

"My dear Granville,—I see that in the report of my speech at the Foreign Office I appear to say that the offer made by you on Tuesday was rejected because the Leader of the Opposition said he could not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck. The report appears to me very careful, and I certainly cannot undertake to correct it from memory; but I had no intention of conveying that Lord Salisbury used these words in declining the offer. I understood that he had used the phrase in dealing with the subject. It appeared to me to be an apposite,

concise, and summary statement of his view, and to be the ground of his refusal of our offer. My intention could have been more fully conveyed had I said the offer was rejected, as it appeared to me, because Lord Salisbury considered that he could not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck. This idea was fully expressed in the first of two suggestions which were indicated to you (without, however, being tendered in a binding way) in the reply to our proposal. The second I could not regard as serious, since (in my view) it required the Government to agree to a proposal fully discussed in the House of Commons, and rejected on both sides of the House for reasons on which I need not now enter. I need hardly add that the purpose of my speech was not to give a history of the proceedings, but only to mark with exactitude the point up to which we had been willing to go.

"Sincerely yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

My Lords, with regard to these two proposals I think it may be satisfactory to your Lordships to know the reasons why we objected to the first alternative. It was tantamount to Colonel Stanley's proposal, which was rejected by an enormous majority in the House of Commons, and was quite inconsistent with the lines which the Government had laid down for themselves. The second alternative was practically the same as that proposed by Mr. Albert Grey; and the objection to it appears obvious. It was repudiated not only by Sir Stafford Northcote, but by Mr. Gladstone. The addition of the words about the possibility of inserting an earlier date in the Redistribution Bill does not pledge anybody to anything, and it was always possible to introduce at any time such an earlier date. That addition would practically make it impossible to dissolve Parliament until the seventh year of its existence—a most inconvenient arrangement in itself, and which would practically interfere with the Royal Prerogative to fix a date. It would necessitate a second Dissolution almost immediately after the first. At all events, from the Government point of view, the argument against the alternative offered to us was such that we could not accept it. Well, my Lords, I excessively regret anything that has occurred between me and my noble and learned Friend, whom, I must say, I have always found one of the fairest of men possible in discussions of this kind; but I thought it better to state the facts exactly as they happened.

EARL CAIRNS: My Lords, when I proposed to follow my noble Friend behind me I thought that it was more convenient and more courteous to the noble Earl that he should hear all that was to be said on this side with regard to a transaction which was divided between two persons, and should not only hear one part of the statement. I had no intention when I came into the House to say anything; but, without finding any fault with the version of what took place as given by my noble Friend, I thought it was incumbent on me to rise immediately and supplement what he had said. I do not think that the noble Earl can fairly complain of want of Notice. It is for me to complain of want of Notice. He comes down here completely furnished with his materials. He has even reduced to writing what passed at a private and confidential interview between himself and me.

EARL GRANVILLE: It was reduced to writing before.

EARL CAIRNS: Before the meeting?

EARL GRANVILLE: Not before the meeting; but before this morning.

EARL CAIRNS: I do not say it was reduced to writing for this special purpose. It is quite new to me. And he is also prepared with a letter from Mr. Gladstone, a letter which, I think, ought rather to have been sent to my noble Friend behind me, and not sent to the noble Earl. I am very sorry to have to speak of what passed at the interview, which I considered to be entirely private and confidential, and as to which I should sooner have cut off my hand than spoken of it to anyone without permission. It is a lesson at my age to be more careful in future of entering into those communications which are frequently very useful, but which experience of the last 24 hours shows may be turned to a dangerous purpose. If communications of this kind between men who are engaged in public life lead to a good result, so much the better; if they do not, I have always understood that they were swept out of the way, because that is the only way business can be transacted as between public men. What occurred is simply this. There is no material point of controversy between me and the noble Earl as to what occurred; but I must remind your Lordships what my noble Friend complains of. I do not understand that anything approaching to an explana-

tion can be given of Mr. Gladstone's statement. Here is the statement—

"We were so anxious that solemnity should be given to these pledges, and that they should be placed beyond all possibility of evasion, that even at the last moment a mode was devised for giving them additional solemnity, and an offer was made to the Tory Party in the House of Lords the night before last, but was rejected. It was an offer that both Houses should, on the responsibility of the Government, be invited to pass identical Resolutions, in which it should be set forth that each House had passed the Franchise Bill in reliance on the pledges of Her Majesty's Advisers to introduce the Redistribution Bill next year, and to make the passing of that Redistribution Bill the great object of their efforts, and that this Resolution, as so passed, should be presented by a Joint Address to the Crown, by which the matter could be formally accepted, so that there would be the concurrence of the three Bodies which gave the authority of law; and although it would not have the form it would yet have all the moral authority of law, and make certain, if anything future can be, the devotion of the next Session of Parliament to the settlement of this question of redistribution. That offer was rejected, because the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords said he could not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck. A rope round his neck! That used to be a penalty inflicted on innovators who failed. At least it was a warning applied to innovators who failed in certain ancient Republics, and the warning was sometimes applied in a manner more effective than agreeable. But what is this rope round his neck? It is the prospect of a large addition to the franchise. I utterly deny that that large addition to the franchise ought to be regarded as a rope round the neck of Lord Salisbury."

Mr. Gladstone then went on to explain that all contentious business would be abandoned, with a view of bringing the Session to a speedy close. Now, my Lords, that is a statement as exact, as categorical, as precise, as even a master of words, which the Prime Minister is, could make it. It goes out this morning all over the country; it is the key-note of the agitation. It is this which every man, woman, and child in the country is to hear from the lips of the Prime Minister and by his authority—namely, that my noble Friend refused an offer which was made to him for the reasons which are here described in these words. My Lords, that is what the noble Earl had to meet, and how has he met it? The noble Earl on Tuesday evening, before the resumption of the debate, was good enough to come to my room; and I understood him to say to me that he had come to speak confidentially on the subject of the Bill, and about what the Government would do. The noble Earl said—"What would you think if the Government were to propose accepting something in the way of a Resolution?" I said—"I do not exactly understand what that means; put it more precisely." Then the noble Earl took a piece of paper, on which was the writing which he has read, and handed it to me. I read it, and said—"Would you have any objection to my showing it to Lord Salisbury?"

EARL GRANVILLE: Yes; that is quite correct.

EARL CAIRNS: That is all that passed. I am searching for "the rope round my neck," and that is why I go into these details. I was not able to speak to my noble Friend until between 7 and 8 o'clock. I then showed him the paper. Our communication was of a very brief kind. I am quite certain that my noble Friend said nothing to me about "a rope round his neck." I am very glad my communication with the noble Earl opposite was not by work of mouth, lest there should be any words about it. The noble Earl sent the paper across the Table, saying he should be glad to have it back with any observations I had to make. Thereupon I sent back the paper, and said—"This does not appear to be any greater security than we have in the promises of the Government;" and here terminated the whole of this mysterious and wicked communication. I do not know where the "rope round his neck" came from. I am bound to say that it is the purest imagination. I should not care about it, for anyone may make mistakes, if it were not for this—that this speech of the Prime Minister is almost a State Paper sent out to the country to instruct the mind of the country. Is that to be met by a private note from the Prime Minister to the noble Earl opposite, and saying—"Well, I do not recollect; but perhaps Lord Salisbury said something to justify it?" Now, is that the way to deal with your opponents?" The question is not whether the terms offered ought to have been accepted; but whether the Prime Minister was justified, when addressing a meeting confined to Members of the House of Commons, which was reported for the instruction of the whole country, in making a statement with regard to my noble Friend which has not a shadow of foundation? Now, my Lords, I will go a little fur-

ther. In this speech of the Prime Minister I do not find any justification for the expression with regard to "a rope round his neck;" but I do find an idea of the Prime Minister's which is quite new to me, and which seems to me to be a view of the Prime Minister's own, which is very like in substance to the metaphor which "a rope round his neck" would come to. I have hitherto been under the impression that the case of the Government was, that redistribution could not be accompanied with enfranchisement by reason of the great delay and complexity consequent on joining the two; but there is a flood of new light thrown on this matter by the speech of the Prime Minister. There is another reason, not given before, for this disconnection of the two subjects, and it is that this disconnection seems now, from the statement of the Prime Minister, to be a matter of careful and deliberate strategy and policy, and not to be connected in any way with time or delay. This is the strategy of the Government. The whole thing is now unveiled. Let this go to the country, too, and let the country know what it means when the Government say that redistribution cannot be joined with enfranchisement. His remarks, I am glad to see, do not apply to the House of Lords alone, but to the House of Commons. Nothing can be more grave or more deliberate than the Prime Minister's words. He says—

"I can only say—and I say it firmly—that with the view I have of the conditions under which alone Business can be managed in the House of Commons, and with the experience, not inconsiderable, that I have had for now more than half-a-century, I affirm to you, positively and absolutely, that you will not and cannot pass a Redistribution Bill unless the Opposition have some motive for allowing it to pass."

Now, what is the motive?

"The good-will on the part of the Opposition, which we require in order to give redistribution a chance, cannot be had unless they know"

—that is, the Opposition in the House of Commons—

"that the extension of the franchise is to take place, and that if they will not have it with redistribution they must have it without."

The result of this disseverance would be that practically both Houses of Parliament would be legislation as to redistribution under duress. That has all along been my opinion. But I did not know that it was designed. This design is now openly avowed and revealed by Mr. Gladstone to his supporters.

"I tell you," he says, "that we must get the Franchise Bill passed first, so as to get that momentum and motive power which alone is to put the wicked Opposition into motion; because, if it does not like the redistribution which we offer, it will have to take this large extension of the franchise without any redistribution at all."

All these references, therefore, to the delay and toil of attempting to deal with the franchise and redistribution at the same time are nothing short of what many people would call hypocrisy.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, there are two things to which I wish to address myself separately in a few words. First, as to the actual facts with respect to Mr. Gladstone; and, secondly, to the latter part of the noble and learned Earl's speech. With regard to Mr. Gladstone, I am quite sure that, whatever may be the influence of political differences on the mind of any of your Lordships, you do not want the facts to be misstated or misunderstood. Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter, which my noble Friend has read to your Lordships—wrote it spontaneously, and without having been challenged on the subject, for the express purpose of calling my noble Friend's attention to an impression which he conceived would arise from the report of the speech which he made at the Foreign Office yesterday. This letter, so spontaneously written, expressly disclaims any intention of conveying the idea that the noble Marquess used those words about the rope round his neck as the motive for refusing the overture of the Government. Mr. Gladstone, before any explanation was asked for, wrote this letter spontaneously, in which he says—

"I had no intention of conveying that Lord Salisbury used these words in declining the offer. I understood that he had used the phrase in dealing with the subject; it appeared to me to be an apposite, concise, and summary statement of his view, and to be the ground of his refusal of our offer. My intention would have been more fully conveyed had I said the offer was rejected, as it appeared to me, because Lord Salisbury considered that he could not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck."

The noble Marquess had made a great many speeches on this subject before the debate took place in this House. I

cannot profess to have read all those speeches, and I cannot verify the impression on Mr. Gladstone's mind from any recollection of my own; but the noble Marquess might have used that expression. Of course, if he states that he did not——

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I cannot carry all my speeches in my mind. What I deny is, having used it as it is quoted here.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: Upon that point there is no difference between us. Mr. Gladstone in this letter, spontaneously written, expressly says that he did not intend to represent the noble Marquess as having so used it. Mr. Gladstone does not challenge the accuracy of the report, but he says he is quite sure that if the words he used were faithfully reported they did not convey his intention. I must say that in the course of the debate there was an expression used, if not by the noble Marquess, certainly by others, to the effect that the course taken by the Government would lead to the House having to discuss redistribution under duress. I think it was the noble and learned Earl who used that phrase, or something equivalent to it; the other phrase about the rope is a stronger and more picturesque way of putting the same thing. But the material thing is this—that Mr. Gladstone did not represent the noble Marquess as having used that expression, because Mr. Gladstone spontaneously disclaims having done so. In whatever words he may have expressed himself, I do not think that there is any man in this House who believes that Mr. Gladstone did intend to convey that idea. Mr. Gladstone has done everything he could to make this correction known to the noble Earl (Earl Granville); and, beyond all doubt, your Lordships may assume that if Mr. Gladstone had had any intention of conveying that meaning he would not have written this letter. But now I must make a few observations upon what the noble and learned Earl has said as to another part of Mr. Gladstone's speech. I believe none of the noble Lords who addressed your Lordships in support of the Government in the late debate dwelt more than I did upon the difficulties of doing that which was urged upon your Lordships and upon its impracticability. But I greatly failed to convey my own meaning if I did not put before your Lordships the very same view which the noble and learned Earl now represents as a new discovery and as a new light thrown by Mr. Gladstone upon the matter. I have over and over again urged that among the practical reasons against the attempt to combine the two questions was this—that the sure and certain effect would be that the one would be played off against the other—redistribution against franchise; franchise against redistribution—and that common sense dictated to those who really wanted an enlargement of the franchise this course—to do first what you can, and when you can, so as to settle first the natural basis for redistribution, and that then you would get out of the difficulty which would arise from the reaction of the two questions against each other when not separated. Those who wanted to go forward with redistribution would begin, if they could, with settling the franchise. I endeavoured to press that argument upon your Lordships; and I also said that I could see no reason whatever why 2,000,000 of our fellow-countrymen, who we are all agreed are fit to be enfranchised, should be refused the privilege until redistribution is passed; and that if redistribution is a matter of difficulty, it is far better that they should have the vote with the present distribution of power than that the vote should be refused to them until the question of redistribution is settled. I can see nothing whatever in that speech of Mr. Gladstone which I myself did not endeavour to impress on your Lordships in the course of the debate.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): My Lords, I would ask the noble and learned Earl (the Lord Chancellor) or the noble Earl (Earl Granville) to answer this question. How can anyone form any opinion whatever, until he knows what the redistribution is to be, as to what effect the extension of the franchise will have upon the constitution of the House of Commons?

LORD DE L'ISLE AND DUDLEY asked why Mr. Gladstone had made public what was understood to be a private communication?

LORD WAVENEY gave it as his opinion that when a Redistribution Bill was brought in by the Government they should have had and received from the country such an indication of the opinion of the constituencies as would guide them

in the principles of redistribution. No doubt, that would take the form of a very large disfranchisement of the small boroughs, and he would limit the retention of Irish boroughs to the maritime ports, including Dublin.

EARL GRANVILLE: I think I ought to say, in answer to what has fallen from the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns), that his statement of what occurred is exactly the same as mine, except that he has introduced the word "confidential," and I do not think I used that word.

EARL CAIRNS: Nor "private?"

EARL GRANVILLE: I do not think I used that word, either. I do not think the words "private" or "confidential" passed; but, at all events, the written record which Mr. Gladstone read does not contain them.

EARL CAIRNS: Does the noble Earl mean to say that our conversation was not "private or confidential?" My own impression is that it was confidential.

EARL GRANVILLE: I do not think I used the word "private," but I considered it as such.

EARL CAIRNS: I should be sorry to differ from the noble Earl.

ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY, WOOLWICH—THE EDUCATIONAL COURSE.

QUESTION.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether he can state the reasons why Latin and Greek have been withdrawn from the voluntary educational course at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich; and whether the Lieutenant Governor of the Royal Military Academy has expressed his strong dissent from this alteration?

THE EARL OF MORLEY, in reply, said, it was perfectly true that the Lieutenant Governor of the Royal Military Academy had expressed his dissent, as stated in the Question. It was necessary to explain that this change had nothing at all to do with the examination for admission to the Royal Military Academy, but only affected the course of study pursued there, and the final examination. It appeared to the Secretary of State for War that these subjects were not strictly useful professionally to the soldier. At Woolwich all the obligatory subjects of study were subjects bearing directly on the student's profession. He quite agreed that it would be extremely undesirable to discourage classics at the entrance examination; but he thought it was, at the same time, undesirable that the study should be continued when once a young man was in the Academy. The course at the Academy had been reduced from two and a-half years to two years, and in these two years a great deal of technical and professional work had to be learnt; and he thought it very desirable that that time should be spent on technical subjects, or, at any rate, on subjects that would be of direct advantage to a young man in his military career.

In reply to Viscount HARDINGE,

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, that the course at Sandhurst was purely professional.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF ANNESLEY, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether they would take into their consideration the necessity for providing proper and fireproof accommodation for the National Portrait Gallery? said, that the general opinion was that, in its present condition, this Gallery was in imminent danger of being totally burnt down. It was not built originally for the purpose of a National Portrait Gallery, and was so flimsy a structure that the pictures were receiving great damage. A short time ago he was in the Gallery with a very distinguished authority on Art, whom he asked to look at one of the pictures by Lawrence. He examined it with great care, and said that it was crumbling away, and directed his attention to several spots where the paint was dropping off the canvas. On inquiry he found that that was the case with many other pictures. As he had said, the building was flimsily constructed, and when a number of people were walking in it the whole shook, and the motion affected the pictures. That there was imminent danger of fire was manifest. The approach from Exhibition Road was a long, narrow structure of wood, inside of which was a collection of desks and chairs. In the Report of the Trustees of 1880 was this paragraph—

"The Trustees think it their duty to point out that the temporary entrance which consti-

tutes at present the only approach to the Gallery leaves much to be desired in regard both to convenience and safety. It consists of a low, narrow passage leading from Exhibition Road, constructed entirely of wood, with weather-boarding for the sides, raised on piles of wood which are exposed to all kinds of mischief from the outside. Among these piles rubbish and broken packing cases, paper, and straw have been allowed to accumulate. These passages are not only unsightly themselves, but placed in dangerous contiguity with other wooden buildings close below certain apertures in the walls of the National Portrait Gallery. A single spark struck by one of the crowd of visitors passing through these passages to evening concerts at the Albert Hall, might, in a few moments, reduce the Gallery and its contents to a heap of ruins."

And the Trustees added, in concluding the Report—

"Should any accident ever occur from the above causes, they trust that they would, by having drawn attention to them, be freed from all responsibility in the matter."

That was in 1880, and since then nothing had been done. He would quote a few lines from the Report of 1881 to show, not only that there was danger, but that a fire had actually occurred there. The Report said—

"Early on the morning of Friday the 28th of January, after a continuance of very cold weather, when a considerable accession of heat had been required, the flue became red hot and set fire to inflammable materials accumulated round the base of it in communication with a wooden platform that extended to the flooring of the lower western gallery and the foot of the spiral staircase before mentioned. Happily the watchman at the moment of perceiving a dense smoke gave alarm, and by the prompt assistance of the Museum officials the fire was checked."

He believed it was by a mere accident that the Gallery had not been burnt down. He would read a short extract from a letter he had received from the Curator of the Gallery, whom he had asked as to some of the facts he had mentioned. The Curator said—

"While I was writing to you yesterday afternoon, a huge deposit of planks, shavings, and empty wooden boxes, ready to burn at the smallest spark and fly through the air, was shot down out of carts in the corner of the grounds just under the Board Room windows."

The Trustees who were responsible if a conflagration broke out were Viscount Hardinge (Chairman), the Lord President of the Council for the time being, the Marquess of Bath, the Earl of Derby, Lord Ronald Gower, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Lord de L'Isle and Dudley, Lord Lamington, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Beresford Hope, Sir Coutts Lindsay, Sir Richard Wallace, the Dean of Westminster, and the President of the Royal Academy for the time being. He very much doubted whether it was of advantage to the Gallery that a large number of the Trustees should be gentlemen with an enormous amount of business to attend to, and, as he should imagine, with very little time to devote to the affairs of the Gallery. How was it to be expected that the Prime Minister, or the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for instance, would have time to attend to their duties as Trustees? Speaking in the House of Commons on March 5, 1878, Mr. Beresford Hope had said—

"These refreshment sheds, these temporary ebullitions of the Exhibition of 1862, were constructed—cheap, nasty, and rapidly—of the most inflammable materials possible. . . . The floor is made of rough wood—so rough that it never can be washed down or cleaned; and the consequence is that there is a perpetual cloud of insidious dust rising from it, to the very great detriment of the pictures, which are plainly suffering from it. Not one of those arrangements which modern science has, with eager emulation, being following in the Galleries of London, Vienna, Dresden, and all over the world—not one of those appliances can in the most rude, rough, rudimental way be applied to our Gallery. . . . So far as mere arrangements go, they are very inconvenient. But beyond that inconvenience, there is this risk—which really is almost too painful to dwell on—of immediate and perfectly helpless destruction."—(3 *Hansard*, [238] 766-7-9.)

That was six years ago, and perhaps his noble Friend opposite, when he came to reply, would use the argument that as they had lasted for those six years, there was no reason why they should not go on. He would, however, put it to their Lordships whether it was not a disgrace to Her Majesty's Government and to this great and wealthy nation that this collection of portraits, which, if destroyed, could never be replaced, should remain in their present condition? Without any intention of going into statistics he would like to call their Lordships' attention to the fact that since the opening of the National Portrait Gallery, upwards of 1,000,000 people had visited it, which showed that an interest was felt in it by the country. Probably the noble Lord would tell them that there was no money for the purpose; but he maintained that it was the duty of the country to find money for such a purpose. If the

Trustees were to follow the example of distinguished agitators across the water and make themselves disagreeable to the Government, they might be able to get something done. The noble Earl concluded by asking the Question of which he had given Notice.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE agreed with the noble Earl that the buildings of the National Portrait Gallery were utterly unsuitable for the exhibition of pictures. With the exception of the top galleries, all the lights were side lights. While he was quite prepared to admit that there was great risk of fire, the Trustees did not hold themselves responsible, because they had from time to time called the attention of the Board of Works to the different risks that might occur to the building. He was bound to say that on every occasion upon which they had made recommendations to the Board, the Board had readily and promptly come forward, and, as far as they could, attended to the wishes of the Trustees. The noble Earl was in error when he said that nothing had been done. When they had called the attention of the Board of Works to the danger of the entrance corridor, the Board had taken steps to provide against the risk of fire by building a brick wall, presumably fireproof, which would shut out the National Portrait Gallery from the Health Exhibition, and also constructing iron doors to prevent fire from spreading from the entrance corridor, which was made of wood. As to the eastern end, a solid brick wall had been built up, so that there was no chance of another fire occurring. They had called the attention of the authorities to the cooking, and to the heaps of boxes near the building; but all they had achieved was that there was to be nothing of the kind within 60 yards of the building. Having drawn the attention of the authorities to the matter, they did not hold themselves responsible for any accident that might occur. With regard to the wooden corridor from Exhibition Road to the principal entrance of the Gallery, he thought that it was high time that it should be abolished, if they could not get a better Gallery altogether. The present was one entirely unworthy of the nation. The present First Commissioner of Works was not indisposed to comply with their wishes as far as he could; but they all knew the difficulty in regard to funds in which officials were placed. With regard to the circumstances of the Board of the Gallery, he could assure the noble Earl that he was mistaken in supposing that the members of the Board were not able to spare some time for their duties upon the Board. The attendance was very good, the Prime Minister himself taking a great interest in the Gallery. In conclusion, he hoped that at no very distant date the Government would see their way to providing buildings for the accommodation of this national and interesting Collection.

LORD LAMINGTON said, that, as one of the Trustees of the Gallery, he had several times called attention to the matter; and it had always surprised him that, with the taste for Art which was conspicuous in the Leader of that House and in the Prime Minister, nothing had been done to remedy the defects in this National Portrait Gallery.

LORD SUDELEY: In reply to the noble Earl, I have to state that there can be no doubt that the building in which the splendid collection of national portraits is now placed is not one which would be chosen for a permanency, and there are many objections both to the building and to the site. The noble Earl urges that it is not fireproof, and that there is great danger from fire. In saying this I believe he rather exaggerates the danger. The building is not actually fireproof; but it must be remembered that there are very few of the great Picture Galleries, either here or on the Continent, which are fireproof; even the National Gallery is only partly so, and that to a very limited extent. On the other hand, every precaution has been taken in the National Portrait Gallery to prevent danger from fire. The Report quoted by the noble Earl is a very old one—1880—and since that time, as stated by the noble Viscount the Chairman of the Trustees (Viscount Hardinge) nearly all the recommendations of the Trustees have been carried out. Brick fireproof walls have been put at each end, isolating the galleries. Solid iron doors have been substituted for the wooden doors, and these, are shut, I believe, at 4 o'clock. The building is heated by hot water, except the Board Room, which has a fireplace, and the furnaces and flues are removed away from the building. There is also no gas. All fear of fire arising in the

building itself is, therefore, removed. The noble Viscount the Chairman of the Trustees has referred to the entrance-passage being of wood, which certainly is to some extent an element of risk, though it is considered doubtful even if it caught fire if the flames could penetrate the iron fireproof doors. The cooking buildings of the Health Exhibition are kept at a distance of 85 feet, and are themselves erected in fireproof buildings. The First Commissioner will be very happy to consider any suggestion which the Trustees may wish to make, and is at the present time considering how far it might be desirable, if there is really any danger, to substitute a corrugated iron passage for the present wooden entrance. The noble Earl has stated that the pictures are getting damaged by the walls shaking. I can only say that I believe no mention of this has been made by the Trustees; and if it is the case, it is clearly a matter for the Trustees to take active steps about. The Government would very much like to erect suitable fireproof buildings and in a more convenient position nearer to Parliament Street; but, unfortunately, owing to the large number of public buildings now being built, they do not see their way at present to incur the large expense which would be necessary.

EARL GRANVILLE said, it had been assumed on both sides during the discussion that there was such a thing as a fireproof building. He had a great idea there was no such thing.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE remarked that the National Gallery could hardly be said to be fireproof. He had been told that the flooring in the new portion now to be erected was fireproof.

House adjourned at a quarter-past Six o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 11th July, 1884.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS — *Report from Select Committee*—Canal Boats Act (1877) Amendment * [No. 263].

Withdrawn—Cathedral Statutes * [66].

Lord Sudeley

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK (MONEY) BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Standing Orders be suspended, and that leave be given to bring in a Bill to authorise the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company to raise further money by Debentures; and that Mr. Norwood, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Colonel Smith do prepare and bring it in."—(*Mr. Dodds.*)

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, this Bill seemed to him to be one of a very extraordinary character; and he believed it to be his duty to call the attention of the House to the nature of its provisions. The Motion now before the House was that the Standing Orders should be suspended. One of the Standing Orders which it was proposed to suspend was one which provided that no Railway Bill should be brought before the House for a second reading, until the shareholders had been consulted. The Bill proposed to raise £1,500,000 in debentures for the Hull and Barnsley Railway Company. The powers of the Company, under their original Act, were to raise £1,000,000 of debentures and £3,000,000 of ordinary shares. In 1882, they received further powers to raise £2,400,000 share capital and £800,000 in debentures; and in 1883, to raise £600,000 in ordinary shares and £200,000 in debentures. They now came for power to raise an additional sum of £1,500,000 in debentures, in regard to which, as far as he could make out, the present holders of ordinary shares had had no notice given to them, nor been consulted at all as a matter of fact. Thus the shareholders, who had already invested upwards of £3,000,000 in ordinary shares, were to have a further sum of £1,500,000 in debentures put in front of them, provided they consented to it at a meeting which had not yet been held. Now, if the Standing Orders of the House were intended to serve any useful purpose at all, it was to prevent irregularities like this. They had been carefully considered and framed in order to protect the interests of all parties concerned. He knew he might be told that he was connected with a Railway Company with

which the Hull and Barnsley Railway was intended to compete. That was quite true, and he had no objection to the statement being made. But he contended that, if Parliament, in its wisdom, was to grant competing powers to a new Company, it was bound to treat the old Companies with even-handed justice, and to see that Standing Orders which were made to apply to one Company also applied to others. He did not intend to oppose the Motion before the House to bring in a Bill; but the principle involved in it was a very important principle, and upon the second reading of the Bill he should certainly move that the measure be referred to a Select Committee, in order that there might be a full investigation into the reasons for it. He dare say that the reasons were quite right and proper for this large amount of debentures to be placed over the heads of the ordinary shareholders. He presumed they were not to come in before the existing debenture holders, but only before the ordinary shares, after the construction of the line.

SIR ARTHUR OTWAY: I quite agree with what has been said by my hon. Friend the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) as to the principle of suspending the Standing Orders of the House. No doubt, these are very admirable Standing Orders, adopted after full and careful consideration, and they ought not to be lightly set aside, except in some very special case, their object being to establish regularity in our proceedings. Therefore, the matter simply resolves itself into this, whether, in this particular case there are exceptional circumstances which justify the suspension of the Standing Orders? The shape in which the matter has been presented to me is very simple indeed. This Company, who have, no doubt, been in misfortune from the very commencement, have raised a large sum of money—a very large sum of money indeed—but they have, owing to accidents which have taken place such as under-estimating the value of the land they were required to take and from various other reasons, exhausted the whole of their capital, amounting to several millions sterling, and they have not been able to place any of their preference capital. It may be said that this is not a matter which affects the Standing Orders of this House. But there is something altogether beyond the exhaustion of the capital; and it is upon that special ground I am about to mention, that I feel myself authorized to support the application now made to the House, in doing which I may say I have the full concurrence of the Earl of Redesdale, the Chairman of Committees in "another place," who, if the House of Commons consents, will raise no objection on the part of the House of Lords. That special ground is this. As I have said, the resources of this Company have been entirely expended, and they have been compelled to give notice to the contractors that no further payment will be made on account of the works. The contractors have consequently given notice to the Company that the works will be suspended, and 2,000 men were discharged by them on Saturday last, the 5th, notices having also been issued to from 3,000 to 4,000 more, that they will be discharged on Saturday the 12th. Now, it is no light matter to throw from 5,000 to 6,000 persons out of employment in the district in which these works are being carried on. On the other hand, if the powers now sought to be obtained are given by Parliament, the Company are advised, and have reason to believe, that one result will be the placing of the debentures, which, as I have stated, cannot be placed at present, in which case the works will be pushed forward as rapidly as possible, and the line, I am informed, would be made ready for traffic by the 31st of next December. If that is not done, there will be a further loss upon the works which is calculated to amount to £20,000. It is under these circumstances, although I am very much disinclined to lend any sanction whatever to the suspension of the Standing Orders of the House, as a general rule, that I ask the House to assent to the proposition now made to them. I should not have done so, had it not been for a certified statement that a very large number of men will be thrown out of work by Monday next, if this Bill is not allowed to pass, and also for the information I have received that there will be no difficulty in raising the debentures. I am further informed that the other debentureholders do not object, and that the measure will in no way damnify either the ordinary share-

holders, or the holders of preference stock. Under these circumstances, I hope the House will assent to the Motion. I may mention to my hon. Friend that the application is not altogether without precedent; but that a Bill of a similar nature was passed some years ago, in connection with the East London Railway Company. Therefore, I think the House would do well to assent to the suspension of the Standing Orders, and I trust that my hon. Friend will not think it necessary to oppose the Motion.

MR. NORWOOD said, that representing, as he did, with his hon. Colleague (Mr. C. H. Wilson), the large and important port of Hull, which was deeply interested in the matter, he rose to confirm every word that the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means had stated—that it would be a most serious calamity to Hull if the large works, now going on there, were suspended; and they must inevitably be suspended, if this Bill were not allowed to pass. The docks which were in course of construction at Hull by this Company were now very nearly completed, and were expected to be opened in the course of the year; but the fortunes of the Company would be greatly endangered if the powers now asked for were not granted. He believed that 2,000 men were paid off at the works on Saturday last, and that 4,000 more would be paid off from the docks and railway in the course of a few days. That, however, was not all the mischief; because an immense number of small shopkeepers and of persons engaged in providing for the wants and necessities of this mass of labourers and navvies would be placed in a position of great distress. He believed that no financial interest connected with the Company would be damnified by the proposal now before the House, and he would venture very strongly indeed to beg his hon. Friend the Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) not to persist in his threatened opposition to the second reading of the Bill. He believed there was no objection to the Bill being referred to a Select Committee, in order that a proper investigation might be made into the allegations contained in the Bill. On the part of the town which he represented, and the important interests involved, he thought it was only right and just that these powers should be conceded.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That the Standing Orders be suspended, and that leave be given to bring in a Bill to authorise the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company to raise further money by Debentures; and that MR. NORWOOD, MR. CHARLES WILSON, and Colonel SMITH do prepare and bring it in.

Ordered, That the Standing Orders be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the first time.—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Bill read the first time.

Ordered, That Standing Order 62 be suspended, and that the Bill be ordered to be read a second time.—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Bill *referred* to a Select Committee.

QUESTIONS.

THE CHAPEL ROYAL (SCOTLAND)—WARRANT OF 9TH FEBRUARY, 1873.

MR. WEBSTER asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he will lay upon the Table a Copy of the Royal Warrant of 9th February 1873, under the Privy Seal of Scotland, giving to certain Divinity Professors in Scotland the whole income of the funds of the Chapel Royal in Scotland?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he would be happy to show the hon. Member the Warrant; and he thought, when the hon. Gentleman looked at it, he would see it was scarcely worth putting on the Table.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—RETURN OF PAID OFFICIALS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Return, ordered on 1st May last, of paid officials under the Public Health (Ireland) Act who have received remuneration for services under the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883, will be laid upon the Table?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I understand that the Return is now practically completed, and I expect that it will be laid on the Table early next week.

LUNACY COMMISSIONERS (GREAT BRITAIN)—THE REPORTS FOR 1883.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Reports of the English and

Scotch Commissioners of Lunacy for 1883 will be presented to Parliament?

MR. TREVELYAN (for Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT) in reply, said, he had to make the same answer to this Question as to the previous one.

LUNACY INSPECTORS (IRELAND)—THE REPORT FOR 1883.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Report of the Inspectors of Lunatics (Ireland) for 1883 will be presented to Parliament?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Inspectors inform me that their Report has been prepared, and there will be an early presentation of it, but they cannot yet state the exact date.

NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND)—LEGISLATION.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he intends to introduce a Bill dealing with some of the admitted grievances of the Irish National school teachers?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I must say that, under the present circumstances, I can no longer hope to be able to introduce any Bill on the subject during the present state of things, a matter which I greatly regret. I quite expressed my intention of putting a Bill forward on chance, which I will lay on the Table.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — APPOINTMENT OF MR. MARTIN LANGTON, CO. WICKLOW.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, as he declined to lay the correspondence regarding the magistracy at Bray between Lord Meath and the Lord Chancellor upon the Table, on the grounds of its confidential character, he will lay upon the Table the papers submitted to the Lord Lieutenant by Mr. Langton, the gentleman who was recommended for appointment to the commission of the peace by the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Bray?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Government think that this correspondence should not be laid on the Table of the House. It is a most serious question to establish the precedent of making public documents of such a character. In a great majority of cases, the production of such documents would be misleading if circulated as Parliamentary Papers. The reasons why the Memorial was not acted upon would not and could not appear.

MR. W. J. CORBET: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman why the Papers could not appear?

MR. TREVELYAN: It would be impossible, because it would be most unjust, that Papers relating to and discussing the qualifications of candidates, and setting forth whether their position and financial affairs and their character could warrant their being Justices of the Peace, should be made public.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—SIR EVELYN BARING.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been directed to a letter in *The Times* of July 10, under the signature of Sir P. Benson Maxwell, in which certain grave dereliction of duty in the administration of affairs in Egypt are charged upon Sir Evelyn Baring and others by the writer; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government are prepared to accept the allegations as substantially accurate; and, whether an early opportunity, and what species of opportunity, will be promised for Sir Evelyn Baring, at which he may indicate his administration as in consonance with the instructions he received from Her Majesty's Government?

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If his attention has been called to a further Letter from Sir P. Benson Maxwell, in *The Times* of the 10th instant, with reference, inter alia, to the re-establishment of the courbash in Egyptian prisons by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, in which the following passages occur:—

"Again, at the end of May, I found Mr. Clifford Lloyd's deputy, Dr. Crookshank, ordering floggings in Cairo by mere verbal orders, leaving no trace behind, and I was again met with a defiance of my authority to inquire into such doings. . . . It was time that I withdrew from the scene of English lawlessness and licence. I placed my resignation in Nubar's hands, and left Egypt;"

whether Dr. Crookshank is still in authority; and, if so, will he be retained; and, whether positive orders

have been or will be sent to put a stop to the infliction of the courbash in the prisons of Egypt?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I have seen the letters in question; but I cannot say that I think Sir P. Benson Maxwell charges Sir Evelyn Baring with a grave dereliction of duty, nor am I prepared to state that Sir Evelyn Baring would admit the accuracy of the statements respecting his own conduct. He will have every opportunity of defending his conduct if, which is at present not evident, he should think it necessary to do so. As to the Question of the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet), I beg to say that Dr. Crookshank is still in authority, and Her Majesty's Government do not understand that the Egyptian Government intend to remove him. Dr. Crookshank has undoubtedly carried out valuable reforms in the prisons, for which he deserves great credit; but Her Majesty's acting Agent at Cairo will be instructed to recommend the abolition of the courbash as the instrument of punishment in the Egyptian prisons.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked whether the Government held themselves responsible for Sir Evelyn Baring's conduct in the administration of Egypt?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: He is undoubtedly in the service of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD: Then Her Majesty's Government hold themselves responsible for the failures of Sir Evelyn Baring as regards his administration?

[No reply.]

ENDOWED SCHOOLS (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Endowed Schools Bill, introduced by Lord Carlingford, and read a second time in the House of Lords, will be passed in this House?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, a Question of this sort should be addressed to the Prime Minister.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—"CORNWALL *v.* O'BRIEN"—EMPLOYMENT OF DETECTIVES.

MR. HEALY (for Mr. O'BRIEN) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In view of the sworn evidence in the case of Cornwall v. O'Brien, that detective head constables Cottingham and Irwin were employed by direction of James Ellis French, late county inspector, in baffling the investigation into the charges against him, what action the Government propose to take with respect to the Inspector General's refusal to grant an inquiry into the conduct of these officers?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, it did not appear from the evidence in the case of "Cornwall *v.* O'Brien" that two detectives were employed in baffling the charges against Mr. French. They were employed in protecting Mr. French, and with no reference to Meiklejohn. The entire circumstances were fully stated in a letter, dated March 11, from the Inspector General of Constabulary, to the solicitor of the hon. Member for Mallow. The Government did not consider it necessary to review the decision then arrived at.

MR. HEALY: As the gentlemen in question reiterate their statement, do the Government, seeing that this is a very important matter, intend to take action which would have the practical effect of screening men guilty of disgraceful offences? Will they not grant an inquiry into the statement made, which amounts to a charge? [An hon. MEMBER: A charge?] Yes, a charge.

[No reply.]

LOCAL TAXATION (IRELAND)—COLLECTION OF COUNTY CESS, QUEEN'S COUNTY — INSTALMENTS REPAYABLE UNDER RELIEF OF DISTRESS (IRELAND) ACT, 1880, SECTION 13.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that instalments of County Cess, repayable under the provisions of the Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act, 1880, section 13, have been levied on the Barony of Slievemarigue, in the Queen's County, as ordinary County or Grand Jury Cess, and that the Cess collector therein has refused to give receipts, distinguishing the amount paid under presentments pursuant to the aforesaid Act from the rest of the Cess payable for the half year, stating that his orders from the Grand Jury were not to do so; whether,

in consequence of such refusal, the Cesspayers are unable to deduct from their landlords the half of such payments, as provided by the said Act, and have now paid the entire of nine instalments on three loans without being afforded the means of making any deduction; and, whether, having regard to the facts stated, he will direct the Secretary of the Grand Jury, the Cess collector, or the parties responsible to have the provisions of the Act carried out in relation to the distinguishing of such instalments for ordinary County Cess?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have received this Question only in time to telegraph to Dublin, so as to insure that the subject might be brought before the Grand Jury. There has not yet been time to ascertain the facts of the case.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—PROPOSED PIER AT TRAMORE.

MR. R. POWER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will be kind enough to urge on the Irish Board of Public Works the necessity of furnishing at once the modified plan for a Pier at Tramore, county Waterford, as requested some time since by the promoters of the undertaking, and the Piers and Harbour Commission, so as to enable the matter to be considered by the Grand Jury of the county Waterford, which will meet on 17th instant, or otherwise this necessary work will be delayed for at least six months?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he had sent a telegram on the subject.

CRIMINAL LUNATICS BILL.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the announcement by the First Lord of the Treasury, as to the Bills which he recommended should be disposed of during the present Session, he will continue the discussion on the Criminal Lunatics Bill in the Grand Committee of Law?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he understood that this was practically an unopposed Bill, and he saw no reason why it should not be proceeded with before the Grand Committee of Law. He should, however, consult with the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department.

PUBLIC HEALTH—SANITARY CONDITION OF THE THAMES.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement in *The Daily Telegraph* of Tuesday, 8th July:—

"On Sunday the water was nearly black and had a most offensive and nauseating odour; and, to add to the disgust of the passengers on board a steamer near Charlton Pier, there was a human body, in an advanced state of decomposition, against the paddle wheels, which it was stated had been floating up and down the stream for two or three days, the watermen refusing the repulsive task of taking it ashore, for the reason that the county justices have abolished the reward of 5*s.* which was formerly paid for the recovery of drowned bodies;"

and, whether there is any truth in the statement that on Sunday last a human body in an advanced state of decomposition was floating in the Thames near Charlton Pier, and had been allowed to drift up and down the stream for two or three days?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been drawn to the following paragraph, which appeared in *The Daily Telegraph* on the 8th instant:—

"A Woolwich correspondent writes:—'The condition of the River Thames from Blackwall to Erith is causing much alarm to the riverside population and persons whose business takes them on the water. The attention of the various authorities has been drawn to the subject, and it has been proposed as a temporary expedient to deodorise the sewage at the two great outfalls in Barking Reach. On Sunday the water was nearly black, and had a most offensive and nauseating odour, and, to add to the disgust of the passengers on board a steamer near Charlton Pier, there was a human body in an advanced state of decomposition against the paddle-wheels, which it was stated had been floating up and down the stream for two or three days, the watermen refusing the repulsive task of taking it ashore, for the reason that the county justices have abolished the reward of 5*s.* which was formerly paid for the recovery of drowned bodies;"

and, whether any, and, if so, what steps will be taken to remedy the evil complained of?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: So far as relates to the question of the human body, the information I have received shows that the report is unfounded. Both the police, the Metropolitan Board, and the Thames Conservancy officers in

the district say that nothing of the kind, so far as they know, has occurred. But as to the general question of the condition of the river, the information I have is of a very serious character. The pollution of the river lower down than the mouth of the sewers, about Greenwich, is of a serious character. That has been reported to me by the police, and the report has been forwarded to the Thames Conservancy. The position of that matter is this. Complaint was made of the condition of the Thames with respect to the sewage some time ago to me by the Corporation of London; and, of course, that complaint was forwarded by me to the Metropolitan Board. They denied the allegations, and the matter was so serious, that a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the matter. That Commission has been sitting for some time, and the issue between the Corporation of London and the Metropolitan Board is still undecided. The House is aware that a first Report on this matter has been laid on the Table. One material statement in that Report is this—that it was understood that if the outfall was to be allowed where it is, the effluent sewage should be deodorized and purified before being discharged into the river by the Metropolitan Board. To what extent that has been done, or whether any improvement has been made in that matter, I cannot state, but I have addressed a letter to the Metropolitan Board on the subject. I am also in communication with the Royal Commission on the question, and I hope to see them personally upon it. The report they give of the present condition of the river is that it is extremely foul, the water being offensive from the sewage poured into it; and, in my opinion, very immediate and urgent measures ought to be taken to remedy it.

INTESTATE ESTATES (IRELAND)—ESTATE OF THE LATE MRS. HELEN BLAKE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, With reference to the question of the disposal of the estate of the late Mrs. Helen Blake, whether the Treasury, in view of the fact that no register of marriages was kept at the time of the marriage of her father and mother, will regard as requisite the legal proof of such marriage; whether the Treasury will use the information given on the card in Mrs. Blake's handwriting, found among her papers, and now in the possession of the Treasury, for the purpose of tracing her origin, and discovering the next-of-kin; and, whether, as the claimant, Mr. William Sheridan, of Galway, represents that he has now corroborative evidence of the change of Christian name by the father of Mrs. Helen Blake, and other proofs of importance, the Treasury will allow him to re-open his claim before the Chief Clerk in Chancery?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, that this matter had gone beyond the control of the Treasury. If Mr. Sheridan wished to reopen the case, he should take such legal action as he might be advised. It would be for the legal authorities, not for the Treasury, to decide.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—TRESPASS IN PURSUIT OF GAME, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If his attention has been given to a case of "trespass in pursuit of game," at the suit of the Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P., landlord, against Patrick M'Hugh and James Gilmartin, recently heard in the Grange (county of Sligo) Petty Sessions Court, before Mr. Charles Gore Jones, J.P., with the result that both the defendants were fined; whether the alleged pursuit of game took place on the farm of a tenant, Thomas Higgins, and whether, having regard to 1 and 2 Will. 4, c. 32, and the recent Ground Game Act, the prosecution, if undertaken at all, should have been undertaken not by the landlord, but by the tenant Thomas Higgins; whether, under 23 and 24 Vic. c. 90, sections 11 and 12, the case in question should have been heard and decided by not fewer than two Justices of the Peace; and, whether the hearing and judgment by Mr. Charles Gore Jones are valid?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, that the defendants were fined 10*s.* each. Not only a landlord, but any member of the public, would be entitled to bring such a prosecution. One magistrate was competent to adjudicate, and the proceedings appeared to be regular.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE MUDIR OF DONGOLA.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government were in possession of any information respecting the alleged disaffection of the Mudir of Dongola; and, whether they had any news to give the House of the position of General Gordon at Khartoum?

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he wished to know whether the noble Lord had seen a telegram which had appeared that morning in a daily paper; and, whether the Government had any information respecting a statement that had been made by a British subject at Dongola to a correspondent of that paper to the effect that the Mudir of Dongola had given up the place to the Mahdi, and also that he and other Christians had been threatened with slavery and loss of property unless they became Mahomedans?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No; I can answer both Questions in the negative. It is quite true that there have been reports, some of which have reached the Foreign Office, as to alleged treachery on the part of the Mudir of Dongola; but I would remind the right hon. Gentleman of the statement made by the Prime Minister the other day, which, I believe, met the approbation of the House generally—that, in the absence of the clearest evidence, it would not be right for Her Majesty's Government to say a single word which might afterwards turn out to be premature, suspecting the fidelity of any officials in the Soudan.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the noble Lord had not answered the latter part of his Question—namely, whether the Government were in receipt of any news with respect to General Gordon, and up to what date the latest news carried them?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The date of the latest news is still the same as that I have frequently stated—the 10th of April. Since then there have been only reports based on news brought by pilgrims and others, which, as I have stated, ought to be received with considerable caution.

MR. CARTWRIGHT asked the noble Lord what was the latest information which the authorities had received from Dongola, and which they considered authentic?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think I can tell exactly. I must have Notice of the Question.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that General Gordon has been closely besieged in Khartoum by the followers of the Mahdi since March 14th; that he did not resort to force till pacific efforts to withdraw the garrisons and civilian population had failed; that the revolt has now spread 350 miles north of Khartoum; and, that no message has been heard from Gordon since April 10th; and whether, under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Ministers still decline to send him material help?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, he was afraid he could not add much to what he said a few days ago. As had just been stated, there had been frequent reports; but the latest authentic news from General Gordon was April 10th. The indirect semi-official intelligence did not point to the fact that he was closely besieged; on the contrary, it rather pointed in the opposite direction. He believed the time was approaching when it might be expected that, if any of the numerous messengers who some time ago were despatched with messages to carry to Khartoum succeeded in entering that place, direct intelligence might be received from General Gordon. He was having information on that subject prepared. The Government did not know whether or not General Gordon did not resort to force until the pacific efforts to withdraw the garrisons and civil population had failed. The revolt had certainly spread a considerable distance north of Khartoum; but it was impossible to state the exact area over which it now extended. As to the last part of the Question, whenever Her Majesty's Government had decided to send an expedition to Khartoum, it would be their first duty to communicate such a determination to the House.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that in consequence of the answer of the noble Lord, he would ask him whether the Government could have stronger evidence of the fact that General Gor-

don was closely besieged, than the statement which he had just admitted to be correct, that no news — [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: That is not a Question; it is an inference. I cannot allow the hon. Member to argue.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he would put his Question differently, and then it would be seen that he was in Order. He would ask the noble Lord whether the only messenger from General Gordon since April who had succeeded in evading the besiegers of Khartoum was not killed on his way to Berber? The House would understand that he meant the immediate besiegers of Khartoum.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, he should not like to give an answer to a Question on that point without Notice. His recollection was, that one of the reports which the Government received was that a messenger, who alleged that he had seen General Gordon at Khartoum, had been killed in the neighbourhood of Suakin. The indirect and unauthenticated information they had received pointed to the inference that the absence of information from General Gordon was due rather to the disturbed state of the country in the neighbourhood of Berber and Suakin than to any close investment of Khartoum.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—STATEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER.—EXPLANATION.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question about a matter of which I have been unable to give him private Notice, because it only appeared in the newspapers this morning; but I think the right hon. Gentleman will agree that the matter is one of the greatest public importance, and one which, if it took place at all, ought to be a matter of Parliamentary record. I want to know whether the right hon. Gentleman's attention has been drawn to a report of a speech which he made at the Foreign Office yesterday, and particularly whether one passage was accurate or not? The passage was reported in the following words:—

"We have been so anxious that some solemnity should be given to these pledges, that at the last moment we made an offer the night before last to the Tory Party in the House of Lords. It was an offer that both Parties should be invited, on the responsibility of the Government, to pass an identical Resolution in which it would be set forth that each House had passed the Franchise Bill on the pledge of the Government to introduce a Redistribution Bill next Session, and to make the passing of that Redistribution Bill the great object of their efforts. The Resolution so passed should be presented by a Joint Address to the Crown, so that there should be the concurrence of the three Bodies which make the Law, and the Resolution would have the moral authority and make certain the devotion of next Session to the passing of a Redistribution Bill. That was rejected because, as the Leader of the Tory Party in the House of Lords says, he cannot discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck."

I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether that is a correct report of what he said, and whether he will state the exact language and form in which the proposal to which he alluded was made, from whom it originally came, by whom the offer was made, to whom it was delivered, the exact time at which the proposal was made, and the nature of the reply received? I should like, also, to ask the Prime Minister whether the statement of the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords that he would not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck rested on mere verbal report, or on any documentary evidence? I might apologize for asking the Question without Notice; but the matter is of such importance that I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will feel it should be placed before the House in such a manner that, if possible, a discussion may arise upon it.

MR. GLADSTONE: I find no fault with the noble Lord for putting the Question without Notice. I rather regret that he wishes to have a very full statement of a matter at which I have only partially glanced, and on which it would be difficult for me to reply with absolute certainty in all particulars without having an opportunity of referring to documents and, perhaps, communicating with Earl Granville. But I will do the best I can, and if any further particulars are desired from me I hope they will be obtained at the earliest opportunity. I entered upon a series of statements to show that we had been anxious to conciliate or avert opposition, and that we had made an effort, even at the latest moment, for that purpose. The report

of the description of that effort read by the noble Lord is, I believe, verbally accurate. I think it is word for word, as nearly as may be, what was said by me. I have one observation to make on the last two or three lines of the passage —that is, the lines in which I am made to say that the offer was rejected because Lord Salisbury would not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck. I do not think these words can be verbally accurate, because I have not the slightest reason to believe that Lord Salisbury had used those words in replying to the offer made, or, indeed, that I used them, because I understood them to be the words used by Lord Salisbury at some time in developing his view of the argument. I thought the phrase an extremely appropriate, concise, and effective mode of conveying very intelligibly his objection. But I had no intention of ascribing to Lord Salisbury the use of the words on a particular occasion. What I meant was that the answer was an answer, in my view, equivalent to the answer expressive of the sentiment which has lain at the bottom of the proceedings of the Opposition, I think in both Houses, with regard to redistribution. The full statement of the case is this. The noble Lord asks by whom the communication was made to the Opposition.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: From whom it came first of all.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Government are responsible, and I myself personally am fully responsible, for this offer. It was made by Lord Granville to, I believe, Lord Cairns. Of course, in communicating with Lord Cairns, he conceived himself to be communicating, and no doubt he was communicating, with the Leaders of the Opposition in the House of Lords. There was no limitation or restraint. It was not a confidential communication. It was intended to be the basis of public proceedings. The noble Lord asks me when the communication was made. I believe it was made just before a quarter-past 4 on Tuesday, which is, I believe, the time now fixed for commencing Business in the House of Lords. The answer was received, as far as I can recollect, between three and four hours after, and the form of the answer was this—that the offer was not of value, as it did not add anything to the assurances already given. I am now speaking from memory, and I think I am accurate as to the substance; but I cannot be certain as to the exact words.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Was it in writing?

MR. GLADSTONE: It was in writing —a short, written memorandum. It said that the offer did not add anything to the assurances already given. There was no offer—there was nothing, at least, that could be interpreted by me as an offer—in reply; but there were words which I recollect, and which I will quote to the House, and leave the House to set its own value upon. The words were that the case would be different if one of two things were agreed to.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Whose words?

MR. GLADSTONE: These words were written words brought in writing by Lord Granville to me, coming, I presume, from Lord Cairns, and believed by us to express the view of the Leaders of the Opposition in the House of Lords. One of the two things was that the Government should agree to insert in the Franchise Bill a clause providing that it should take effect at a date to be named in an Act to be passed hereafter. That was the first, and, as I supposed, the material suggestion. I hope I am not misstating anything; but I am speaking from memory. There was also a second suggestion—that the Franchise Bill might be passed with a clause providing that it might take effect on the 1st of January, 1886, unless some Act was passed previously providing for an earlier date. That second suggestion I understood to be—I attach no consequence whatever to the words "unless some Act were passed in the interval"—a revival for every practical purpose of the proposal made by my hon. Friend the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey) in this House, and which had been opposed in principle by us, and likewise refused on the other side of the House. These were the two suggestions that were put forward, and the words were that the case would be different—the meaning of which I do not know—if these things were done. I am not sure whether I have now answered all that the noble Lord has asked me; but, as far as my memory goes, I give this as a complete account of the transaction. What I stated yesterday

was to show that we had made every effort we could. But I wish to correct what I think is an inaccuracy in the report. I refer to the statement with respect to Lord Salisbury having said that he would not discuss the question of redistribution with a rope round his neck. I meant that to be my description of what I understood to be another expression of Lord Salisbury's opinion; and I by no means referred to any language used by Lord Salisbury on that occasion. I am asked whether I was correct in saying "the 1st of January, 1886." I think I was; but the House will well understand that under those words what would accrue on the 1st of January, 1886, would be a right to be registered, and the right to vote would become living and effective only on the 1st of January, 1887.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to state on behalf of Lord Salisbury that he never made use of the expression in regard to a rope round his neck, or anything of the sort; and I think we are entitled to have an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman as to how he came to use words of that sort, with the obvious effect of producing a prejudice against Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury has made, I believe, already in the House of Lords a statement of the facts of the case. I am authorized on his behalf to say that the communication made to him was made to him as a private and confidential communication. It was made to him some time after the debate on the second night of the discussion had opened, and after it had proceeded through two or three speeches—about dinner time. That communication was made to him by Lord Cairns, and was, as he understood, a perfectly private and confidential communication, not intended to be brought forward publicly, otherwise he would have referred to it when he made his speech subsequently. But the communication, being one of a private and confidential character, was made through Lord Cairns and through Lord Granville at a private conversation; and the conversation, as I understand, was somewhat to this effect:—Lord Granville, having asked what kind of terms would be acceptable to the Opposition, was answered, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, that terms equivalent to those of the Motion of my right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley), and rejected in this House, would be acceptable; that these were, of course, put aside, as might have been expected, by Lord Granville; and that this other suggestion in regard to an Address on behalf of both Houses was made as an alternative suggestion. That appeared to Lord Salisbury to be a suggestion that was entirely beside the question; and he had no opportunity of bringing any proposal of this sort before his Party, or of making any proposals before the debate was actually in progress and the time had come when it was necessary that some action should be taken by the House of Lords. I complain of the manner in which Lord Salisbury's words and action have been entirely misrepresented. I do not wish to say that the words of the right hon. Gentleman were intended to create a prejudice against Lord Salisbury; but that they have done so, and have done so most unjustly, is most certain.

MR. GLADSTONE: I wish I could understand the cause of the right hon. Gentleman's complaint.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Misrepresentation.

MR. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman does not mend the matter by that rather rude expression. A phrase of that kind spoken across the Table is not usual between persons in his position and mine. I have never known it done before, and I hope it will not be repeated. I am very much at a loss, indeed, to understand the wrong that was done to Lord Salisbury in treating him as I did. I believed he had expressed his objection to the proposals of the Government with regard to redistribution by saying that he could not discuss it with a rope round his neck. The right hon. Baronet treats that as a wrong done to Lord Salisbury, and he founds it upon a charge of misrepresentation. What is there in that phrase of which any man need be ashamed? It is a most pointed phrase, as Lord Salisbury's phrases generally are. I do not say I should quite have expected the phrase from the right hon. Baronet; but coming from a gentleman who has the faculty of pungent expression I should not have been surprised. It was once said from this box that Lord Salisbury was a man who dealt largely in gibes and flouts

and jeers, and some other expressions. I should say, therefore, that, so far from the expression being a misrepresentation, it was a singularly happy and expressive phrase for the purpose of expressing a particular view, and well adapted to the purpose, and having nothing in it of which any man ought to be ashamed. That is my view of it. But if the noble Lord never used such a phrase, or, at any rate, thinks such a phrase ought not to be imputed to him, and conveyed something discreditable, I am extremely sorry. I think the phrase one of the most innocent, as well as one of the most expressive, I ever heard; and I should be very happy myself to have been the inventor of such a phrase for such a purpose if I had that object in my view. But if I am mistaken in the fact, and Lord Salisbury thinks it conveyed a reproach, I am very sorry indeed. Well, now, the recital of the right hon. Gentleman I can neither understand nor agree to. I do not think it is accurate, and it is exceedingly difficult to comprehend. He speaks of one point upon which I must meet him by stating that he is entirely in error. There was nothing, so far as I know, in these communications which was of a private and confidential nature. It was intended to be the basis of a proceeding the most public that could possibly be. It was a responsible message conveyed from the Prime Minister on the part of the Government through the Leader of the Government in the House of Lords; and I want to know what are the written or spoken words of Lord Granville upon which rests the allegation so confidently made by the right hon. Gentleman that this was a private and confidential communication? I wish the right hon. Gentleman to pay attention, if he will be good enough, to what I say, and to give me, in particular, an answer to this question—What were the written or spoken words of Lord Granville upon which he has founded the statement that it was a private and confidential communication? This was not a matter of mere conversation. The words conveyed by Lord Granville were written words, and the words which conveyed the answer were written words. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of this plan, if I hear him right, of an identical Resolution and a Joint Address as an alternative suggestion by us to some other plan. It was nothing of the kind. It was a distinct and substantive proposition. It was a last offering, if I may say so—but I have no doubt that I shall receive the jeers from the other side—it was a last offering upon the altar of peace—upon the altar where we had previously made many offerings, and made them in vain. The right hon. Gentleman said it was very late. It was very late. We had very little assistance given us in devising means of accommodation. It was only on that morning that it had occurred to some of us that such a proposition might be made. Believing it to be good—that it supplied the most absolute guarantee which could possibly be given with respect to future action, we made the offer. I quoted it, not for the purpose of founding any particular charge upon it, but for the purpose of showing how far we had gone in the attempt to avoid a quarrel. With regard to the phrase—"A rope round the neck," it is certainly a phrase which, if the person believes to be offensive, he should be very careful indeed about imputing to another person. I say frankly that I think it was an admirable phrase; and from the point of view of the right hon. Gentleman, I would congratulate him if he had been the author of it. He could not possibly have done better. A less offensive phrase to opponents I cannot possibly imagine. That, however, is quite a different matter. That phrase I used as a description of the general argument of the noble Lord in relation to the subject of redistribution. I by no means wish to say—and I do not think I did say—that any such words as these were used by Lord Salisbury in dealing with this particular question.

PARLIAMENT—NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE (RULE 2).

HOUSE OF LORDS—REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—THE COMPROMISE.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Member for Woodstock, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the communication made by Her Majesty's Government to Earl Cairns with reference to

the Franchise Bill; but, the pleasure of the House not having been signified, Mr. Speaker called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than forty Members having accordingly risen in their places,—

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I am rather sorry that hon. Members opposite said "No" when I asked the leave of the House; because I think, if they consider this matter impartially, they will see that it is, perhaps, one of the gravest questions connected with the Franchise Bill, and it is evidently an incident which ought to be illustrated and placed on record by the House of Commons in the clearest manner. The Prime Minister yesterday, at the Foreign Office, at a meeting of the Liberal Party, made a statement with reference to the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, which he did not think it his duty to communicate to the House of Commons in the afternoon. The Prime Minister knew, or must have known, that the policy of the Government, with reference to the Reform Bill, would be discussed yesterday afternoon in the House of Commons; and it is, to my mind, perfectly inexplicable, and I think it is altogether unworthy of the First Minister of the Crown, unworthy of the Government, unworthy also of the Liberal Party, that a statement of so grave a nature should have been made at a time when no reply could be made to it, when no comment could be passed upon it, when no corrections could be applied to it, and should have been deliberately and carefully withheld at a time when all these advantages might have been secured. That, Sir, is the first serious and deliberate accusation I have to make against the Government. If that statement which the Prime Minister made was true in the manner in which he stated it, it might be held by many to reflect most seriously and most injuriously on the character of Members of the House of Lords. The next point is that the Prime Minister states that the matter was not private and confidential. Lord Salisbury states, in the most positive manner—

"I was told that the communication was absolutely secret and confidential, and was, therefore, most careful to frame my words so as in no way to disclose it."

We know from the Prime Minister's speech that a conversation took place between Lord Granville, Lord Cairns, and Lord Salisbury.

MR. GLADSTONE: No; I did not say so.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It came out from the discussion between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition—["No, no!"]—at any rate, a proposal was made of an absolutely secret and confidential character. ["No, no!"] I put the case as we look at it from our point of view; and, being of that character, it was not possible—unless, I suppose, the offer, whatever it was, was accepted—that the communication could be alluded to in Lord Salisbury's speech in the House of Lords. The matter, I understand, was to be absolutely secret and confidential unless it became the basis of a public transaction. ["No!"] Then I will ask the Prime Minister to get up at that Table and say why, when Lord Derby got up in the House of Lords at about 8.30 o'clock—[An hon. MEMBER: About 7.30, I should say.]—why, when the Lord Chancellor was speaking at 11 — and when Lord Granville spoke at 1 o'clock, if these communications were not of an absolutely confidential character, they were not brought before the House of Lords by the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman? There can be absolutely no doubt in the mind of any impartial man that, in the first place, the communication, unless it was accepted, was of a secret and confidential character; or, at any rate, the Leaders of the House of Lords were allowed by the Government to understand that it was of that character. Now, observe that the communication having been abortive from some reason or other—we do not know what the nature of the communication was, having no document before us—when that communication became abortive, and the Bill was rejected, the Prime Minister at the Foreign Office proclaimed a secret and confidential communication, which, at his own instance, and his own initiation, and his own origination, had taken place between himself and the responsible Leaders of the Opposition. If that is to be done, I fail to see how for the future any transactions of any sort or kind involving communications between the Government and the Opposition are to be carried on. It absolutely

destroys all confidence in the honour of public men. ["No, no!"] I say it does. How in the future can any Leader of the Opposition, or any responsible person in the Opposition in his senses, receive any communication from the right hon. Gentleman about public affairs? It is absolutely impossible. You may have the gravest state of affairs with respect to foreign matters; it may be almost the duty of the Prime Minister to make a confidential communication to the Leader of the Opposition; how, after such an incident, would any Leader of the Opposition dare to receive or act upon any communication made to him by the Prime Minister? It is absolutely impossible. [*Laughter.*] I am quite surprised that hon. Members should treat this matter lightly; it is not a light matter. I believe it is a case without precedent. The hon. Member who laughs must know that confidential communications do go on. In the government of this country secret and confidential communications must from time to time pass between the Leaders of the Government and the Leaders of the Opposition; and it is of the very essence of public life that if there are private and confidential communications they shall not, for the sake of a mean Party advantage, afterwards be made public in a manner which may prejudice opponents in the eyes of the public. Let us see how the Prime Minister puts the case. This private and official communication was made at a time when it could not be noticed in the House of Commons; the proposal was carefully taken up to the House of Lords before the House of Lords decided on the Franchise Bill; and the Prime Minister insinuates that these offers were made directly to the Leader of the Opposition.

MR. GLADSTONE: It was not insinuated; I stated it.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The Prime Minister says he stated it; but he said distinctly in answer to me just now that he did not know that Lord Salisbury personally intervened. Are we to have these contradictions in less than 10 minutes from the Government Bench? First the Prime Minister says he did not know that Lord Salisbury intervened, and now he says that the offer was made directly to Lord Salisbury. ["No!"] Very well, he withdraws it. ["No!"] Then he admits it. Then he admits it was not made directly to Lord Salisbury. It appears from his statement that he does not know Lord Salisbury personally intervened. The right hon. Gentleman tells the Liberal Party that the offer was rejected because the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords said he could not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck. Mark, he takes up an expression which he fancies or imagines was used by Lord Salisbury some time or other—God knows when—and he gives it to the Liberal Party, and through the Liberal Party to the public, in order to give the public to understand that Lord Salisbury had made this definite reply to this confidential and secret communication.

MR. GLADSTONE: I think it is a remarkable proceeding on the part of the noble Lord. He refers to a report in a newspaper of which I said it was a particularly accurate one; but in one respect I cannot admit it to be accurate, and that is in respect of the very thing he now charges me with—namely, having stated that Lord Salisbury said in reply to the offer that he could not speak with a rope round his neck. I never conveyed anything of the kind.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The right hon. Gentleman is reported in *The Times* to have stated distinctly that Lord Salisbury said he would not discuss redistribution with a rope round his neck. The statement occupies about two lines out of the 20 devoted to the subject which are admitted to be accurate; and, while attaching the greatest possible respect to everything which falls from the Prime Minister, on this occasion I still think greater weight should attach to the skill and fidelity of the shorthand writer. It was communicated to me—["Order, order!"] Then, I say, I have since heard from other sources that the case was put before the Liberal Party in such a way as to produce the impression upon the meeting that offers had been made to Lord Salisbury, and that they had been contemptuously rejected, and that is the impression conveyed by the report of the Prime Minister's speech. Mark, also, that although the Prime Minister made this highly imperfect statement to the Liberal Party, he did not say a single word about the counter propositions which had been made to him by the Leader of the Opposition in the House

of Lords. Another suppression of information most essential to a fair consideration of the question. It now appears that two counter propositions were made to the Prime Minister from the responsible Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords. I want to know, when the Prime Minister was making this statement to the Liberal Party, why did he keep back from the Party and from the public the fact that so far from contemptuously rejecting the offers of the Government, so far from having made use of the expression attributed to him in the report, he did consider them, and he did, at the eleventh hour, make counter propositions to Her Majesty's Government? But everything material is suppressed, and everything injurious is insinuated. I am glad of this opportunity of doing what little I can to put the public on their guard against the methods of warfare now being initiated. We had a specimen of them last night. I was not surprised at the President of the Local Government Board adopting methods of that kind; they are entirely in harmony with all his previous career; but I am surprised when the Prime Minister, who belongs to a very different order of men, sets an example, which, God knows, others are ready enough to follow, of studiously misrepresenting to the public the attitude, at a very critical moment, of the Leaders of the Conservative Party. This is the state of affairs. At the eleventh hour, having allowed the Bill to be discussed the whole night, the Government originate an offer which is not asked for by the Opposition, and they allow the persons to whom it is made to be under the impression—I believe rightly—that the offer was made confidentially; they gave the persons to whom it is made scarcely any time to consider it; they do not allow their own Colleagues to allude to it, so as to obtain the opinion of the House of Lords upon it; and, when the Amendment has been voted upon, the Prime Minister goes to a meeting of the Liberal Party, and in order to stigmatize the Tory Party in general and Lord Salisbury in particular, he gives this entirely incomplete and garbled statement of the facts. Not a word is said publicly about the origination of the offer by the Government—from this bold Government, which would defy the House of Lords to mortal combat, but which, at the eleventh hour, grovels before them. Their independent rights were attacked by the Prime Minister while the Bill was in this House; but when the Lords come to the exercise of their independent rights, he originates a private and confidential communication, he hangs up a flag of distress, and he makes a last effort to prevent the House of Lords from exercising those rights which he had questioned in this House. That is the conduct of the Liberal Party—that bold Liberal Party which is going to fight a tremendous Constitutional battle, with the House of Lords as a battle cry. When the enthusiastic supporters of the Government, who met yesterday in London and in various parts of the country, learn the nature of the methods employed by the Leaders of the Liberal Party at one time to coerce, and at another time to persuade, the House of Lords, they will not feel ecstatic admiration for them. I am glad I have had the opportunity, not by the indulgence of the House, but by the kindness of hon. Gentlemen on this side, to bring this matter before the public. At any rate, it has enabled us to put a totally different construction, an entirely opposite and contradictory construction, to that placed by the Prime Minister upon this secret and confidential communication. I may say that Earl Cairns has stated in the other House, in the most positive terms, as well as Lord Salisbury, that the negotiations were secret and confidential. I am glad that this will go before the public in its proper light, and the public will know what amount of reliance they can place upon the honour of the Liberal Party, and to what extent Liberal Leaders can go in the art of traducing and falsely representing their opponents. I beg, Sir, to move that this House do now adjourn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to respond, in a single sentence, to the challenge the right hon. Gentleman threw out to me just now. He asked—"Upon what authority do you say that this communication was private and confidential?" I say I make that statement upon the authority of Lord Salisbury, who told me the communica-

Lord Randolph Churchill

tion was made to him by Earl Cairns, and that he understood it to be private and confidential. I make it, secondly, upon the statement of Earl Cairns, who stated that the communication was made to him by Earl Granville, that he thoroughly understood it to be private and confidential, and that he had so represented it to Lord Salisbury. I state it, thirdly, upon the negative testimony of Earl Granville, who, having heard these two statements made by Lords Salisbury and Cairns, did not deny them.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have only one observation to make, and it is upon the single point of what I must call the foul language of the noble Lord. [*Opposition cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Order!"]

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Mr. Speaker, I must appeal to you, Sir, on a point of Order; I wish to know whether it is in Order for the Prime Minister to use words which would not be tolerated from any other Member of the House, imputing to another Member of this House that he has used foul language? I must ask your ruling on that point.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think the Prime Minister will insist upon using the term "foul language," though, of course, the nature of the charge made by the noble Lord is a very serious and grave one.

MR. GLADSTONE: I shall not, Sir, make use of any term of which you disapprove, and I shall withdraw any which you may rule out of Order. My reference was this. The noble Lord had distinctly accused me, and accused the Liberal Party, of traducing an adversary.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear!

MR. GLADSTONE: It is impossible to conceive a charge more disgraceful. It is a charge which implies falsehood in the persons who use it. There is no traducing by error. Traducing is a wilful act; and that wilful act imputed to me by the noble Lord is the act to which I applied the phrase complained of. I shall take no further notice of it—I shall pass over it. There is an intelligible matter before us, on which it is right I should say a word. The right hon. Gentleman opposite says that Lord Salisbury stated in the House of Lords that he understood that certain communications were confidential.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Secret and confidential.

MR. GLADSTONE: Secret and confidential, if you like—it is the same thing. The right hon. Gentleman further said that Lord Cairns also stated that he so understood it, and so conveyed it to Lord Salisbury, and that Lord Granville did not contradict it. Most certainly not, Sir; I should have been very much surprised if he had.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg pardon. I said not only that Lord Cairns said he so understood it, and so stated it to Lord Salisbury; but that Lord Cairns understood Lord Granville to say that it was private, and Lord Granville did not contradict it.

MR. GLADSTONE: Does Lord Cairns assert that Lord Granville said the communication was private? Does he say that?

MR. GIBSON: I heard him.

MR. GLADSTONE: Now we have got a definite statement; and the statement is that, on the authority of Lord Cairns, Lord Granville asserted that the communication was private and confidential. Is that so, or is it not?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Yes. [*Ministerial cries of* "Order!"]

MR. HEALY: Order yourself.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I have got a note of it here.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I stated, upon the authority I have mentioned, that Lord Granville made a communication to Lord Cairns in such a form as led Lord Cairns to understand that it was private and confidential. So much was Lord Cairns impressed with that belief that he asked Lord Granville whether he should be at liberty to mention it to Lord Salisbury. That is what I understand; but my right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) was present when the whole of this conversation took place, and he will state what he heard.

MR. GLADSTONE: The statement now is—and it is a great variation from what was said before—that Lord Granville stated the matter to Lord Cairns in such a way that Lord Cairns understood it was private and confidential. If Lord Cairns so states, I have not the least doubt he so understood it; but it must be borne in mind that the noble Lord has challenged me, without giving any

Notice of the charges he was about to make, and especially he has coolly accused me—he, forsooth, has accused me, who have served my country for a long time before he was born—of traducing my adversaries and betraying confidential communications. That is a most strange method of proceeding. I have not the smallest doubt that, if Lord Cairns and Lord Salisbury say so, they understood this matter to be private and confidential. All I have said on that is that, so far as I was concerned, and so far as I have knowledge of Lord Granville's share in it—Lord Granville having fully communicated with me about it—there was not one word or syllable, or any expression or sentiment whatever, tending to give it a private and confidential character. I will now say what I had not present in my mind when the noble Lord first spoke to me, that Lord Cairns was not the only person to whom, as I understand, Lord Granville made the communication. I believe it had been communicated some time before to a noble Duke in the other House, and I believe, also, that it was communicated by Lord Granville on Tuesday to a noble Peer in the other House. But whatever it is, my statement is this, in the most positive manner, that there was nothing that passed between Lord Granville and me to imply that this was a private and confidential communication. It was intended for the basis of a public proceeding of the most responsible kind. It is said now that I withheld it from this House. Why, I withheld from the House the whole of the speech which I made in a different place and for a different purpose. I did not think it becoming to stir up a controversy in this House with the House of Lords unless I was prepared to follow it up with a Vote of Censure on the other House, which we did not think to be any part of our duty. But without in the least degree questioning the statements made by the two noble Lords as to their understanding, and very much regretting that they should have been led, or should have led themselves, to put a construction which is totally different from mine, I affirm, in the most positive manner, that never did one syllable pass between Lord Granville and myself which contemplated—and I never contemplated in any way or in any degree—that this was to be a private and confidential communication. Another doctrine has been laid down which I will not comment upon, I having stated that a report, generally accurate, is inaccurate in a certain particular, inasmuch as it describes me as saying what I know perfectly well I had not the smallest intention of saying, and could not in my right mind have said, the noble Lord passes over that declaration of a Member in his place, and states that he adheres to the report, and refuses to take my word. So far as I know, I believe that it is an absolute novelty in the proceedings of the House of Commons, and it is not necessary for me to make any observation upon it. I have stated all I have to say in the most positive and unqualified terms as to the character of this communication, and I decline to be placed in the position in which statements, after I have given every opportunity for their being made, are to be reserved until after I have spoken.

MR. GIBSON: The Prime Minister has made an observation at the close of his remarks rather inviting me not to speak.

MR. GLADSTONE: I suggested that you should have done it before.

MR. GIBSON: No one knows better than the Prime Minister that if I had interposed a few sentences I should have exhausted my right to speak. We are not dealing with transactions and incidents which took place years or months ago, but which took place yesterday; and the Prime Minister's recollection may be assumed to be sufficiently pointed and precise to explain everything that is represented in reference to it, especially when we bear in mind that the right hon. Gentleman has his own keen powers of memory and his own great powers of speech, and that he has had the best possible means of communication with his Colleagues in the other House during the progress of this discussion. We on this Bench have made ourselves familiar with what has occurred here and elsewhere; and I am confident that the Prime Minister might have taken the same course without any difficulty whatever. In my opinion, my noble Friend the Member for Woodstock has done a good service to the country in presenting for reconsideration the statements which went forth on the wings of the Press this morning, as the manifesto of the Prime Minister, as to

how the country should regard recent occurrences in the other House of Parliament. I accept the statements of the Prime Minister. I am not going to call into question anything he said; but this I will say—that but for the debate here, and the explanations vouchsafed elsewhere, it would have been, I believe, the universal impression that the right hon. Gentleman did desire to convey that Lord Salisbury used those remarkable words in reference to the incident which was described by himself in the House of Lords. It was certainly my impression. Anyone reading the Prime Minister's speech without the explanations of to-day would have been under the impression that the right hon. Gentleman desired to convey to the country that the last offer of the Liberal Ministry on the altar of peace had been received with a flout and a sneer by Lord Salisbury and rejected without consideration. We are bound, of course, in face of the Prime Minister's statement, to reject that idea, and let it now go forth that the right hon. Gentleman is not in a position to say what Lord Salisbury said in reference to the communications that had been made to him, or to state the method in which he received it, and that that portion of his address, which, I believe, was received with almost louder cheers than any other, was a portion of the speech that was cheered, not for the first time, as the Prime Minister himself will recognize, under false pretences. But there is another part of yesterday's transaction that I think has been explained in a very unsatisfactory manner. I accept fully the statement of the Prime Minister; but what occurred at the Foreign Office was in the last degree unfortunate. The Prime Minister summoned his Party, and allowed the Press to be present—Party meetings, generally speaking, are more or less confidential—but to this the Press were invited for the delivery of a prepared manifesto. I never object to any responsible Minister, particularly one in the great position of the Prime Minister, addressing a manifesto to the nation; but in the words of that manifesto he should take care that, however unintentionally, there is nothing which might be interpreted so as to do an injustice to his great political opponents; and before using matter, in its circumstances private, in its nature confidential, he should satisfy himself, by ample communication and close investigation of the circumstances, that it was a communication he was at liberty to make to his Party, that he was entitled to give it publicity, and to use it against the House of Lords for having refused the proposals made by the Prime Minister—proposals which the Prime Minister of England intended to use for his own Party purposes in public to advance his own measures against the House of Lords. I put this question to fair public opinion in this country. [*Cheers and counter cheers.*] The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) cheers as if he was to be taken for the public opinion of this country; but I ask anyone who read this portion of the statement of the Prime Minister if he did not present it to those who were listening to him as being one of the most important points he could urge on public opinion against the House of Lords? What are the facts of the case? The Prime Minister's statement is that Lord Granville and his Colleagues in the House of Lords treated this as an open proposal to be made public.

MR. GLADSTONE: So far as I know.

MR. GIBSON: Is it not astounding, then, that in the lengthy and deliberate speech of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack (the Lord Chancellor), who is acquainted with the value of words, and with the necessity of keeping a communication private where it is intended — a speech made hours after this communication — no reference was made to these proposals? If it had been suggested that the noble and learned Lord may possibly not have been taken into the confidence of his Colleagues, is it not simply miraculous, if the story of the Prime Minister represents the fact, that Lord Granville himself should have closed his speech without saying one solitary syllable about it? The matter does not stand one moment's investigation. If, indeed, this was intended to be a public transaction, why in the name of common sense was not the matter mentioned in the House of Lords? The only reason there can be is this—that the noble Lord thought, knew, and understood that it was a private and confidential communication. [MR. GLADSTONE dissented.] It was only when we read it in the Press that we became aware of this marvellous statement; when the Prime Minister came

down to the House yesterday not one solitary syllable was said. Both in the other House and in this anyone could judge from obvious and plain inferences that this was intended to be a private transaction that had come to an end. I now pass to the facts; but facts, indeed, are not necessary; inferences speak trumpet tongues, and no man can question them. The Leader of the Opposition has mentioned in plain terms that the matter was a private one. The Prime Minister is indignant, and repudiates the statement, and demands the author of it. Lord Salisbury has stated in the clearest way that he understood, and it was conveyed to him, that this was a private and confidential communication. Lord Cairns knows the value of accuracy; he knows the requirements of a position like this; and what are the words of the noble and learned Lord? Frank, manly, and indignant. He declares, with regard to this transaction, that he would sooner have cut off his hand than have allowed this matter to be known. Lord Granville did not, by word, or deed, or suggestion, say one solitary syllable to explain or weaken these indignant denials. I venture to say, if it is regarded in relation to inferences, there is no man who will not see there has been an extraordinary misadventure in what occurred in the Foreign Office yesterday; and if anyone walks into the other House and asks Lord Granville, no one can question the statement that he would say that he regarded it as a private transaction.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Did you hear it?

MR. GIBSON: In reply to the question across the Table as to whether I heard them say it, I say I did. It was Lord Granville's impression that this communication was private; and I should be astounded if, in any shape or form, there can be any qualification of that statement of mine. There are right hon. Gentlemen now present on that Bench who were present at the time these incidents occurred, and must know what occurred in their presence. Of course, I do not question the Prime Minister's statement that he believed the transaction to be one he could divulge; but it is deeply to be regretted that he did not take, when making a statement to his Party, ample care to fortify himself with the best authority. This statement has been fastened upon by the Press, and has been brought into great prominence; and it is matter of regret for his own sake, in the interests of that accuracy which is so highly valued, that he did not more fully inquire into the matter before putting it before the world.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I do not think it necessary to assume the indignant and heated attitude the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) has assumed; but what is the character of the charge he makes? He says that the Prime Minister was not entitled to refer to this transaction at the meeting at the Foreign Office yesterday. Now, Sir, let us see exactly how, and why, that statement was made at the Foreign Office yesterday, and then I will refer to the question whether the Prime Minister was entitled to refer to it. Charges have been made in many quarters, and by no one more offensively than by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), that the deliberate object of the Prime Minister, in his speech upon the third reading of the Bill, has been to provoke the House of Lords into a quarrel, ending in the rejection of the Bill. ["Hear, hear!"] Very well; that is the opinion of hon. Members opposite. Sir, in the presence of a charge of that character—a charge, in my opinion, as gross as it is unfounded—I wish to say that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government was entitled—in my opinion, he is bound—to show to his Party and to the nation that his conduct had been exactly the reverse of what is now attributed to him by the noble Lord, who always contradicts one moment what he has stated the last. He says that the Prime Minister "grovelled" before the House of Lords. ["Hear, hear!"] Do you cheer that? These are absolutely contradictory statements. ["No, no!"] The charge which the noble Lord brought against the Prime Minister was that he deliberately provoked the House of Lords into rejecting the Bill; and yet, in the same breath, the noble Lord said that the Prime Minister "grovelled" before the House of Lords.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL rose, but, being received with loud cries of "Order!" resumed his seat, saying that he could explain afterwards.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The noble Lord has not treated the Prime Minister with the courtesy which is usually observed in this House; and, when the noble Lord declines to behave to other Members with that courtesy which is usually accorded by one Member to another in this House, he is not entitled to receive that courtesy at the hands of others. Those are the contradictory charges which have been made against the Prime Minister, and they are neither of them well-founded. What the Prime Minister did was, it seems to me, in measured and weighty words, to point out to the House of Lords and the country the grave consequences that would ensue upon the violent rejection by the House of Lords of the measure unanimously passed by the House of Commons. ["No, no!"] Oh! hon. Members opposite go back upon the two dissentient voices; a measure, then, passed with two dissentient voices by the House of Commons. The Prime Minister was determined that nothing should be wanting in the way of conciliation that might open a door to the Leaders of the House of Lords. I will say no word in condemnation of the House of Lords. I speak of the men who have misled the House of Lords, and who still continue to do so, of the men who have used every exertion and every pressure they could to coerce a very unwilling majority of that House. ["No, no!"] I say what I know. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock said yesterday that he was aware of the sentiments of many noble Lords who were extremely unwilling to reject the Reform Bill, and I know of those sentiments, too, and I know also of the methods that were adopted to overcome those sentiments. Therefore, I am making no attack upon the House of Lords as a body. What I have to say has reference to those who have led, if they have not driven, the majority of the House of Lords into the course they have taken. The Prime Minister, so far from desiring to make difficulties, in the way of provocation or of exasperation, thought that, at the last moment, in the spirit of conciliation, he would make to the Leaders of the Opposition in that House a proposal that would go as far as possible to meet their views. He could not consent to what had been proposed in this House by the right hon. and gallant Member opposite (Colonel Stanley)—namely, to suspend the Franchise Bill until the Redistribution Bill was passed. It is obvious that if that course had been adopted, the Franchise Bill would never have come into existence at all. He could not accept either the proposal that the Franchise Bill should be put off until 1887, which was another suggestion made; he could not accept that; but he thought that, making a solemn declaration recorded by both Houses of Parliament and receiving the Assent of the Crown, would be a method which might have met the views of those who desired a real guarantee for the passing of a Redistribution Bill. What does he do? The Prime Minister draws up, in his own handwriting, this proposal which was sent with meek humility to be communicated to the Leaders of the House of Lords. We all know that with documents of much less importance than this, if they are intended to be private, the first thing you do is to write upon the top of the paper "confidential." But this communication is made without the most ordinary precautions being taken of writing "confidential" upon the top of it. If anyone on the other side thought that there was a doubt about the matter, one would have thought that the question would have been asked whether this communication was confidential or not.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The question was asked.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Then comes back an answer on a piece of paper, as I understand, not marked "confidential" either. I do not say what may have been the view of the Gentlemen who received that communication; but the person who has to be responsible for that communication is the man who made it. The Prime Minister of England is the person who is responsible; he is the person who sent that communication, and he gave no intimation whatever that he understood or intended it to be a secret or a confidential communication; and in speaking to his Party and to the public he had every right to refer to it, as showing that his conduct was not provocative, but conciliatory. But the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) thinks that he concludes the question by asking —"Why did not Lord Derby, the Lord Chancellor, or Lord Granville refer to this communication in the course of the

debate?" Why should they have done so? We have asked, over and over again, why the House of Lords did not pass the second reading of the Bill, and put into that Bill any clause which they chose with regard to redistribution. What was the answer of Lord Salisbury? The answer was—"What was the use of inserting such a clause, when they knew that it would be rejected?" Is not that the answer to hon. Members opposite? What was the use of Lord Derby, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Granville making a proposal in their speeches which they knew would have been rejected within a few hours? That is a conclusive answer to hon. Members opposite. Everybody must, I suppose, regret that a misunderstanding has arisen between the two Parties; but when the Prime Minister says that he made that communication without the smallest idea of its being confidential, he is entitled to be believed by the House and by the country. But you may depend upon it that neither the country nor the House of Commons will think that the most important part of this matter was whether this communication was confidential or not—what they will look at is the substance of the communication, and see for themselves whether every effort was made on the part of the Liberal Party and its illustrious Chief—[*Loud laughter*]—to act in a conciliatory manner. Hon. Members laugh, but those are our sentiments, and you will find we shall abide by them. We are determined, with reference to this quarrel, which you are forcing upon us, that we will show this House and the country that we have not willingly entered upon it. But when the noble Lord calls us pusillanimous, and tells us that we are running away, as he told us yesterday, I can tell the noble Lord that if he has a stomach for the fight, he will have enough of it. The noble Lord may, if he likes, call it "grovelling" to the House of Lords; but it will be thoroughly understood by the country that the Prime Minister made to the House of Lords a fair and reasonable proposal which they might have, and which they ought to have, accepted, and that whether they used the one phrase or the other is entirely immaterial. What is certain and clear is, that they rejected that proposal, and they rejected the Bill.

Sir William Harcourt

Mr. GORST said, that after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Sir William Harcourt) there could not be the slightest doubt that, on the second reading of the Bill, Lord Cairns and Lord Salisbury had been led into a trap. Until the right hon. Gentleman had addressed the House, he (Mr. Gorst) had been disposed to believe that Her Majesty's Government were entirely innocent of any such intention, and he was still disposed to think the Prime Minister was guiltless of any such intention; but after listening to the speech of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, he could not conscientiously say that he was altogether innocent. That was not the first instance in which the guileless Prime Minister had been led into making Treaties or Conventions by the intervention of some Members of his Cabinet. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had tried to make the House believe that the document was not private and confidential. With lawyer-like quibbling, the right hon. Gentleman had said that if it had been confidential the manuscript would have been so marked. That quibble was, however, altogether disposed of by the honesty of Lord Granville in "another place;" for Lord Granville had stated that the document was handed by him to Earl Cairns as a private and confidential document, and certainly it was so regarded by Lords Salisbury and Cairns in the debate and up to the Division on the Franchise Bill. As a matter of fact, a proposition of such a character ought not to have been made privately and confidentially, but publicly. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the majority of the House of Lords was an unwilling majority, and that it was coerced by its Leaders into the rejection of the Franchise Bill. If that was the case, why was not the proposal of the Government—this last offering upon the altar of peace—made publicly, so that the Lords themselves could have judged of it? What right had the Prime Minister to attempt to excite the people of the country against the House of Lords when the individual Members of the House of Lords were not put by the Government in possession of their proposal? The Secretary of State for the Home Department, with all the subtlety of a lawyer, said the offer had not been

made to the House of Lords itself, because it was known that it would not be accepted. The unwilling majority that was to be dragged into the Lobby against the Bill was not informed of the proposition because the Government were certain they would reject it. If, however, it was useless to make the proposition to the unwilling majority, what was the good of making it to Lord Cairns and Lord Salisbury? The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was convicted out of his own mouth. In truth, he (Mr. Gorst) could tell the right hon. Gentleman why the proposition was made. It was made as a trap. As the right hon. Gentleman had just said, it was made that it might afterwards be stated in the country that the Government had made every possible effort to conciliate the House of Lords. Of all the incidents in these debates, nothing had more indicated dishonesty of purpose on the part of the Government than their making this last offer of peace, not to the Members of the House of Lords, who they thought would accept it, but to those noble Lords who they knew would reject it. He accepted what had been said by the Prime Minister; but he must be aware that, if not through his fault, at least through his misfortune, a most unfair idea went out to the world yesterday respecting the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the measure. The impression which had gone abroad since the publication of the Prime Minister's speech was, that when a proposition was made to Lord Salisbury, to induce him to pass the second reading, he answered that appeal with a flout and a gibe. The fact, however, really was, that the noble Lord, instead of answering with a gibe, had answered it by a counter proposition, which had been carefully concealed from that House and the country. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had said that his noble Friend accused the Government of grovelling before the House of Lords. What his noble Friend really said, however, was, that they provoked the House of Lords openly in their speeches, but that, at the same time, they grovelled secretly before the Leaders of the Opposition in that House. The Government so acted not with the view of passing the Bill, but in order to get the Leaders of the Opposition into a trap; and to be able to say afterwards that they had made every effort to pass the Bill. Under these circumstances, was it not unfortunate that the manifesto of the Prime Minister had gone forth to the world, containing, as it did, an unjust reflection on his political opponents? The effect of the transaction must be to cause grave doubt in the minds of many hon. Members on both sides of the House, whether, so far from being the last offering on the altar of peace, the proposition of the Government was not a trap, in which noble Lords were unwarily entangled in order that they might be held up to the obloquy of the country.

MR. P. STEWART MACLIVER said, he wished to say a few words to qualify the statement made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson), that Lord Granville admitted the document was private.

MR. GIBSON: His impression was that the transaction was private.

MR. P. STEWART MACLIVER said, that was not the impression he (Mr. Macliver) had derived from what he heard the noble Earl say.

MR. GIBSON: Those were his words.

MR. P. STEWART MACLIVER said, the impression which he and others derived from Lord Granville's statement in the House of Lords was totally different from that of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He believed that when the reports of Lord Granville's speech were published, it would be found that the right hon. and learned Gentleman's impression of it was not the right one. He held that the communication was entirely public, and that the Liberal Party had been quite justified in what was done on the previous day.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, the proceedings in the House of Lords at the beginning of the week had generated a large amount of Party spirit, and he had no wish in anything he said to add to it. The passage in the Prime Minister's speech of Thursday, now under discussion, was its kernel. It was the central and most important fact; and he was not astonished that public interest had been concentrated upon it, or that it had been made matter of debate there. But he took an entirely different view of the proceedings to what was taken by hon.

Gentlemen opposite. He thought that that portion of the speech was the best, and redounded to the honour of both the Government and the Prime Minister. What were the facts? The Gentlemen on that side of the House were wishful to pass a Reform Bill. The Gentlemen on the other side, if not wishful, were willing to pass one. There was really no difference in principle between them. Even the House of Lords had assented unanimously to the principle embodied in the Bill. The difference was entirely over procedure. The Conservatives wished to have a complete scheme of Reform put before them at once. The Government deemed it better to present their scheme piecemeal—the franchise at one time, and redistribution at another. It was a debateable question; but, in his judgment, the course the Government had followed was the better. But the fear of the Opposition was, that the Franchise Bill might become law before a redistribution scheme was passed; and if that was done, there might be an Election upon a new suffrage, but without a requisite distribution of seats. If an Election was precipitated in this way, by events in Egypt or elsewhere, then the House of Commons would, the Lords feared, become a Convention. That, as he understood, was the position that the Conservatives took up—for fear one part of the Reform scheme came into operation before the other was passed, they resisted the passage of the Franchise Bill. ["Hear, hear!"] Well, then, they admitted that. How had the Government tried to meet that objection? The Prime Minister had given an engagement that, if the House of Lords would pass the Franchise Bill, the Government would bind Parliament, by an Address to the Queen, not to dissolve until such times as both the Redistribution Bill and the Franchise Bill had passed. He regarded that as a reasonable and conciliatory offer. It was impossible, in the face of such a proposal on the part of the Government, for the Opposition to say that the Ministry were seeking to overreach them. He believed that the Prime Minister had no such intention. He (Mr. Cowen) had taken no part in the Reform Bill discussion; but he had followed the proceedings closely; and the one thing that had struck him in connection with them was the extreme moderation and candour of the Prime Minister. From the first to the last, he had shown a marked disposition to meet the wishes of his opponents, without sacrificing principle. The Bill itself was emphatically Conservative, and the temper in which it had been advocated was equally so. And this last proceeding on the part of the Government was in harmony with all that had gone before. An unfortunate misunderstanding had arisen respecting the overtures to the Conservative Leaders in the other House. It was beyond dispute that the Prime Minister understood that this offer was public, and should be treated as such. He had made that statement, and he did not think anyone would doubt it, not even the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). He was certain the country would accept the right hon. Gentleman's declaration, that he understood the transactions to be public, and that he meant them as a peace offering. But Lord Granville had not had the same impression. He had treated the overtures as private, and hence their miscarriage. This was to be regretted; for if the Peers had known what the Government proposed, it was probable, if not certain, that the opposition to the Bill would have been modified, and the majority reduced. But what had been done was done and could not be recalled, though it had none the less been useful. That discussion had not been without its value also. He had no doubt the Government were willing to renew their offers of compromise. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] The Bill was to go to the House of Lords in October. Their Lordships knew now what the Government were prepared to do; and it would not make for their reputation as statesmen and men of business if, with so small a difference, they could not find means of coming to terms. His own desire was to see the Bill carried, and carried as soon as possible. When people had political power, they could use it as they liked, and he (Mr. Cowen) would make any sacrifice to get it for them. He did not believe it was the interest of any class or Party to rush headlong into an excited political agitation. However justifiable it might be, or however exhilarating to those engaged in it, it was attended with this disadvantage—it concentrated public attention only on one thing, and had a ten-

dency to retard other useful work. If they could by any means hit upon a plan of operation by which the Bill could pass into law in the Autumn Session, the Government and the country would have to be congratulated. And if the explanations and proceedings that afternoon contributed in any way to further that end, they would confer a national service. That was the practical outcome of their debate, and he hoped that it would be utilized in that sense and to that end.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that it had been assumed that, if the proposal of the Government had been fully considered by the Opposition in the two Houses of Parliament, it would have been accepted in the form in which it was made. He ventured to say that the proposal was absolutely worthless. Indeed, he would go further, and say it was only made for the purpose of being declined. Such a pledge, undertaken by two Houses of Parliament, even supported by the Crown, could not absolutely, in the pressure of circumstances, and in view of unexpected contingencies, insure the passage of a Redistribution Bill. It simply amounted to this—that the two Houses of Parliament should pledge themselves to make the discussion of a Redistribution Bill the first work of next Session; but no proposal or agreement would satisfy the Conservative Party, as to what they held to be the necessities of the case, which did not clearly provide that the Franchise Bill should not take effect until Parliament had actually passed a Redistribution Bill. The right hon. Gentleman stated that Lord Granville was informed by Lord Cairns that the House of Lords would have been willing to accept the proposal of the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey). He (Mr. J. Lowther) would have come 1,000 miles to vote against that proposal; and it was absolutely impossible that Lord Cairns could have held out the slightest idea that the Conservative Party would have been satisfied to put a date in the Bill. They had been told that the Government were anxious to bring in a Redistribution Bill at the earliest possible opportunity; but if the Franchise Bill were once passed they could not but feel that the efforts of the right hon. Gentleman for a Redistribution Bill might become sluggish. He (Mr. J. Lowther) wished distinctly to put on record his opinion that the so-called concession alleged to have been made by the Government was a worthless sham, and never had the slightest chance of being accepted. Indeed, no proposal bearing the slightest resemblance to it would ever be accepted by the Conservative Party. Personal reference had been made to himself by the right hon. Gentleman, who had referred to his statement that the Bill had not the slightest chance of becoming law during the present Session. He had, however, gone much further than that, as he had expressed his own individual opinion that the Bill, as a single-barrelled measure, would not become law during the lifetime of the present Parliament.

MR. MACFARLANE said, it was clear that the Prime Minister's communication was in no sense confidential, as if the noble and learned Earl and the noble Marquess had accepted it, the proposal must at once have been communicated to the whole Party. He, therefore, held that a heavy responsibility lay upon both noble Lords for not having taken that course.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, he could not agree with his right hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) that the proposal made to Lord Cairns by the Government was of an illusory character, or that it was not worthy of attention. Although novel and unprecedented, it was an important and substantial proposal, and he should be sorry to pass a judgment upon it at a short notice. But he thought it should have been made by the Government, upon their responsibility, in moving the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords; and, in his view, very considerable doubt was thrown upon the *bona fides* of the whole transaction, by the fact that it had been treated in a hole-and-corner spirit, instead of being laid before both Houses and the country in a manner that could not be misunderstood. A candid statement on the part of the Government, in regard to this proposal which was now before the country, might have greatly influenced the decision of the House of Lords; and it ought not to have been made in the underhand way in which it had been to Lord Cairns and Lord Salisbury.

MR. HEALY said, that if the proposals of the Government were taken up

by Lord Salisbury, and the Bill was still only in a state of suspension, and not absolutely rejected, Lord Salisbury would have the Government at his mercy. It appeared to him that there were two Parties on the Liberal side in regard to the matter; one, not an insignificant, nor an uninfluential Party, which was anxious to make war on the House of Lords; and another, represented by men like the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who had said that they wanted no quarrel with the House of Lords. Already they had a specimen of what would be taking place. Only yesterday they had a speech from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), who was an ex-Minister; and, in reference to that speech, he (Mr. Healy) would simply say that if the Bill which had been rejected were only the Land Bill, and if his (Mr. Healy's) hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) were addressed by farmers on the subject, and had used the language spoken of by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, they would be charged with advocating cattle houghing and shooting in the legs. What was the language used by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had recommended calmness; but that did not suit the bellicose man of peace, the warlike Quaker. "I hope," said the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. John Bright), "that everybody who can be calm during the next three months will be as calm as they can—in other words, if any person who cannot be calm sees a Member of the House of Lords passing by, do not let him pick up a stone and shy it at him." If that language were used by an Irish Member about Irish landlords, was not that the plain inference that would be put on language of that kind? The right hon. Gentleman then proceeded to say that those moderate counsels were not followed in 1832, when there were fires and burnings throughout the country. What happened in 1831 and 1832 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham would like to see repeated in 1884. Thus the right hon. Member for Birmingham, who, as a former Member of two Cabinets, occupied a responsible position, actually recommended violence in advocating the Bill. ["Oh! oh."] He was entitled to put that construction on the right hon. Gentleman's speech. If any outrage or misfortune happened to any Member of the Upper House during this threatened agitation, he firmly believed the responsibility for it would rest on the head of the right hon. Member for Birmingham. The right hon. Gentleman said that he did not think that the advice of the right hon. Member for Ripon would be followed. What would have been said of any Member of the Irish Party who had used similar language? They used to be told that "crime dogs the meetings of the Land League;" yet the man who had been a responsible Minister of the Crown could apparently use language which was forbidden to smaller men. Now, if the Tory Party were in power, and if they had the advantage of an irresponsible Government, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, they would be as much justified in clapping the right hon. Member for Birmingham into prison for that language, as the Liberal Government were in clapping Irish Members into prison for language used by them in Ireland. Here they had, at this meeting in the Foreign Office, the great Liberal Party smacking its lips, and rolling its tongue at the memory of the state of affairs in 1832, when, as he had said, they had murderous outrages and incendiary fires all over the country; and this was the same Liberal Party which clapped men into gaol for making speeches of the same kind. Well, if that was the language of the responsible Leaders of the Liberal Party, what would be the language of every whipper-in of the Party down the country? When the Lords rejected the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, and they got up in Ireland an agitation analogous to the one now being started in England by the great Liberal Party, for simply calling attention to the fact that 1,000 men were clapped into prison.

MR. SPEAKER: The matter before the House is a communication made to a noble Lord by the Government. That has nothing whatever to do with the question the hon. Member is now pursuing.

MR. HEALY: The question is with reference to what was said at the Foreign Office yesterday.

MR. SPEAKER: No, that is not the Question; and I must again remind the hon. Member that he is not speaking to the Question. The matter the House is now discussing is one of definite and public importance—namely, the communication made by the Government to certain noble Lords in "another place."

MR. HEALY: Quite so, Sir. But it was in consequence of what was said at the Foreign Office yesterday that this debate arose. Of course, Mr. Speaker, if you tell me that I am out of Order in discussing, upon the Motion of the noble Lord, what took place at the Foreign Office yesterday, I accept your ruling; but, as I understand it, this discussion has arisen owing to what occurred at the Foreign Office, because it was there that the public learned, for the first time, the fact of this communication having passed. However, my purpose has been served; and although I have some more elegant extracts to refer to, and as what I have said appears to be disagreeable to some hon. Members, especially to the Clerks at the Table, I will not further persist in my observations.

MR. WHITBREAD said, he concurred with the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sclater-Booth) that this communication was not of a worthless character, but one of the gravest importance. If the communication was a private one at the time, it was well known now; and as they had it on the authority of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) that the Bill in the other House was not dead, but in a condition of suspended animation, there was still a course open to those who had voted under a misapprehension, and without a true knowledge of all the circumstances. It was a grave and a tremendous responsibility that the Leaders of the Opposition had incurred in putting the Bill aside; and he doubted whether, if they had made known to their followers the communication of the Government, a large number of them would not have attached great importance to it as affecting their votes on the Bill. He could not think that any Legislative Body, hereditary or otherwise, would stand well before the country in face of the facts that had been disclosed by the debate. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had said that the speech of the Prime Minister on the third reading of the Bill destroyed all hopes of arrangement, the meaning of which was that the Peers had rejected the Bill because of the Prime Minister's language. As to their not having a scheme of redistribution before them, they had the most binding form of engagement of which it was possible to conceive—that the whole energies of the Government would be devoted to passing a Redistribution Bill next Session. He regretted very much to see the other House going into the contest which must arise. He did not fear the result, for it was well known on both sides what the outcome would be; but he would, if possible, most willingly spare the country the turmoil and bad feeling of an agitation, and the checks to all other legislation which must ensue. Let it not be forgotten that an agitation would go far beyond the object to be attained. He would urge upon those who had the means and the opportunity of communicating with their Friends in the other House to ask whether there was not yet time, in the light of the revelations made in that and "another place," to reconsider the situation once again.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had listened with interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), who laid stress upon the supposed value of the arrangement which was suggested by the Government. What was it? It only repeated, in the form of a Resolution, the promise given to the House by the Prime Minister. It was no more and no less than was expressed in the Resolution which the Prime Minister had consented to be embodied in the Bill. No one doubted the complete good faith of the right hon. Gentleman when he made that engagement; but what was said on the other side was that an engagement of that kind was one that it would be very difficult probably for him to carry out, and that circumstances might intervene to prevent it. That was the answer to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Bedford. Who could tell what might happen during the next Session? There would be the ordinary Business of the country to transact; the question of Ireland would have to be faced, an important measure affecting the peace and good order of the country having to be renewed, which would place a serious responsibility upon the Government of the

day; and there would be foreign affairs to consider; so that clearly it was absolutely impossible for the Government to enter into an engagement with the certainty that they would be able to carry it out. He agreed with the hon. Member that the effects of agitation often went beyond the objects to which it is at first directed. There were always men attached to agitators whose intentions were very much in excess of the legitimate object of the agitation; but the responsibility rested on those who encouraged the agitation, and who made use of means that were corrupt and debasing to our political life. If they were to enter into a battle, let them do so using fair and honourable weapons. They would have to meet misrepresentation. They would not hesitate to denounce it as misrepresentation, and they would not refuse to say that the misrepresentation was used for a purpose foreign to the interests of the country at large, and endangering the prosperity and Constitution of the country for a mean and paltry ambition.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he was very sorry that anything should have fallen from him which gave the Prime Minister occasion to impute to him the use of foul language. He could only say that it never had been his intention to address the right hon. Gentleman in other than courteous language. Recollecting the vast difference which separated them, he wished to say it never had been, and it never would be, during the many years he hoped the Prime Minister would remain in that House, his intention in any way to use language incompatible with the full recognition of the lofty position which the right hon. Gentleman occupied in the House. But he owned that he was in a state of great vexation when he read in *The Times* that morning the speech of the Prime Minister at the meeting of the Liberal Party. He rose for the purpose of saying that the Members of the Government would be disposed to agree that he might claim the satisfaction of having endeavoured to take up a mediatory attitude on the Franchise Question, and the one object he had at heart had been to avert a Constitutional conflict been the Lords and the Commons. Therefore, when he heard the Prime Minister's speech on the third reading of the Franchise Bill, he owned he was exasperated at the utter shattering of all his hopes. His contention was that the speech of the Prime Minister on that occasion entirely altered the character of the question before the nation, and made it, not the enfranchisement of 2,000,000, but the existence of the House of Lords as an independent Body; and that was a point on which they could not afford to give way. He owned, also, he was greatly vexed when he read in the paper that morning of the offer which was made at the last moment by the Government. It was, above all, a hard measure on the Leaders of a great Party who were obliged, before they could take a serious decision, to ascertain the general views of the Party, and who had ascertained them and decided on certain action—it was hard upon them that a new arrangement should be proposed to them at the eleventh hour, when there was literally no reasonable time to consider it. It was a fair and a just contention that if the Government were prepared to make any proposal of such a nature, they incurred a grave responsibility in not having made it earlier, in order that the views of the whole Party might be taken upon it. Especially did he blame them that, having such a proposal to make, they did not make it openly in the House of Lords. Had they done so, the position of the Government would be much stronger than it was at present. The fact was, the proposal never was before the House of Lords. It never was before any deliberative Body, and it was not open to anyone to say truly that it had been before the Lords, so that it could be considered in all its bearings. He frankly admitted that, although at his time of life he ought not to be afraid of Parliamentary struggles, he was afraid of the struggle that was now impending. ["Hear, hear!"] He was not, however, afraid for the reason that hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to suppose. It was not that he feared that the extreme wing of the Party opposite would be successful in sweeping away one of the oldest institutions of the country. He had no great fear of that; but he was afraid of the violence that might take place, and which would put the country into a position that would not enable it to judge fairly the question of Reform. He would co-operate, to the utmost extent of his power, in endeavouring to avoid a Constitutional

struggle of such a nature as that opened up by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) at the Foreign Office. He did not know whether the Government were still in a frame of mind that would lead them to approach again the altar of peace. He did not know whether there was anyone among the Conservative Party, on the Front Bench or anywhere else, who would accompany the Government in that approach; but he did say, after the misunderstanding which occurred about the proposition, if there was a possibility of those offers being considered deliberately and fairly by the general body of the Peers and the Commons, and if by any chance those proposals might result in an arrangement which might bring the two Houses of Parliament into greater harmony, then he would welcome them gladly even now, and would be disposed to attach the heaviest responsibility to any public man who would endeavour to prevent such a consummation.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have to thank the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) for what he has stated about myself. I was, no doubt, at the moment a little irritated at language that I thought very strong; but, on reflection, I must own that the noble Lord has always been very courteous to me. Perhaps I may be permitted, under the peculiar circumstances, to say, with regard to the substantial political part of his speech, that the Government are still in the spirit and frame of mind which dictated the suggestion that has been under the consideration of the House; and although the House of Lords may for the time have lost all power over the Franchise Bill, yet, undoubtedly, if the opportunity was offered them, they would seek to show that they remained in that frame of mind, and that they were prepared to continue in it.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he would remind the Prime Minister that his proposals had never been placed before the House of Commons.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

PARLIAMENT — RULES AND ORDERS OF THE HOUSE—THE HALF-PAST TWELVE O'CLOCK RULE.

RESOLUTION.

MR. MONK, in rising to call attention to the operation of the Half-past Twelve o'clock Rule; to its failure to shorten the Sittings of the House after midnight; and to the insuperable difficulties it has placed in the way of Bills, however acceptable they may be to the majority of the House, advancing beyond the second reading; and to move—

"That the Standing Order No. 45 be amended in paragraph 3, line 2, by leaving out 'a Member,' and inserting 'six Members at the least,'"

said, the Rule had not had any effect whatever in facilitating Business. He admitted that when the Rules of Procedure were under discussion in 1882 there was an unmistakable feeling in favour of maintaining the Rule, but with some relaxations. It was then decided that it should not apply to the introduction of Bills, nor to Bills that had passed through Committee of the Whole House. Members had had two years' further experience, and were aware that it had not facilitated the progress of Government measures, while it prevented private Members' Bills progressing beyond the second reading. In 1882 a Bill, of which he had the charge, was read the second time on the 16th February after a debate and a Division showing a majority of more than four to one in favour of it. A single Member blocked the Committee stage, and the Bill became a dropped Order in the month of August, though he had lost no opportunity of moving the Speaker out of the Chair. The question he desired to put to the House was—Does the House, or does it not, desire, by maintaining the Rule as at present, to place it out of its own power to proceed with a measure which 99 Members out of 100 desired to support? If he required any justification for his Motion, it would be found in a letter written on May 16, 1884, by the Prime Minister's Secretary to a Manchester gentleman—

"I am to add that, in Mr. Gladstone's view, the block of Business is not likely to terminate until the House of Commons shall adopt fur-

ther measures for its own liberty and relief, and until there shall be a change in the present method of opposition."

He believed that the ingenuity of man could not have devised a Rule better calculated to obstruct Public Business than the Half-past Twelve o'Clock Rule. He almost hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University (Sir John Mowbray) must feel compunction at having riveted its chains upon the House as a Standing Order in 1879. There was, he believed, a time when not a single Member would have abused the Rule; but—

"Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis."

The theory of the Rule allowing Members to retire to rest at half-an-hour after midnight was excellent; but its practice was abominable. Out of deference to the opinion expressed in 1882, he proposed not to abolish the Rule, but to relax its stringency. It had not shortened the Sittings of the House after midnight. The average number of hours that the House sat after midnight from 1872 to 1876, immediately after the adoption of the Rule, was 116 hours; from 1877 to 1881 the average was 176¾ hours; and last Session it rose to 179 hours. One ill effect was that it encouraged Members to speak against time, so as to prevent a "blocked" Bill being reached before half-past 12 o'clock. In 1879 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) said he was not fond of the Rule—much could be said for it, and much against it—but, he added—

"It does not signify nearly so much what the Rules of the House were as in what spirit they were worked. If the Rule were worked in a proper and fair spirit, with a sincere desire to obtain the objects its promoters had in view, it would be useful and valuable; but if, on the other hand, it was worked for the purpose of wasting a great deal of time over Business—which would be opposed only for the purpose of throwing something else over the limit of half-past 12—it would be not merely useless, but mischievous."

On the same occasion the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War said—

"If, in the next Parliament, they had anything to say about this Rule, they would have to tell something about it not so pleasant as the right hon. Gentleman (Sir John Mowbray) supposed. They would have to tell them that, in the opinion of the Speaker, this Rule, so far from shortening the Sittings of the House, had had the effect of prolonging them. It also put into the hands of any individual Member the power of obstructing a Bill which the House generally desired to pass."

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter before Eight o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 14th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Bishopric of Bristol (181).

Committee — Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment (152-191).

Committee — Report — Licensing Act (1872) Amendment * (160).

Third Reading—Post Office Protection * (185), and *passed.*

Royal Assent — Fisheries (Oyster, Crab, and Lobster) Act (1877) Amendment [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. 26]; Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Amendment [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. 27]; Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. 28]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 4) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cii]; Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. ciii]; Local Government Board (Ireland) Provisional Order (Dundalk Waterworks) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. civ]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Naas, &c.) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cv]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (The Labourers' Act) (Carrick-on-Suir) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cvi]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxii]; Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings (Scotland) Provisional Order [47 &48 *Vict.* c. cviii]; Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cix]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 5) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cx]; ; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 6) [47 & 4 *Vict.* c. cxi]; Tramways Provisional Orders [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxii] Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 11) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxiii]; Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 14) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxiv]; Local Government Provisional Order(Poor Law) (No. 15) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxv]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 4) [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. lxxvii.]

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

NOTICE OF RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: I beg to give Notice that, on Thursday next, I shall move the following Resolution:—

"That this House is prepared to proceed now with the consideration of the Representation of the People Bill, on the understanding that an humble Address shall be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying Her Majesty to summon Parliament to assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible."

I should explain that the wording of this Resolution, my Lords, is somewhat different, though in sense it is practically the same, as the Resolution which has appeared on the Paper. I think that, perhaps, with your Lordships' permission, I may be allowed to say that I drew up that Resolution without any communication whatever with any Member either of your Lordships' House or the other House of Parliament on either side, and that I at once put it on Saturday morning in the hands of the Clerk of the Parliaments. My object is simply this—to endeavour, after what passed on Friday last, to find some common ground for agreement for the effectual settlement of the question of the reform of Parliament. And if the Resolution appears to either Party of this House or to both not exactly what it should be, I earnestly hope the Leaders of the Parties will be able to come to some common understanding for the peaceful solution of this great question.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I have to protest very earnestly against the inconvenience of the course taken by the noble Earl. Without giving any Notice on Friday night or Saturday morning, he puts on the Paper a Notice cancelling and tearing up the Resolution to which your Lordships came, after great debate and solemn Division, on Tuesday last. Then he fixed his Resolution for to-morrow night. Now, I believe to-day and to-morrow are days on which a great many Peers have engagements elsewhere—the Agricultural Association, for instance—making it a matter of very great inconvenience for them to come down to this House, yet it was necessary, in view of the Notice of the noble Earl, to ask them to alter their engagements. Now, at the last moment, the noble Earl makes another change, and puts it off till Thursday. I can only say that is not the way in which Business is usually conducted in this House. I doubt, moreover, whether the Motion of the noble Earl is in Order. The House has solemnly recorded that, for certain reasons, it will not read the Representation of the People Bill a second time; until that Resolution is formally rescinded and removed from the Journals, it is not competent for any Member of this House to make a Motion that the Bill be read a second time. Therefore, I believe that the Motion is, in fact, informal and disorderly; but I mainly rose for the purpose of protesting against the extreme inconvenience caused by the course which the noble Earl has adopted.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I rise for the purpose of putting a Question to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville); but before doing so, I would like to point out that the remarks of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) seem founded on a misconception, for the Notice of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) is not for to-morrow, but Thursday.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Yes; it was originally given on the Paper for Tuesday.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: For Thursday.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: It was given for Tuesday. That was the inconvenience in the matter; and now at the last moment the noble Earl puts it off till Thursday. That is partly what I complain of.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: I made the alteration after consulting with Friends of both Parties. It seemed to us that it would be best to put the Resolution down for Thursday, so that there should be more time to consider it after the meeting of Conservative Members, which, as I believe, is to be held to-morrow.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Then I proceed to the point of Order, which will doubtless be settled by a greater authority than myself; but, at the same time, I wish to point that, as I understand it, the Resolution of the noble Earl would not supersede any Resolution that has been arrived at, because it is hypothetical on the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill. Now, that Bill is still down for second reading, and there is nothing, as it appears to me, to prevent your Lordships proceeding to its consideration. But the noble Earl on the Cross Benches wishes

to know what the view of the Leaders of the two Parties would be with regard to the matter? What has fallen from the noble Marquess, I am afraid, leaves little doubt as to what his attitude will be; but I would like to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the Government are prepared to give their support to the Resolution of the noble Earl?

EARL GRANVILLE: Like my noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery), I should not like to give a definite opinion without further consideration on the point of Order so suddenly stated by the noble Marquess; but, at the same time, I should have thought that, *primâ facie*, the Resolution of the noble Earl is perfectly in Order. I believe that all we resolved the other day was that the Bill should not be read a second time on that day, except on certain conditions. The Bill still remains on the Minutes of your Lordships' House for second reading; and that may be done at any time, if it is the pleasure of your Lordships that it should pass. With reference to the Question of the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) as to my view of the Resolution, of which Notice has been given, I agree with him in regretting that the noble Marquess has taken the earliest opportunity of putting his foot down against the proposition which has been started by an independent Peer with the object of removing a great difficulty, and enabling some adjustment to be arrived at between the two Houses of Parliament. Certainly, if that spirit is to obtain, the Government are prepared to support the proposal of the noble Earl, reserving, of course, the question of the exact date at which Parliament should meet. I may say that, in November, we should be prepared to undertake——

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Resolution says in the early autumn.

EARL GRANVILLE: Yes; but I think November might be a more convenient time, and in the course of that month I should say we would be able to undertake the great task of redistribution—on the condition, of course, that the Bill do pass this Session.

LORD DENMAN said, that in 1859 the hon. Member for Berkshire had intended, as he said, to oppose Lord John Russell's Amendment, which occupied seven days in debate (and this House, he said, was lucky to escape with two); but he was surprised that the noble and learned Lord should have proposed such an Amendment as he so severely blamed Lord John Russell for proposing it, that the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) had to defend the then Solicitor General from an attack upon him for having imputed interested motives to the Mover of the Amendment (Lord John Russell). It certainly was on the 31st of March, and this was so late as 7th of July; but it had not succeeded in advancing Reform as in the hands of a supposed ardent reformer, who caused the question to sleep for seven years.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES): I would be much obliged to the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss), if he would answer the Question I am about to put to him—Does he believe that, until the matter of redistribution is settled, anyone can determine in what manner the extension of the franchise will affect the constitution of the House of Commons?

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: I will answer the Question when I give my reasons for moving the Resolution on Thursday.

THE EARL OF JERSEY: After the conciliatory speech of the noble Earl opposite the Leader of the House—which shows a silver lining to the cloud—I trust we shall not allow such a chance to be lost for arriving at a solution of this grave political difficulty through any informality in the Resolution presented to the notice of the House.

THE WESTERN PACIFIC—DEPORTATION OF FRENCH RECIDIVISTS.

WITHDRAWAL OF NOTICE OF MOTION.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, who had a Notice on the Paper, to call attention to the proposed deportation of Recidivists from France to the Western Pacific, and to move for Papers, said, it had been on the Paper for several weeks; but it had been postponed more than once. Their Lordships must have felt how important the subject was to the people of Australia; and one of the objects which he had had in view with regard to the Motion was to show the people of this country how very important also were the issues involved to influence the Government of this country to make such representations to the Go-

vernment of France as they might think proper, in order to secure the object in view—namely, to prevent the Bill then under consideration in the French Parliament from passing into law. That night he proposed to withdraw the Notice of Motion from the Paper; and, in doing so, he wished to give a short explanation of the reasons which had induced him to take that course. Several circumstances had occurred since he last had had the honour to allude to the subject, which had very materially modified both the attitude of the French Government, and also the position of the Recidivist Bill that was then before the French Senate. Since that time a gentleman, M. Courbet, who had been sent out by the French Government to New Caledonia to report as to what the practical effect of the Bill would be, had made his Report, and that Report was as unfavourable as it could be to the main objects of the Bill. That he (the Earl of Rosebery) regarded as a great point in the case. Since that Report the French Senate, who had charge of the Bill, had asked for further explanations as to the Bill from the French Government. The result of all this was that the Under Secretary for the Colonies in France had demanded increased powers, in order to deal with the matter. One of these powers was to keep those criminals under restraint when they arrived at New Caledonia, and that power, practically, was a direct reversal of the whole policy and spirit of the Bill. The next proposal was that the Recidivists should have guardians, in the proportion of not less that 4 per cent of the criminal population, to restrain those men in New Caledonia. There, again, was a deliberate reversal of the policy which previously prevailed. And, in the third place, they asked for power to make the convicts work. Taking these facts into consideration, he thought that if the French Government did really insist upon those demands before the French Senate, it would be far better to leave the matter to its natural solution before the French Senate, more especially as he was convinced Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's Ministers at Paris were doing all they could to further the objects they had at heart with respect to the matter. Two other circumstances had arisen which, he thought, were worth their Lordships' notice. It was said that the danger of the Bill was very much overrated; but, in April last, no less than nine persons, whose sentences had expired, landed in New South Wales from New Caledonia. These persons were not those who escaped in boats; but they arrived by the Messageries Steamship Company, that great ocean line of French steamers. That showed that the Australian Colonies had very good reason for their fear as to these people. But there was a still greater question raised than that; and it was that, at present, these men were being sent over to New Caledonia in daily increasing numbers. They numbered from 500 to 600 a-year. We had always flattered ourselves that the French Government could demand their extradition, and thought that it would be a wearisome and expensive process. Yet we could get rid of them. But that hope had been roughly destroyed. A very celebrated lawyer, a Professor of the University of Paris, had been writing letters to the French papers, in which he pointed out that the extradition of these criminals could not be demanded of the French Government by the Convention of 1876, the theory being that these people were not to be tried again for a crime, nor to be further punished. That would increase the difficulties to be dealt with by Her Majesty's Government. He thought that the French Government should take these circumstances into consideration not only as they regarded Australia, but also the other islands in the Pacific. He had no right to make any speech on this occasion, because he was withdrawing his Notice; but he had wished to lay before their Lordships the various circumstances which had arisen since he last addressed them on that subject, and which had materially altered the situation; and he believed that it was now the best course to leave the matter to diplomacy and the exertions of Her Majesty's Government, reserving to himself, however, he need hardly say, the right, should circumstances change, to bring it in again, and more at length, before their Lordships.

After an interval,

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, this was a subject on which he should like to make a few remarks. He should have been glad if the statement of the

noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery) had been followed by a few words of explanation from the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby); but, as the latter had preserved silence, he wished himself to make a few remarks, not in any way to find fault with Her Majesty's Government, but to express his hope that they would not fail to make the French Government distinctly understand how seriously critical that particular question was. He had no doubt that the noble Earl opposite had done right in withdrawing his Motion. The facts he had stated probably rendered it expedient not to open the whole question, and to leave the matter in the hands of the Government. Under those circumstances, it was desirable the Government should speak out frankly to the Government of France, as a few timely warnings might prevent the two countries being engaged in unfriendly discussions with each other. At the same time, he trusted that the Government of France would rightly appreciate what the position of affairs really was, for he foresaw that if there should be any misunderstanding on the question, Her Majesty's Government might, before long, have to choose between giving support to the Australian Colonies and finding themselves engaged in some adverse action with the Government of France. They would have to require explanations of a definite character, and there would be some very plain speaking. He was afraid that, at present, the grievance of our Colonies in Australia was a very real one. There were now in New Caledonia about 6,000 of those criminals, who were not ordinary criminals, but relapsed and incorrigible desperadoes, who, according to the statements of French officials themselves, were steeped in vice, crime, and debauchery of every kind; and, indeed, at that moment, the French Government were subjected to strong protests on the part of their own Colonists in New Caledonia that the number of those criminals might not be increased. In deference to those protests, he believed the French Government had resolved not to increase the number; but still the presence in their neighbourhood of so many malefactors was a very great grievance to the Australian Colonies. The feelings of the Australian Colonists were still stronger, all classes of the people, the whole Press, and the members of every trade there were unanimous in protesting against the influx of such criminals into the same communities with themselves. Victoria was, perhaps, less affected by that matter than the other Australian Colonies, yet she was making their case her own; and New Zealand was also prepared to take common action with them in regard to it. He might mention that some few years ago an Act was passed by the Colony of Victoria, called the Criminals Influx Prevention Act. That Act was intended to prevent any escaped criminals from our convict station in Western Australia finding their way into Victoria. It enacted that anyone coming into Victoria from a British Possession, whose sentence had not expired three years before, might be sent back in custody by two Justices, or be sentenced to three years' hard labour; but the next provision was more serious—namely, that any master of a ship who brought such a criminal would be liable to a fine of £100, or to undergo six months' imprisonment with hard labour. That Act applied solely to criminals escaping from British Possessions; but it only required the addition of the three words "or foreign countries," to at once place French Possessions in the same category as Western Australia in regard to those penalties. At the Intercolonial Conference, a Resolution was passed in favour of uniform legislation on that particular point; and if the Australian Colonies were to pass an Act similar to the Victoria Act, but with the addition of the words "or a foreign country," he put it to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, could he, or would he, advise the disallowance of such an Act? He (the Earl of Carnarvon) did not think he could. Again, he would ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) how he was prepared to deal with such a grave international complication as would arise if the master of a French steamer were thrown into prison and sentenced to six months' hard labour in the Colony of Victoria, or fined £100, for taking one of those criminals there. He did not say that in order to embarrass Her Majesty's Government, but to open their eyes to the gravity of the situation, and to induce them to use every effort to make the French Government under-

stand how very critical and serious that matter was, so that they might not be led away as to the feeling of the Australian Colonists in regard to it. He hoped, therefore, the noble Earl would let them know that the Home Government had been ill-advised enough to twice attempt to make these Colonies the receptacles of our own criminal convicts, and had been twice forced to forego the attempt, having signally failed. Those were small cases as compared with this, and the power of the Colonies was then much less than it was now; and he was certain that if the French Government were, through any misapprehension, to commit themselves to any such difficulty as that, they would find that they had to count the cost of their undertaking. The French had a great trade growing up in those parts of the world, and they had granted a very large subsidy—2,000,000 of francs yearly—to a line of steamers for the carrying on of that trade. He entreated them to consider whether it was worth while to sacrifice these great and growing interests, that they might push that proposal further. There were many international questions which were often all the better for delay, as it enabled passions to cool down; but this was just one of those questions from which he foresaw great danger and difficulty, if much more delay was allowed to intervene; and, for those reasons, he sincerely hoped that Her Majesty's Government, and the French Government in particular, would thoroughly understand how very serious that matter was.

THE EARL OF RAVENSWORTH said, he would remind their Lordships that, as New Caledonia was within easy access of the shores of the Australian Colonies, it was not likely that the Australians would long tolerate the sending by France of criminals of the worst class into such close proximity to them. He had lately been in the company of many Australian Colonists; and he found that, if there was one feeling among them more unmistakable than another, next to the loyalty they expressed to Her Majesty the Queen, it was their repugnance at the prospect held out to them of Recidivists reaching them from a neighbouring French Colony. When it was asked, Is it likely that a great and independent group of Colonies, who refused, years ago, to accept convicts from the Mother Country, would permit convicts from a French settlement to be landed in the vicinity of their shores, the question was responded to by cheers which left no doubt as to the spirit and determination of the audience. He would urge upon the Government the importance of remaining on the best terms with France, in order to bring about a satisfactory settlement of this matter in the interests of the Australian Colonies.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he so entirely approved of the spirit and also the reasons which his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) had given for withdrawing his Motion on that occasion, that he did not intend to prolong the discussion on a Motion which he understood was to be withdrawn; but the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon), following his noble Friend, had stated his views on the question. It was not the first time this Session the noble Earl had expressed a hope that Her Majesty's Government were aware of the importance of the question. Three times he had done so, and on each occasion he (Earl Granville) had stated that Her Majesty's Government were fully aware of the importance of the matter; and not only were they fully aware of its importance, but they had done their very best. In looking back, he could not see how they could have done anything more than they had done in making friendly, but urgent representations to the French Government as to the feeling and sense of the Colonists in the matter, and appealing to their sense of the comity which ought to exist between the two countries on a matter of so much importance. The noble Earl said that it was necessary to make a speech that night, in order that the French Government might know the real position of the matter. Up to that moment Lord Lyons had, quite as clearly as the noble Earl himself, presented to the Government the exact position of the question now in dispute.

Notice of Motion (by leave of the House), *withdrawn*.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 — THE COMPENSATION CLAUSE—THE BARBAVILLA MURDER CASE — WILLIAM BARLOW SMYTHE, ESQUIRE.

PRESENTATION OF PETITION.

THE EARL OF COURTOWN, in rising to present a Petition from William

Barlow Smythe, Esquire, of Barbavilla, Westmeath, said, that there could be no doubt that Mr. Smythe had a grievance to complain of. His case would seem to show that there was some defect in the administration of the law as it at present existed in Ireland, which required amendment. Mr. Smythe, it would be remembered by their Lordships, was returning from church one Sunday in his carriage, in which there were also two ladies. He had just got within his own gate when a shot was fired at the carriage, killing his sister-in-law. It was believed that the shot was meant for Mr. Smythe himself. The crime created a great sensation in the district at the time. In due course steps were taken under the Prevention of Crime Act to follow up the murderer; and, among other things, application was made for compensation for the murder. The charge provided for by the Act was levied on the district—the townland of Barbavilla—and as Mr. Smythe was owner of a good deal of property in the district, the townland in question being almost entirely his property, it appeared to him (the Earl of Courtown) that the Lord Lieutenant could scarcely, consistently with justice, expect that this charge of compensation should be continued to be paid by Mr. Smythe. It came to this—that Mr. Smythe had to share in paying this compensation for the murder of his sister-in-law, and was also asked to pay for his own attempted murder. Naturally he felt surprised at this, and he had applied to the Lord Lieutenant to exempt him from paying his share, under the belief that the Lord Lieutenant had the power to grant such exemption. This supposition turned out to be wrong, the exemption granted by the Lord Lieutenant being in the case of charges for extra constabulary. In these circumstances, Mr. Smythe presented his Petition, and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would be induced to give their serious consideration to the question. He (the Earl of Courtown) thought by an expression of opinion on the part of the Government the Lord Lieutenant might be induced to reconsider the mode of levying the tax, so as to relieve Mr. Smythe from bearing any share of the burden.

Petition read, and *presented.*

THE EARL OF LONGFORD, in supporting the prayer of the Petition, said, that, as he was connected by residence with the district, he desired to say a few words on a matter which he thought was certainly worthy the attention of the Government, as to seeing whether or not something should be done to relieve Mr. Smythe from this burden, so painful in its circumstances. Besides this incidence of taxation referred to, he thought the Government could be little aware of the system of black mail which still prevailed in Ireland, and which had been supposed to be partially suppressed at least by the Prevention of Crime Act. Respectable farmers, shopkeepers, and others, who had no sympathy with agrarian offences, under threats that they would be ruined, had to subscribe to the fund for the defence of the miscreants who had committed this crime, and a very large sum had been collected in this and other districts from very unwilling contributors for similar purposes. He added his testimony regarding the merits of Mr. Smythe. He was a neighbour of his, and he knew what he had done in the way of philanthropic and other good works, and he also knew the reward he had received for so doing.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, this question arose out of that dreadful tragedy in which Mr. Smythe was the intended victim, but which resulted in the loss of the life of the lady who was seated beside him in his carriage. Mr. Smythe had presented a Petition, representing that he should not be called upon to contribute to the tax which had been imposed upon the district for compensation on account of this horrible crime. He (Lord Carlingford) was informed that under the Prevention of Crime Act, which exclusively regulated this matter, the Lord Lieutenant had no power to exempt any individual, as suggested. Beyond that, the noble Earl must remember that the district and area charged in these cases was not ascertained and fixed at the will and pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant, but after a careful and public inquiry, conducted by competent persons. It was upon the Report presented by the barrister who held this inquiry, after ascertaining all the circumstances of the case, that the area was fixed by the Lord Lieutenant. The Lord Lieutenant felt that it was very important, if possible, to act upon the result of such an inquiry, and the Report which he received from the gentleman who had conducted it.

It was, therefore, a very difficult matter for him to alter the area so recommended upon any private application. The Lord Lieutenant, therefore, in this case, as in all other cases, had accepted the area so recommended. As to whether that particular provision in the Prevention of Crime Act might not possibly be improved, when occasion offered, was another matter; but, while quite understanding the wish of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Courtown) that Mr. Smythe should not be called upon to contribute to the tax imposed upon the guilty neighbourhood, the reasons he had given made it quite impossible for the Lord Lieutenant to alter the decision arrived at.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE said, he thought that, under present circumstances, the clause in the Prevention of Crime Act, which levied on a district the compensation to be paid to the relatives of a murdered person, lost its deterrent force. The tax fell so lightly upon the people guilty of crime and their accomplices that they did not mind it much, and they rather rejoiced at seeing their neighbours whom they disliked paying it.

Petition ordered to lie on the Table.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

(NO. 152.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into a Committee read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee on the said Bill."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

EARL CAIRNS said, he thought the clauses in the Bill restricting the right of appeal were somewhat novel, and seemingly of a dangerous character. The Bill would, for the first time, place restrictions on the right of appeal in cases heard before the Superior Courts, and would place those restrictions with reference to the amount of the subject-matter in dispute. There were a great many objections to such a limitation. In the first place, he did not see how a line could be drawn between the amount at stake, if the case was one of principle. How were they to draw a line of distinction, and say to one man, whose claim was in respect of property worth £250, that he could appeal, and to another, whose claim was in respect of property worth only £200, that he could not? Everyone must know that some of the highest and most important questions, as to the construction of wills and documents, which had to be decided, arose on the trial of cases where the subject-matter of dispute was very small. But there was another observation to be made. They had just made arrangements for strengthening the Court of Appeal by providing that the Judges of the Court of Appeal should not be taken from theirAppellate work to go Circuit. They had not yet had an opportunity of seeing how that would work; and it seemed to him to be a very unfortunate time to make this change, limiting the right of appeal to a Court that had just been strengthened. He should like to know whether the Judges of the Court of Appeal had made any representations to the effect that the right of appeal had been abused, and that frivolous and vexatious appeals were often brought, so as to render the proposed regulation necessary? As far as he knew, that was not the opinion of the learned Judges of the Court of Appeal. In cases where only small amounts were involved, the right of appeal was to be abolished, and appeals were only to be brought by leave of the Court that heard the case, or by leave of the Appeal Court. To give to the Court from which the appeal was sought to be brought the right of giving or refusing leave to appeal was, he thought, most unsatisfactory. There were many Judges who were so clear in making up their minds, and so confident of being correct, that they regarded the giving of a right to appeal as injurious to the suitor, and they refused it. On the other hand, there were Judges whose scruples as to the possibility of an error on their part not being corrected were so keen, that they leant immensely in favour of giving leave to appeal. As to the application to the Court of Appeal itself for such leave, the Bill provided that such application should be made *ex parte*, and they all knew how erroneous was the impression created by an *ex parte* application, however *bonâ fide* made. Instead of curtailing the stages of litigation, this Bill would really drop an additional one in, thereby causing increased delay and expense to the suitor. On these grounds, he must repeat that he had the gravest doubts as

to the wisdom of the proposal now made of placing restrictions on the right of appeal, which, so far as he knew, had not been abused, and especially at the present time, when the Court of Appeal was being strengthened. In conclusion, he would further say that he had great doubt as to whether the new arrangements for conducting the Assize business in Lancashire would prove satisfactory, which doubt had been much increased by a Petition he had presented from the Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool, complaining of the proposed changes.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, there had been some misunderstanding as to the intention and probable operation of the new orders as to the Lancashire Assizes. It was intended, first of all, that the sittings should be so arranged, in respect of their commencement, that they might be begun a considerable time before the usual time for the commencement of the ordinary Assizes elsewhere; and, secondly, that they should be continued in substance until the business was disposed of. The scheme, if in any respect it should not be found to work satisfactorily, would, of course, be open to further consideration. The object at which most reasonable persons would aim would be to provide for the real requirements of these important populations. This matter was to be ultimately determined by experience; he entirely agreed that such sittings as were necessary for getting through the local business in those great centres of population should be provided; but he doubted whether there was business enough at Manchester and Liverpool to justify sittings being held there at all such times as the Courts happened to be at work in London. This Bill contained 20 clauses, 16 of which were not, he thought, of a controversial character. As to the other four, he was perfectly aware that differences of opinion existed with respect to them, and that the Judges were not unanimous on the subject mentioned by the noble and learned Earl. A Committee was appointed some two or three years ago to consider and report upon this subject, consisting of the Lord Chief Justice, the late Lord Justice James, Sir James Hannen, Sir Charles Bowen, Lord Shand, Mr. Justice Mathew, and others; and that very strong Committee recommended those limitations of the right of appeal which were embodied in the Bill, which were designed to limit expenses, and so to keep down the power of the purse. That Committee recommended that where the subject-matter of appeal was less than £200, there should be no appeal, without leave, from any final judgment. That seemed to him reasonable, when it was considered that £1,000 was the appealable value from India, and that £300 was the lowest appealable value from the Colonies. There were, he thought, few greater evils than the consumption in costs of the whole subject-matter of an action. Then, as to new trials, in accordance with the recommendation of that Committee, the 8th clause provided that there should be no appeal, without leave, from any decision of a Divisional Court, consisting of not less than three Judges ordering or refusing a new trial, except in case of difference of opinion among the Judges, or unless the value amounted to £500. A very large proportion of these questions as to new trials turned very much upon the weight of evidence; and, the application to the Divisional Court being really in the nature of an appeal, it certainly did seem undesirable that an unlimited power of multiplying costs in that way should be given. His noble and learned Friend had taken exception to the clauses providing for a relaxation of the proposed rules limiting the right of appeal; but when a Court might think that a principle was involved in a case, or an amount beyond the value of the immediate stake, or a question of character, it would be only right that an appeal should be permissible. The Bill, with the limitations which it contained, would result in the exclusion of costly, unnecessary, and improper appeals. Such appeals, however, as were desirable would still be allowed.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he entirely concurred as to the necessity of additional sittings being held in Lancashire, and even considered that there was enough work for a Judge sitting permanently there, for the purpose of hearing all matters that were dealt with by a single Judge in London. He considered it all-important that appeals should be limited; and he, therefore, disagreed with the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) in his observation as to the limitation which the Bill proposed to place on the

power of appeal. Many appeals, especially from the Queen's Bench Division, were most frivolous and vexatious.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that, though agreeing with much that had fallen from the noble and learned Earl upon the Woolsack, he thought the limit fixed (£200) an arbitrary one. In actions of trespass the amount of damage was often far less, while the importance of the right claimed was of the greatest consequence. He feared that much opposition was to be anticipated in the Lower House.

LORD DENMAN said, that he could not refrain from calling to mind the state of the Court of King's Bench, when first Sir Thomas Denman was made Lord Chief Justice. There were 700 causes at Guildhall and 500 at Westminster Hall, and the time for a first trial was after a delay of two years, and after a new trial—two years more of delay—but great labour reduced the arrear so that at last it was quite a pleasure to put the date of the writ—the beginning of an action—at the head of the abstract of the record. It was to the great joy of his father that such men as Sir Nicholas Tindal and Lord Lyndhurst were each at the head of two efficient Courts, and that two Chiefs could travel together on the same Circuit; whilst in London and Middlesex each Court had its list, beginning with No. 1, and going down to its end; but now, from the want of a Lord Chief Justice and a Lord Chief Baron —who were recognized by an Act for Ireland passed only last Session—all the Common Law Courts were blocking the Queen's Bench Division, and causes were taken from the middle and nearly the end of the list, without due notice or preparation, and at great expense. His duty was to appoint causes, and he was blamed if he put down too few for each day. Though neither Marshal nor Chief Clerk, he would do all in his power to improve the administration of justice in the Common Law Courts.

Motion *agreed to.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Amendments made.

An Amendment *moved,* and *negatived.*

Amendments made.

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 191.)

BISHOPRIC OF BRISTOL BILL.—(No. 181.)

(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was not to provide for the creation of a new Bishopric, but for the restoration of an old one, by disconnecting the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol, which were joined together as late as the year 1836. From the Reformation until just half-a-century ago, Bristol was a Bishopric in itself; but at that period the See was united to that of Gloucester, though, in order to satisfy the objections of the people of Bristol, it was arranged that the Bishop should reside in that city alternately with Gloucester. This condition had, owing to circumstances, been unfulfilled. There had been plenty of evidence of the desirability of restoring the two Sees to their ancient integrity. There would be something like 400,000 persons included in the Bishopric of Bristol, a larger population than that of some other dioceses, and so thoroughly in earnest was Bristol in its desire for its object that £50,000 had been expended in the rebuilding of the nave of the Cathedral. Within a period of three weeks 10 sums of £1,000 each were subscribed to the endowment of the See, and a total sum of £20,000 had been raised for the same object. Application having been made to the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol to take steps to sanction £500 a-year being deducted from the income of his Bishopric in the future, his reply was that as soon as the money was raised for the endowment of the Bishopric of Bristol, which that £500 a-year would supplement, he would desire to pay that sum over in his lifetime. Bristol was willing to contribute the whole sum necessary (£80,000) for that purpose, and not a penny would come from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Beyond that, it already had, in addition to its own Cathedral, preserved all the organization and jurisdiction requisite for the establishment of a Bishopric. It came then to

this—that Bristol asked, at its own expense, to have its ancient Bishopric restored on the lines of Sir R. Assheton Cross's Cathedrals Act of 1877, which had been found so useful and so practical.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL said, he heartily approved of the Bill. After the lucid statement of his most rev. Friend (the Archbishop of Canterbury) it would not be necessary for him to detain their Lordships at length. He, therefore, deemed it only necessary to add that it was not an exact restoration of the old See of Bristol, but was an annexation of a portion of Wiltshire to Bristol and its neighbourhood, which now, from the circumstances of railway and other communication, was especially desirable. Dorsetshire was formerly connected with Bristol. Now it was proposed to form a diocese for Bristol by annexing to the old Deanery of Bristol a portion of Wiltshire, in which was the populous and rapidly increasing town of Swindon. This portion of his present diocese was not readily approached from Gloucester, but was in very easy communication with Bristol. He entirely concurred in the principle of the Bill for two broad reasons which had weighed considerably with him. First, that a wrong done to the ancient City of Bristol, 50 years ago, would now be removed; and, secondly, that two men could always do in the same area more than one. For these reasons he wished to give the Bill his heartiest support.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he thought that some of the patronage of the Crown might be given to some of the new Sees, as the Church had already, in the most generous manner, provided for the endowment of a number of new Sees. He asked whether the endowment fund for the See of Bristol had already been provided as there were seven new Bishoprics already to which the patronage of the Crown ought to go?

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, in reply, said, that £20,000 had been collected out of the total of £80,000 required; and they wished the Bill to pass, in order that they might go on with the matter.

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 14th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICES ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS—R.P.—Votes 4 to 10.

Resolutions [June 10] *reported.*

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Third Reading*—Ouse (Lower) Improvement, and *passed.*

PUBLIC BILLS.—*Ordered—First Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 8)* [283].

Second Reading — Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea (Transfer)* [267]; Great Seal* [268]; Public Libraries Acts Amendment* [273]; Trusts (Scotland)* [279]; Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Manx Children)* [280]; Newcastle Chapter* [281]; Naval Discipline Act (1866) Amendment* [263]; Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation [244]; *debate adjourned;* Benefices (Tiverton Portions) Consolidation Amendment* [272]; Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) [40] [House counted out].

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland) [37].

Committee—Prisons (Ireland) (Cost of Conveyance of Prisoners)* [275]—R.P.; Infants [14]—R.P.; Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) [22]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Strensall Common (*on re-comm.*)* [266]; Oyster Cultivation (Ireland)* [43]; Canal Boats Act (1877) Amendment (*on re-comm.*)* [282]; Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878 (Districts) [253-284].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Yorkshire Registries* [264], and *passed.*

Third Reading—Sheriff Court Houses (Scotland) Amendment* [245], and *passed.*

MOTION.

—o—

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS (LABOURERS ACT) (NO. 8) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland, under "The Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883," relating to the Drogheda Union, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND and Mr. TREVELYAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 283.]

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

OUSE (LOWER) IMPROVEMENT BILL

[*Lords*] (*by Order*).

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read (Queen's *Consent* signified).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

MR. C. H. WILSON said, that on Tuesday last, when the Bill was before the House for consideration, he had moved an Amendment, the object of which was to exempt certain river craft upon the Humber which frequented the port of Goole from the toll of ½*d.* per ton which the Bill proposed to levy upon all vessels navigating the Ouse which were of more than 10 tons burden. If he had gone to a Division on that occasion he should certainly have had a large amount of support; but he did not consider it necessary to press the Amendment to a Division. Since then he had received a letter fully justifying his opposition to the Bill from the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Hull Corporation. The reason assigned for objecting to his Amendment was that the Corporation of Hull had no *locus standi* to oppose the Bill. Now, the question appeared to him to be one of some public importance. The Corporation of Hull were the natural guardians of the trade of the port; and if they were not allowed a *locus standi* in cases of this kind, taxes could be proposed to Parliament of an arbitrary and even of an unjust character, and they would be passed by the House of Commons. He was told that, in the first instance, when the Bill was about to go before a Committee of the House of Lords, several witnesses left the town of Hull who were prepared to give evidence against the Bill, and representations were made by the Chamber of Commerce that the interests of owners of river craft, coal merchants, and others would be materially injured by the provisions of the Bill. Their *locus standi*, however, was refused. When the Bill came before the House of Commons the Parliamentary Committee of Hull again determined, if possible, to obtain a *locus standi*; and for that purpose the Mayor, certain members of the Town Council, and himself attended the Court of Referees. They were heard by counsel, but were again refused a *locus standi*, the argument upon which the decision of the Court was based being that they were not the Conservators of the Humber. It was evident that more importance was attached to the interests of Goole than of Hull. The Bill was promoted by the Aire and Calder Navigation Company, who desired to improve the navigation of the Lower Ouse in order that a larger description of vessels might be able to go up to Goole. The improvements which the Aire and Calder Navigation Company proposed to carry out would be of no advantage to Hull, and would really be of no advantage whatever to the river craft which now went from Hull to Goole, and to the system of canal navigation owned by the Aire and Calder Navigation Company. Nevertheless, in spite of that, the present Bill proposed to impose a tax of ½*d.* a ton on all goods carried by these vessels from Hull to Goole. He was informed that within the last 12 months the Aire and Calder Navigation Company had considerably increased their dues upon vessels from Hull to the interior with goods for Leeds and other towns in the West. The advance of rates from Hull to Leeds since the year 1872 varied from 5 to 18 per cent, and from Leeds to Hull the advance of rates had been as much as 63 per cent within the last 12 years. That had all been done, he understood, by an agreement between the North Eastern Railway Company and the Aire and Calder Canal Navigation Company, and the result in regard to this water communication was that by a combination of the Railway and Canal interests higher rates were charged. A new Bill was now promoted which stood for a third reading that day, and the object of it was to impose additional taxation upon the river craft trading to Goole. Small though the tax was, it was still sufficient to weigh heavily on the owners of the river craft, who would be required, if the Bill passed, to pay ½*d.* a ton upon all goods they carried between Hull and the interior of the country. Now, it appeared to him that the Corporation of Hull were the natural guardians and protectors of the interests of a port like Hull, and he thought they were fairly entitled to a *locus standi*

to appear before a Committee of the House of Commons to oppose this taxing clause. If they could have been in that position they would have been able to lay a very strong case before the Committee.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went; — and being returned;—

Mr. Speaker *reported* the *Royal Assent* to several Bills.

OUSE (LOWER) IMPROVEMENT BILL [*Lords*] (*by Order*).

Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

Mr. C. H. WILSON, in resuming his speech, said, the Committee of the House of Commons had disallowed the *locus standi* of the Corporation of Hull, on the ground that they were not the Conservators of the Humber, and were therefore not entitled to be heard on behalf of the traders of the river against the Bill promoted by the Aire and Calder Canal Navigation Company. The Aire and Calder Company were the proprietors of a very successful undertaking. He was told that their £100 shares were worth £500; and it was a matter of surprise that a Corporation like that should seek, by a Bill of this nature, to obtain the power of taxing the small river craft which traded on the River Humber up to Goole. He felt convinced that if the case of the Corporation of Hull on behalf of the owners of these small vessels could have been heard by a Committee of the House of Commons, this taxing power would have been struck out of the Bill. Having made this protest, he would end with an appeal to the Aire and Calder Navigation Company not to exercise their power of levying this toll, which would be a most serious tax upon the poorer class of traders, who were entitled to their sympathy and support for the amount of traffic they brought them, instead of being subjected to the imposition of an unfair and unjust tax. Having made this protest, he would only add that, although he had placed on the Paper a Notice of his intention to move the rejection of the Bill, as an Amendment, he did not propose to put the House to the trouble of a Division, and he would therefore refrain from moving it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) — CLEATOR MOOR RIOTS, CUMBERLAND.

Mr. SEXTON gave Notice that tomorrow he would ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What information he had respecting the Orange riots in Cumberland; whether there had been more than one death, and how many persons were dangerously wounded; whether a large number of men had assembled armed with pikes and other weapons; and, what steps had been taken to prevent a collision between the Orangemen and the Catholics?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: With the permission of the House, I will answer the hon. Member's Question at once. I have received the following Report from the Chief Constable at Carlisle, dated the 13th of July:—

"Sir,—I have the honour to report that about 1,500 Orangemen assembled in a field at Wath Brow, near Cleator, at 11 A.M. yesterday, the 12th instant, to hold a meeting by previous arrangement. Speeches were made, and a great deal of excitement existed during the day. The Orange party was armed with pistols, swords, spears, &c. They were dressed in the Orange costume, with flags, banners, and bands of music. Large numbers of the Orangemen were taken to Cleator Moor from Workington and other towns by special train. The Orangemen on their way back to the railway station were hooted by a large crowd of the Roman Catholic party. One of the Orangemen thrust a flag in the faces of some of the crowd, whereupon the crowd, which consisted of about 6,000, rushed in upon the Orange party. Several blows were struck on both sides. The Orange party fired several shots, and struck with their swords and spears. One young man, named Henry Tummilty, aged 17 years, who till recently was a letter carrier at the Cleator Moor Post Office, was shot dead on the spot; six others were wounded seriously by pistol shots. Several others were cut by swords and spears. No further deaths have occurred. The Roman Catholic crowd became furious on hearing of the death of one of their party. They made several attacks on the Orangemen with sticks and stones; many were cut and wounded, but this was after the firing, and the death of Tummilty.

The police succeeded in separating the two parties, and by forming lines across the streets the crowd attacking the Orange party were cut off from pursuing them. The Orangemen were at last got to the railway station without further fighting; but while at the station waiting for their train the attack was renewed by large numbers of men and women who had got there by circuitous routes. A body of police were moved on to the railway bridge, from which place the attack was being made. Several shots were fired by the Orange party from the railway station at the attacking party on the bridge, but no persons were wounded there. Two magistrates, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Ainsworth, and 45 officers and constables of police were on duty to do everything that could be done to preserve the peace; and it was entirely owing to their great exertions that a most serious loss of life and destruction of property was prevented. I had previously applied to the Petty Sessions of the district to arrange for a magistrate to be present to read the Riot Act if necessary. The Riot Act was not read, as the peace was restored without resorting to that extreme measure. I was present myself during the latter part of the disturbance, and took command of the police. I kept a large body of men on special duty during the night, as it was feared that the houses of some Orangemen who reside in the district of Cleator would be wrecked; but up to 8 P.M. this evening all is quiet and orderly."

That is all the information I have at present.

MR. SEXTON: I would say from the Report that adequate measures were not taken. It appears that only about 50 police were opposed to a large armed party of Orangemen. I beg to give Notice that I shall call attention to the inadequate steps which were taken by the authorities to prevent this collision and loss of life.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: Arising out of this Question I beg to give Notice that I will repeat the Question which I have put to the Home Secretary on a former occasion—namely, Whether the Government will not consider the propriety of bringing in a Bill dealing with the possession of revolvers in this country as well as in Ireland?

MR. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. Member that this is not the time for Questions. These are Notices of Motion.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND — CLERICAL FEES.

MR. BUCHANAN (for Mr. WADDY) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Joshua Horsewood, an agricultural labourer at Donington on Bain, placed a headstone on his wife's grave in the churchyard, and paid the rector the customary fee of half-a-guinea; whether the rector demanded a guinea, and told Horsewood that if he did not pay that amount the stone would be taken up again, and he must pay the guinea or take the consequences; whether the stone shortly afterwards disappeared, and was found in a neighbouring mill pond; whether inquiries have been made to ascertain who removed the stone; and, whether there is any legal ground why it should not now be restored to its place in the churchyard?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have received a good deal of correspondence with reference to this case. This is a matter in which I have no immediate jurisdiction; but thinking that the proceeding on the part of the clergyman had not been well advised, I wrote to him on the subject, and he has given an undertaking that the tombstone shall be replaced in the churchyard. I have communicated this to the parties.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL (WEST FRONT).

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he can now state to the House how it is proposed to treat the west front of Westminster Hall?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I propose at once to lay on the Table of the House a very long and interesting Report by the eminent architect, Mr. Pearson, on this subject. I shall also place in the Library the plans which he has submitted for the restoration of the West Front of the Hall. In the event of these plans not meeting with serious objection in this House, I shall submit in the present Session a Supplementary Estimate for carrying them into effect. In the event, however, of there being much difference of opinion as to the expediency of carrying them into effect, the Government will not object to referring the subject to a Select Committee. The plans will be placed in the Library of the House.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE GAELIC AND IRISH LANGUAGES.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, with reference to the statement that the Department was not bound to

teach Gaelic, thereby directly traversing the Report of the Crofters' Commissioners on the point, Whether it is the case that, in the national schools in Ireland, the Irish language has been placed on the List of Special Subjects, or, as it is termed, Extra Branches, with a result fee of 10*s.* attached; and, if so, why a different rule is presently followed, and apparently meant to be perpetuated, in those parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland where Gaelic is the mother tongue?

MR. MUNDELLA: I do not know to what statement the hon. Gentleman refers; but it is true that the Irish National Board gives a grant for the teaching of the Irish language, and that no grant has ever been made under the Scotch or English Codes for the teaching of Gaelic or Welsh. But the Irish Board admits that all the evidence is against placing the teaching of Irish on the list of extra subjects. I have been making inquiries as to the best means of familiarizing the Gaelic-speaking population with English, and as to the desirability of providing teachers who can speak Gaelic, with the object of the better instruction, in English, of Gaelic-speaking children. The question will be fully considered before a new Code is issued.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—SCHOOL BOARD DOCUMENTS.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether official documents can be withheld from a member of a School Board in Scotland; and, if not, whether a chairman is liable to removal who arbitrarily keeps back public documents; and, what is the practice of the Department in regard to supplying Copies of Letters or Papers addressed to the Department when such are asked for by a member of the School Board?

MR. MUNDELLA: All official documents addressed to the clerk of a School Board are for the use of the School Board, and every member is entitled to have access to them. I am not aware that there is any power to remove a Chairman; but this is a question of law. It is not the practice of the Department to supply copies of letters or papers, addressed to the Department, to individual members of a School Board. Copies of any such letters would, if thought expedient, be sent to the School Board for their remarks or information.

MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND ART, EDINBURGH.

MR. BUCHANAN (for Mr. WADDY) asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Returns of the amounts received for admission to the Museum of Science and Art in Edinburgh on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays respectively during the last year; whether he is prepared to recommend that the charge for admission on Thursdays be discontinued, as that day is frequently a holiday in Scotland; and, whether free admission may be given on every day except to the comparatively small portion used by the students?

MR. MUNDELLA: I shall be very happy to give the Return asked for, if the hon. Member will move for it. It is very important that there should be students' days during which the *bonâ fide* student can work quietly. The Trustees of the National Gallery have adopted our plan of admitting the public by payment on students' days. We will, however, consider how far we can meet the wishes of the hon. Member. We are only desirous that the Museum shall be of the greatest use to the greatest number.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—THE PROCURATOR FISCAL IN LEWIS.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has yet been able to consider the case of the Public Prosecutor in Lewis, who is also land agent for the sole proprietor of the island; and, whether he proposes to take any step to carry out the recommendations of the Crofters' Commission that the Law Officers of the Crown in the district reported on should be placed in an impartial and independent position?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have been requested by my right hon. and learned Friend to answer this Question. As I have had occasion to state in the House before, the Procurator Fiscal in Lewis is not land agent for the proprietor of the Island; he is only the local law agent for the proprietor, whose principal law agents are a firm in Edinburgh. The

Secretary of State has no power to remove a Procurator Fiscal from office unless for inability or misbehaviour upon a Report by the Lord President of the Court of Session and the Lord Justice Clerk, and there is no suggestion of inability or misbehaviour in this case. Upon the general question I have nothing to add to the statements and explanations which have already been made during the present Session.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: Are we to understand that the Government do not intend to take any steps whatever on the recommendation of the Crofters' Commission with respect to the administration of justice in the Western Islands?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): It has already been explained that the whole matter is under consideration.

PUBLICAN'S CERTIFICATES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1876.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Robert Paisley has been granted a publican's licence by the Excise in respect of premises situated in Bellshill, Lanarkshire; whether Paisley's application to the Licensing Court under the Publican's Certificates (Scotland) Act, 1876, was for a new licence or for a renewal; whether he was granted a new certificate, and whether, on application for confirmation under the Publican's Certificates (Scotland) Act, 1876, confirmation was refused; if his certificate was a new one, and not confirmed, under what Law the Excise authorities granted him a licence; and, if no licence has been granted, why Paisley is allowed openly to carry on business as a publican?

MR. COURTNEY: The Excise authorities in this case granted a licence upon a magistrate's certificate in the usual form. It is understood, however, that a technical point was raised at the Licensing Court, as to whether any confirmation was needed, as Paisley already had a grocer's certificate, and applied for a publican's certificate in respect of the same premises; but this does not concern the Inland Revenue.

DR. CAMERON said, the hon. Gentleman had not answered the Question, whether Paisley applied for a new certificate, and was granted a new certificate, or whether he applied for an old one?

MR. COURTNEY replied that, as he understood it, Paisley had a grocer's certificate, and he applied for a publican's certificate.

DR. CAMERON: A new one, or an old one?

MR. COURTNEY: A new one, I presume.

SPIRITS ACT, 1880—THE "SHIP" INN, DUMFRIES.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Inasmuch as it is enacted by section one hundred and fifty-one of "The Spirits Act, 1880," that every officer or person employed by the Excise who, by any wilful act, neglect, or default, does, or permits or agrees to do or permit anything in contravention or evasion of that Act, shall incur a fine of five hundred pounds, and shall thereafter be disqualified from serving Her Majesty in any office or employment, and, by section forty-six of "The Spirits Act, 1880," enacts that—

> "If any person hawks, sells, or exposes to sale, any spirits otherwise than in premises for which he is licensed to sell spirits,"

he shall, in Scotland, incur a fine of not less than twenty-five pounds, and the spirits shall be forfeited, and any person may arrest a person found committing an offence against that section; and, whether the "Ship" Inn, Dumfries, has for some months past been openly conducted as a public house without a licence; and, if so, why the Executive Government allow the officers or servants of the Excise in whose district Dumfries is situated, or those Excise officials under whose instructions they act, to permit this contravention or evasion of "The Spirits Act, 1880?"

MR. COURTNEY: This is an extremely argumentative Question, and I reply to it under protest. The answer I have to give is this. In cases in which magistrates have practically granted a licence, and it is only withheld temporarily and for some formal reason, the Excise authorities do not think it part of their duty to refuse to accept the equivalent of the duty, or to take, or to allow their subordinates to take, any action for a breach of the Act of 1880, which is, in fact, not broken in spirit in such cases. If my hon. Friend or anyone else thinks that in any particular case the sale should be stopped and the

penalties sued for, they have the remedy in their own hands.

DR. CAMERON asked under what Statute the Excise had powers to grant licences without the permission of the magistrates being had?

MR. COURTNEY said, the officials had power to do anything for which there was no penalty, and in this case there was no official penalty.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—AUGHRIS, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it is the fact that nothing has yet been done by the Irish Board of Works in the construction of a landing place at Aughris, county Sligo, although several months have elapsed since the estimate and plan were returned to the Board, with the sanction of the Commission on Piers and Harbours for proceeding with the work; whether it is the fact that the prospect of the prompt erection of the landing place has induced several of the fishing crews at Aughris to purchase new boats and nets; whether these boats and nets are now constantly suffering injury through the ruggedness of the existing landing place; and, whether, in view of the facts stated, the Board of Works will now immediately proceed to construct the landing place?

MR. COURTNEY: The hon. Member has been misinformed in this matter, no sanction to a plan for this work having been received by the Board of Works. I hope the local fishermen have not been put to any inconvenience from sharing in this misapprehension.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS SITTING AT KILDYSART.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it has yet been formally notified to the Clare Land Sub-Commissioners that the Kildysart Board of Guardians have placed their board room at the disposal of the Sub-Commissioners for the purpose of holding a sitting of their Court there; and, if the Sub-Commissioners intend to take advantage of the offer; and, if so, whether he can state how soon the Court will sit there?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Chairman of the Clare Sub-Commission reports as follows:—

"It has never been intimated to us, officially or otherwise, that the Guardians had placed their Board Room at our disposal. The cases for the Kildysart Union for the present Sessions have all been disposed of; but if the accommodation be sufficient, and the public convenience requires it, there can be no objection to sit at Kildysart for the hearing of cases in that neighbourhood."

MR. KENNY asked the right hon. Gentleman, whether he was aware that such failure to do what he believed to be the duty of the Sub-Commissioners had occurred on several previous occasions; and whether it was the intention of the Local Government Board, on the representation made, to cause inquiry to be instituted?

MR. TREVELYAN: Perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice of this Question, and I shall then have inquiries made.

FOREIGN BONDHOLDERS (EGYPT, &c.)

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, although in 1876 no fewer than seventeen Foreign States, including most of the South American Republics, Mexico, three of the United States, Greece, and Turkey, were in default for a total of nearly £400,000,000 of loans contracted mainly or altogether in England, any (and, if any, would he state what) diplomatic or other action was then or has since been taken by Her Majesty's Government on behalf of the British creditors of those States; whether, especially, any such action was taken by this Country and France against the Porte when, in 1876, the interest on £86,000,000 of its public debt was, by a stroke of the Grand Vizier's pen, reduced from 5 per cent. to 2½ per cent., even of which latter rate nothing has since been paid, or on the subsequent suspension of the payment of both interest and sinking fund on its other loans, amounting in all to above £100,000,000 more, nearly all borrowed in England and France; and, whether there is any precedent in international finance for the joint action of the British and French Governments on behalf of the bondholders of Egypt since 1876 to the present time?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The action of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the claims of foreign bondholders is regulated by Lord Pal-

merston's Circular Despatch of January, 1848. What has passed in regard to most of the loans alluded to by the hon. Member is recorded in the Papers which, from time to time, have been laid before Parliament. I do not admit that Her Majesty's Government have interfered in Egypt on behalf of the bondholders; but they have interfered in Egyptian finance, because it is impossible to separate the financial from the political condition of the country.

MR. M'COAN said, the noble Lord had not answered his Question, whether there was any precedent in international finance for the joint action of the British and French Government on behalf of the bondholders of Egypt? He would remind the noble Lord that the ex-Khedive was deposed for his refusal to assent to certain arrangements in the interests of the bondholders. ["Order!"]

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the whole of the Question on the Paper was of an argumentative character; and the hon. Member asked him to answer about matters relating to 13 different States. The only thing which he could do was to refer the hon. Member to information which was just as much open to his inspection as it was to that of the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE—LOSS OF AFFIDAVITS.

MR. MARRIOTT asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that last year no less than 523 affidavits, lodged at the Central Office of the Supreme Court of Judicature, viz. 86 used in the Divisional Courts, 2 in the Appeal Court, 237 in Judges' Chambers, 142 in Masters' Chambers, 46 in Masters' private room, and 10 in Judges' private room, had been lost; and, whether he would direct that some steps should be taken to prevent the recurrence of such carelessness on the part of some of the officials?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, it was true that a large number of affidavits had been lost, but that was not in any way due to the carelessness of the officials. He had inquired into the matter, and discovered that the loss only took place in the Queen's Bench Division. In the Chancery Division, in the course of the year, 88,000 affidavits were used, of which not one had been lost. But in that Division, copies, and not originals, were used in Court; whereas, in the Queen's Bench Division, in order to save expense, the originals were used in Court, and handed to the Judge, and from counsel to counsel. The result was that out of 45,000 affidavits so used some 500, or 1 per cent, had been lost. The question was then, in reality, more a question of economy than anything else.

PETTY SESSIONS CLERKS ACT, 1881—THE DOG TAX.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can inform the House the reason of the great diminution of the sums of money paid to the credit of the finances of counties in Ireland from the proceeds of the Dog Tax?

MR. TREVELYAN: By the operation of the Petty Sessions Clerks Act of 1881, the salaries and pensions of Petty Sessions clerks became largely increased. The increased expenditure is met in the manner provided by Section 2 of the Act, which authorizes the Lord Lieutenant to make an order for the deduction of the required amount from the sums otherwise payable to local authorities. In this manner the balances of the Dog Tax available for payment to local authorities become greatly diminished.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked, was it not singular that there should be so large an increase in the salaries in that particular branch of the Service since the passing of that Act?

[No reply was given.]

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES—MR. CORRY CONNELLAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the arrangement was made with Mr. Corry Connellan that his pension should be paid through the Bank of Ireland; by whom was it made; is there any precedent for such a practice; if so, can cases be quoted; was the arrangement made in writing; if so, can the correspondence be laid upon the Table; is the pension paid quarterly or yearly; and, will the Trea-

sury ascertain from the Bank how and to where they transmitted the amount to Mr. Connellan?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, this arrangement was made in November, 1868, with the Bank of Ireland. The recipient holds a power of attorney, and there is no right to interfere. A power of attorney is a document which is popularly used, and the arrangement is a common one. Rather more than 3 per cent of the persons entitled get their pensions in this way. The pension is paid quarterly.

MR. HEALY asked if the pensioners who applied for the pensions to the State were not supplied with forms with a place for the address on: and if the one in question did not appear with a blank for the address?

MR. COURTNEY'S reply was inaudible.

SALE OF INTOXICATNG LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) ACT—BONA FIDE TRAVELLERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that on Sunday week a party of bicyclists from Kilmallock, on arriving at Rathkeale (twenty-two miles off) about 5·30 p.m. were refused refreshment at the hotel by order of Captain Hatcell, R.M.; whether police were stationed to see that the order was carried out, on the ground that a meeting to be held earlier in the day had been proclaimed; whether the tourists then waited on Captain Hatcell, and begged of him to be allowed food and drink, as they had not come to attend any meeting: whether he at first refused, but, after being informed that they would report him, he detailed two policemen to allow them to get what they wanted; and, whether this stipendiary has any instructions to override the bonâ fide traveller clause of the Sunday Closing Act; and, if not, what notice will be taken of his conduct?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have received a telegram from Captain Hatcell stating that, when the tourists referred to waited upon him and explained their case, he at once desired that they should be allowed to get the refreshment they wanted. It is not the fact that they were treated with any discourtesy, or that they threatened to report the magistrate. The telegram does not make quite clear the circumstances as to the order with regard to the public-houses which was issued by the magistrates, and I have called for further particulars on the subject.

MR. HEALY: As the right hon. Gentleman has not had sufficient Notice, I will put the Question down for Thursday.

MR. TREVELYAN: I have had quite sufficient Notice; but that point has not been made clear.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. GEORGE BOLTON IN BANKRUPTCY.

MR. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether, as the 345th sec. 20 and 21 Vic. c. 60 ("The Irish Bankrupt and Insolvent Act, 1857"), provides that—

> "Such petitioning trader (or debtor) shall, ten days before the date appointed for the private sitting, file in court, and in such form as may by any order to be made in pursuance of this Act be directed, a full account of his debts, and the consideration thereof, and the names, residences, and occupations of his creditors, and also a full account of his estate and effects, whether in possession, or reversion, or expectancy, and of all debts or rights due to or claimed by him, and of all property of what kind soever held in trust for him, and shall therein set forth such proposal as he is able to make for the future payment, or the compromise of such debts or engagements;"

and the first private sitting was, in George Bolton's bankruptcy, appointed to be held on the 1st instant, the prescribed account was not filed; whether, therefore, the debtor was in default; whether he got an extension of ten days to file it; if so, on what grounds; whether Bolton petitioned the court for protection some two or three months ago; whether the ordinary rule or practice is that the statement of affairs shall be lodged in court within three, or, at the outside, four weeks after the protection was granted; why was this rule departed from in Bolton's case; whether the statement of affairs, according to the practice of the court, should have been vouched, in the presence of any creditor wishing to attend, by the official assignee, and a written report, if required, made by him thereon to the court; whether those necessary proceedings have been suspended and postponed; and, if so, if he would explain the cause; whether the statement of affairs, if filed and vouched, would disclose facts which would be taken as evidence in any court; and whether these have been delayed in view of the pending trial of Bolton v. O'Brien?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Mr. Bolton petitioned the Court as an arranging debtor on the 3rd of May, and the first private sitting was fixed for the 3rd of June. The practice is that the accounting statement should be filed 10 days before the time fixed for the first private sitting, or such extended time as the Court shall grant. The debtor was allowed an extended time—namely, to the 4th of July—to file it, and the first private sitting was ultimately fixed for the 11th of July. Those extensions were granted on affidavit. I am informed by the Court officials that such extensions are frequently granted in arrangement cases, and that there was no exceptional ruling in Mr. Bolton's case. No creditor opposed the extension to the 11th of July. The statement of affairs, according to the practice, is vouched in the presence of any creditor who wishes to attend. It is not the practice to make a Report in arrangement cases to the Court, unless there is a special order obtained for the purpose. There has been no suspension or postponement of the vouching. It will take place in due course. I should say the accounting statement could be equally used in cross-examination of Mr. Bolton, whether it was vouched or not.

MR. HEALY asked whether the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman had been called to the proceedings in the Bankruptcy Court on the 11th of July, when Mr. Bolton got a further extension of time, in order to put the hearing of his Petition off until after the trial of his action against Mr. O'Brien at Belfast?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) replied, that he saw the statement referred to in the newspapers only. He had merely to say that the Judge of the Bankruptcy Court had exercised his discretion in the matter.

MR. HEALY gave Notice that he would call attention to this proceeding, and show that, in spite of the opposition of creditors, this extension of time was granted to Mr. Bolton.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE CAPE COLONY—TRANSFER OF EXTRA COLONIAL NATIVE TERRITORY.

MR. A. M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any communication from the Government of the Cape relative to the proposed transfer of the extra Colonial Native territory from the direct control of the Crown to that of the Colony?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir; we have received no communication of that sort from the Cape Government.

THE WESTERN PACIFIC—THE REPORTS.

SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Her Majesty's Government will lay upon the Table the Reports concerning the state of affairs in the Western Pacific which they have received from Deputy Commissioner Romilly during the last twelve months?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Reports we have received from Mr. Romilly during the last 12 months have been but few; but they shall be laid on the Table immediately.

THE DEPARTMENT OF EMIGRATION—PROPOSED REVIVAL.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, in view of the rapid increase of population, and the consequent overstocked condition of the labour market in the Metropolis and elsewhere, Her Majesty's Government will consider the advisability of reviving the Department of Emigration, established by Earl Russell in 1840, but discontinued in 1877?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The Department of Emigration, to which the hon. Member refers, was established when our principal Colonies were without responsible Government, when their public lands were still held by the Imperial Government, who, out of the proceeds of sales, conducted emigration from home, and when the administration of the Passenger Acts—now transferred to the Board of Trade—rested with the Colonial Office. Owing to the change of circumstances in all the foregoing respects, such a Department would now have nothing to do; and Her Majesty's Government would be unwilling in any way to interfere with the successful Emigration Agencies of the Colonial Governments.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT: Is the hon. Gentleman not aware that the

Colonial Governments are extremely anxious that a union for the purposes of emigration should be made with the Government over here, so as to facilitate emigration?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Certain proposals of that sort have from time to time been made; but nothing bearing on the Question of the hon. Member.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) ACT, 1878 — SECTION 7 — COLLECTION OF WATER RATES.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether Towns Commissioners, in towns under 6,000 inhabitants, can legally strike a rate divisible between landlord and tenant for supplying such town with water, and for other sanitary purposes, upon their being appointed an Urban Sanitary Authority by the Local Government Board, under the seventh section of "The Public Health Act, 1878," as if the same was done by the Board of Guardians as Rural Sanitary Authority?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Town Commissioners of towns having less than 6,000 inhabitants who are made an Urban Sanitary Authority under the special powers conferred by the 7th section of the Public Health Act, 1878, must pay the expenses referred to out of a borough or town rate, or the borough fund, and not, as in the case of a small authority, out of poor rate divisible between landlord and tenant.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (IRELAND)—MR. J. D. ELLIOTT, RATE COLLECTOR FOR THE BLACKROCK TOWNSHIP COMMISSIONERS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the committee appointed to investigate the accounts of Mr. J. D. Elliott, rate collector to the Blackrock Township Commission, have yet made any report to the Commission; and, if so, whether he can state the purport of the report; whether the Commission has made any, and, if so, what reply to the letter recently addressed to them by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, inquiring whether the realisation of Mr. Elliott's securities had been resorted to because of any defalcation in his accounts with the Commission; whether the Irish Local Government Board has yet come to any decision as to the continued employment of that department; and, if no such decision has been arrived at, whether an undertaking will be given that it will be come to and announced before the House is asked to vote the Estimate for the Salaries and Expenses of the Irish Local Government Board?

MR. TREVELYAN: I learn from the Secretary to the Commissioners of Blackrock Township that it is hoped that the final Report of the Special Committee will be ready and submitted for consideration at the next meeting of the Commissioners—on the 23rd instant—and that the Commissioners have deferred replying to the letter addressed to them by desire of the Lord Lieutenant. Until the Local Government Board have authentic information in regard to the alleged defalcation by Mr. Elliott, they are not in a position to determine whether or not he should be continued in the Poor Law service. They are fully alive to the importance of not retaining in any office of trust under them any person who might be proved to have misapplied funds intrusted to his charge in other capacities.

PUBLIC HEALTH—SANITARY CONDITION OF THE THAMES.

SIR ANDREW LUSK asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the alarming sanitary condition of the River Thames; whether he is aware that, in addition to the sewage of the Metropolis being poured into it in a crude condition at Barking and Crossness, there are over one hundred sewer outfalls sending sewage into the river above London; and, what steps, if any, the Local Government Board propose to take to prevent danger arising to the public health?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The Board are aware of the representations which have been made with regard to the sanitary condition of the Thames. With respect to the sewage of the Metropolis poured in at Barking and Crossness, I may refer to the reply given by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) on Friday last. We are informed by the Metropolitan Board of Works that the whole of the sewage is now completely deodorized

before being discharged into the river, and that this deodorization will be continued during the dry and hot weather, and that special attention is being given to the flushing of the sewers. With respect to the sewer outfalls above London, there is no doubt that in the district of the Lower Thames Main Sewerage Board there are a large number of sewers discharging into the Thames without any purification of the sewage. The House are aware that a scheme of main sewerage and sewage purification was proposed by the Joint Sewerage Board, and that a Provisional Order for the purchase of land required for the scheme was submitted this Session for the confirmation of Parliament. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee. That Committee have not yet made their Report; but it is understood they have determined to accept the grave responsibility of reporting altogether against the Bill. If so, the difficulties which will result will be of a most serious character; but I must await the Report of the Committee before expressing my opinion.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had observed that the Engineer of the Metropolitan Board of Works stated that one of the causes of the condition of the river was the diminution of the amount of the land-water owing to the quantity taken by the Water Companies above Teddington Lock; and that, consequently, the sewage was not so diluted as it used to be, and it did not amalgamate with salt water?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that as the river was so low this year he was having it measured at various points by Mr. Harrison, one of the Inspectors of the Local Government Board, and in a short time he should be more fully aware than at present of the effect of the abstraction of this land-water.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, SHILLELAGH UNION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the election of a Poor Law guardian for Shillelagh Union was declared void, as the result of an inquiry held in June 1883; whether, on that occasion, the Local Government Board considered that the returning officer did not take sufficient trouble to inform himself, and "cautioned him that he must discharge his duties with more care in future;" whether it is the fact that the same returning officer in the elections this year received a greater number of votes in favour of the Conservative candidates for Tinahely and Ballinglen than he should have done; whether he is aware that, at the counting of votes for the new elections rendered necessary by the conduct of the returning officer, that officer refused to allow professional assistance to Mr. E. J. Byrne, the popular candidate, and when Mr. Byrne's solicitor appeared adjourned the proceedings, although he handed in a written protest against the adjournment, offering to withdraw from the Board room if the business was proceeded with; and, what course he, as Chairman of the Local Government Board, will take in the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: So far as this Question relates to the election of 1883, and to the original election in the present year, I have already more than once answered it, and explained that although there was some error on the part of the Returning Officer, there was no reason to doubt that he acted in good faith. With regard to the adjournment of the casting up of the votes at the recent supplemental election, the facts are that a solicitor attended on behalf of the candidate on one side, and the opposing candidate applied for an adjournment to afford him time to procure legal assistance also. The Returning Officer complied with this application, because he considered that professional representation on one side only would be calculated to interfere with the impartial discharge of his duty. In adopting this course the Returning Officer exercised a discretion which is vested in him by the rules governing such elections, and the Local Government Board see no reason to think that he exercised it unfairly.

PARLIAMENT—"INTIMIDATION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS."

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been directed to the following words in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of July 9th 1884, describing the object of the agitation set on foot by the Birmingham Caucus and kindred Liberal Associations:—

"Our immediate duty is to organise the intimidation of the House of Lords. That is the fact in all its naked brutality, and we hope it will be taken to heart by every Liberal in the three Kingdoms;"

and, whether such an organised attempt at intimidation is in accordance with Law; and, if not, what steps he proposes to take to deal with this huge avowed conspiracy against one branch of the Legislature?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): In consequence of the Question placed on the Paper by the noble Lord, I have referred to *The Pall Mall Gazette* of Wednesday last; and although, of course, the words put by the noble Lord in turned commas are correctly quoted, I do not find them so immediately connected with the agitation said to be set on foot by any Association as the position they occupy in the Question would cause most persons to think. Apart from the construction put on the words by the noble Lord, it is not for me to express any opinion whether the writer has chosen the most happy words he could in order to express his meaning. Certainly it is due to the writer to say that the words ought to be read with the context, and not separated and isolated as they appeared in the Question. If I am to express my opinion—and I suppose the noble Lord wishes me to do so—whether there has been any offence against the law committed by writing those words in connection with the context, it does not appear to me that a prosecution of the writer could lead to any practical or satisfactory result. If the noble Lord will refer to the same journal of this evening he will see an explanation of the words, which, I am sure, will be so satisfactory to him that he will be anxious to relieve me from the further consideration of this question.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The hon. and learned Gentleman has not answered my Question. I wish to know whether an agitation, the object of which is to organize an intimidation in order to prevent certain persons from performing duties legally intrusted to them, is not an illegal combination?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): It is only an act of courtesy to answer the noble Lord. But this Question is, in one sense, a hypothetical Question; it depends entirely upon the sense in which the word "intimidation" is used—whether it is used in the sense of physical violence to overawe either House of Parliament. Such might be alleged to be an offence. But if it should happen to be used in reply to a challenge from a distinguished person, that no action shall be taken in legislation until "great and violent public pressure" is placed upon Parliament, then it may be an answer to such an invitation, and would not cause the person who accepted it to be guilty of any criminal offence.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I wish to give Notice that on Thursday next I will ask the Prime Minister, if we are to understand from the answer of the Attorney General that his Government, which put Irish Members of Parliament in prison for using language which was supposed to be of an intimidatory character, are disposed to aid and abet the use of similar language in England when it is likely to promote their own ends?

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Has the Government yet heard whether General Gordon has received either of the Government Despatches of 23rd April or 18th May; has the Government recently made any effort to communicate with General Gordon; what is the date of the last despatch sent to General Gordon, and of the last Despatch received from him; and, what is the present position of General Gordon?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; I have already, on several previous occasions, stated in this House that the last despatch to General Gordon was dated from London on the 17th of May, while that received from him bore date the 10th of April. Her Majesty's Government have not yet heard whether General Gordon has received the despatches to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman refers, and it is impossible to state exactly what his present position is. Every possible endeavour by means of messengers has been made to communicate with him; and I have already informed the House of the steps which have been taken with that object. Certain other attempts have also been made to communicate; but it is not desirable to enter into details. A report has reached Wady Halfa to the

effect that M. Cuzzi had proceeded to Khartoum after the fall of Berber, and that General Gordon was making constant sallies.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Has the noble Lord any news respecting Dongola?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have nothing to add to the statement I made the other day—that the news from Dongola is dated the 10th of June.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE OFFICE OF LAND REGISTRY.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What is the number of new titles which have been placed in the year 1883, upon the Register in the Office of Land Registry, for which a Vote of £5,442 is demanded in the Civil Service Estimates?

MR. COURTNEY: A full Return of the transactions in the Land Registry for the years 1882 and 1883 was presented on the 8th, on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Stockport. In answer to the specific Question of my hon. Friend, I am informed by the Registrar that 272 new titles have been placed upon the Register in 1883.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked whether the Government intended going on this year with the Middlesex Land Registry Bill?

MR. COURTNEY: I am afraid it is rather late to think about making further progress with the Bill.

SOUTH AFRICA—BASUTOLAND.

MR. R. T. REID asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been drawn to the following paragraph, appearing in *The Standard* of the 11th July:—

"The Basutos have attacked and burned Thaban-Chu, which was a mission station within the borders of the Free State;"

whether the statement is true, and whether it is not the fact that the British Resident in Basutoland has no means at his disposal of preventing such attacks by British subjects on a friendly State; and, whether the President of the Orange Free State has repeatedly warned Her Majesty's Government of the likelihood of such occurrences, and protested against the insecurity in which the frontier is left?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: My hon. Friend's Question seems to imply an attack by Basutos invading the Orange Free State from British territory. I think he will find on further inquiry that it is a case of inter-tribal quarrel within the Free State. As to the second Question, the British Resident has a police force with which to maintain order; and though the President of the Orange Free State has, from time to time, made representations to Her Majesty's Government, there is no reason to believe that he complains of the manner in which Her Majesty's Government are carrying out the obligations devolving on them.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES—REGISTRAR'S REPORT, 1883.

MR. SIDNEY HERBERT asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the year 1883 will be circulated; and, whether he can take any steps to insure the earlier publication of these Reports?

MR. COURTNEY: The Report will be laid on the Table before the Prorogation; but as the Returns upon which it is based are only due on the 1st of June, and a large number of them are always in arrear, it is impossible to expedite materially the publication of the Report and Appendix.

ARMY—GRATUITY TO TROOPS IN THE SOUDAN.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is intended to make any payment, as extra pay or gratuity or war batta, to the troops engaged in the recent operations in the Eastern Soudan; and, if so, when the Estimate for the purpose will be submitted to the House?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The gratuity has already been issued to the troops employed in the operations around Suakin. I cannot yet state whether a Supplementary Estimate will be required for this and other extraordinary expenditure arising from the state of affairs in Egypt and the Soudan.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—LIEUTENANT COLONEL DIGBY, J.P.

MR. HARRINGTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the Crown sent up a bill to the Grand Jury of the county of West-

meath, at the present Assizes, against Colonel Digby; and, whether the Grand Jury threw out this bill; and, if so, whether the Crown will now proceed against Colonel Digby by information in the Court of Queen's Bench?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is the fact that the Crown sent up a bill to the Grand Jury of the county of Westmeath against Colonel Digby, and it was thrown out. A proceeding by an *ex officio* information would be inapplicable to such a case as referred to in the Question and without precedent.

MR. HARRINGTON asked whether the circumstances of the case were not without precedent; whether it was not the fact that two local magistrates refused to receive information against Colonel Digby, who was a member of that local Bench; and, whether, in view of these novel circumstances, the Attorney General would take proceedings?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The ordinary proceedings have been adopted, and there is no ground for an exceptional course.

MR. HARRINGTON: Are we to understand that, if the local magistrates refuse informations for theft the law is completely paralyzed?

MR. SEXTON: What is the Attorney General for?

MR. HARRINGTON: This failure of justice has arisen with regard to one case. I would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether there is not evidence that in a second case Colonel Digby attempted to cheat the Land Commission; whether there is not a third case in which he actually did succeed in cheating them, and did receive the money; and, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman will not now proceed in regard to these cases?

NATIONAL DEBT (CONVERSION OF STOCK) ACT.

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Treasury, or the Bank of England as their agents, have yet issued, or are contemplating the issue of a Circular to holders of Consols and other Government Stocks, drawing their attention to the proposals for a scheme of conversion; and, if not yet issued, whether he will be so good as to inform the House when he is likely to do so?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, Sir; it is contemplated, as my hon. Friend rightly anticipates, to issue a notice to holders of Consols and other Three per Cent Government Stocks, in pursuance of the National Debt Conversion Act. I had originally hoped that we might name a day in August as the last on which Stocks might be converted; but I have determined to defer this for a few weeks. Full notice of the day finally fixed will be given.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE APPEAL COURT.

MR. MOORE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, consequent upon the abandonment of the Land Purchase Bill, the Government are prepared to submit to the House any proposal to deal with the arrears of work in the Appeal Court of the Irish Land Commission?

MR. TREVELYAN: No, Sir; we do not intend to submit to the House any proposal, except that we shall ask the House to enable the Government to appoint a fourth Commissioner in place of Lord Monck, whose appointment expires in August.

THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—JAMES ELLIS FRENCH.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, in the Constabulary Lists issued on the 1st of January and 1st of July in each year, the circumstances under which officers, during preceding six months, have ceased to be members of the force are duly recorded; why this rule has not been adhered to in the case of James Ellis French; and, why it is not stated in the List last published, whether he has been dismissed, compelled to retire without pension, or superannuated?

MR. TREVELYAN: *The Constabulary List* is not a publication for which the Government or the Constabulary Authorities are responsible. It is a private undertaking, and has no official character beyond this—that its proprietor has the permission or authority of the Inspector General to publish it for the convenience of the Force. He is under no obligation to publish all or any portion of it. With regard, however, to what the hon. Member regards

as an omission, there is no objection to state that the explanation is that County Inspector French was discharged on medical certificate of unfitness for further service, and with an intimation that the question of pension would pend, and that as this question was still undecided when *The Constabulary List* for July was sent to press, the compiler thought it better to postpone the insertion of the case.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE TAPESTRY AT HAMPTON COURT.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he is aware that the tapestry at Hampton Court of "The Triumph of Time" is part of a set representing the "Six Triumphs," written by Petrarch, of which three others were secured most fortunately last year by the South Kensington Museum; whether it would not be desirable that this very valuable and interesting national possession should no longer be allowed to hang, and rot with decay, on the walls of the withdrawing room of the Palace; and if he can give an assurance that it shall at once be cleaned and restored?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, these tapestries were not the property of the nation, but of the Sovereign, and were under the charge of the Lord Chamberlain, who was considering the question of their repair.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST: The right hon. Gentleman gave me a similar answer a year and a-half ago. I may inform him that, whether the question of the repair of these tapestries is under consideration or not, they are now hanging and rotting on the walls at Hampton Court to no public advantage.

CORRUPT PRACTICES (SUSPENSION OF ELECTIONS) BILL.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, in the present state of public Business, he adheres to his recently-expressed intention to introduce a Bill for the suspension of writs in the constituencies in which a Royal Commission has reported that corrupt practices extensively prevailed; and, in such case, up to what date he proposes to suspend those writs?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that the Bill would be introduced in the usual way. The hon. Member could obtain information on the subject if he referred to the legislation of the last three Sessions.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, SHILLELAGH UNION.

MR. JOHN REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state, with reference to the counting of votes in the new election for the Tinahely division of Shillelagh Union, consequent on the annulling by the Local Government Board of the previous election, in which a number of Conservative votes were received by the Clerk of the Union in excess of the legal number; on what grounds the returning officer adjourned the inquiry, as no one objected to its being proceeded with, either on the part of Mr. Haydon, the popular candidate, or his opponent?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have already, in reply to the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet), explained the circumstances in which the adjournment of the casting up of the votes in the election for Tinahely division took place.

RAILWAYS (INDIA)—THE HARNAI RAILWAY.

MR. DALRYMPLE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that the Harnai line of Railway is being made out of revenue, and that it is reported that it will not be completed for five years to the Amram range; and, if so, whether the advantage of this extension of the frontier Railway system is not rendered nugatory by such leisurely and protracted construction?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Yes, Sir; it is intended to charge the cost of the Harnai line to Revenue; but I know of no report "that it will not be completed for five years to the Amram range." Indeed, as the Government of India inform us that measures have been taken for as speedy a prosecution of the work as the nature of the country and the trying changes of climate will permit, we expect that there will be no time lost in completing the line to Quettah as rapidly as possible.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

MR. DALRYMPLE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Why the Secretary for Scotland Bill,

which had reached the stage of Third Reading in "another place," and was, in its new form (so far as is generally known), unlikely to meet with opposition in the House of Commons, was made the earliest victim in the "slaughter of the innocents;" and, by what interpretation that Bill was reckoned among contentious business, which, for causes understood only by Her Majesty's Government, it was determined to withdraw?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am very glad to welcome—for I think the first time—the support of the hon. Member to this Bill. I value his posthumous affection; but I would have valued it more when the Bill was alive. I regret, like the hon. Member himself, that this Bill has come to a premature end; but it shared the fate of many other little Bills which we thought it was necessary to sacrifice in order to promote a measure to which we attach great importance.

MR. DALRYMPLE: I should like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether any effort was made to ascertain the feeling of this House as to the Bill; and, if not, how it is reasonable any blame for its abandonment should be laid at the door of "another place," where the Bill was to be read a third time?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It is not my object to attach blame to anybody, but to state the cause why the Bill was withdrawn.

PUBLIC HEALTH—QUARANTINE AT SMYRNA.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he is aware that the Turkish Government is compelling all British vessels trading between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea (although not communicating with the shore) to perform quarantine at Smyrna; and, whether, in conjunction with other Maritime Powers, he will endeavour to secure the appointment of an International Commission, for the purpose of mitigating unnecessary quarantine regulations?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I conclude the hon. Member is correct, for in a telegram received to-day from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, His Excellency states that passenger and cargo ships from French Mediterranean ports must undergo quarantine at Smyrna, Beyrout, or Tripoli. Passenger ships from the Black Sea or the Adriatic are also subjected to quarantine. There is no information as to the other Mediterranean ports. The details of the Turkish quarantine arrangements will appear in the next *London Gazette*. As regards an International Commission on Quarantine, it is open to doubt whether such a proposal would at present be advantageous or possible.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO."

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is aware that intelligence has been received of the death of another of the crew of the *Nisero*, that others are suffering from fever, and that the whole require addional clothing; and, when he anticipates being able definitely to inform the House the result of the negotiations with the Dutch Government for the purpose of promoting active measures in order to obtain the immediate release of the men still alive?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The latest news of the crew is dated the 4th instant, in a telegram from C. Buhlor, dated July 11. Four deaths are reported; but the epidemic is said to have ceased, and the remainder of the crew were well. Medicines have been supplied by the Commander of Her Majesty's ship *Pegasus*, who has made arrangements for the transmission of letters fortnightly. The reply of the Netherlands Government to the last proposal of Her Majesty's Government is expected on Wednesday, and further Papers will be laid on the Table.

MR. GOURLEY: Will the noble Lord say what the arrangements are which have been made with the Netherlands Government for the release of the men?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Until the answer of the Netherlands Government, to which I have just alluded, is received, I cannot make any statement; but directly that answer has been received the Papers will be laid before the House, and they will show the full state of the case.

MR. GOURLEY said, he would put another Question on Thursday on this subject.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. JOHN STACK, CO. KERRY.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH (for Lord ARTHUR HILL) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. John Stack, T.C. Listowel (county Kerry), who has been recently appointed to the Commission of the Peace for that town, is the same person who, in the month of November last, not only attended, but presided over a public meeting held in a graveyard near Listowel, for the purpose of commemorating the anniversary of the execution of the Fenians, Allen, Larken, and O'Brien; and, whether that meeting had been proclaimed by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; and, if this new magistrate, in his capacity as chairman, on the said occasion unveiled a stone cross to the memory of those "Manchester martyrs?"

MR. SEXTON: Before the Question is answered, I should like to ask is it not the fact that the noble Lord in whose name the Question stands (Lord Arthur Hill), and a number of his friends who hold the Commission of the Peace, lately waited on the Lord Lieutenant and told him to his teeth that they refused to comply with his suggestion with regard to counter Orange demonstrations, and that they would stand upon their right to hold these meetings at the same time and place as the Nationalists?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I should also like to ask the Chief Secretary, whether the noble Lord is not the same noble Lord who went to shopkeepers in Belfast, previous to the recent visit of the Lord Lieutenant, and requested them to take down the flags which they had put up to welcome His Excellency?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he must take these Questions separately, and with Notice. Mr. John Stack, the Chairman of the Town Commissioners of Listowel, was, on their application, selected as Town Justice under the Towns Improvement Act on the 7th of June. The Lord Chancellor was entirely unaware of any of the allegations contained in the Question. It was right to say, in relation to those allegations, that on reference to the Constabulary Reports made to the Government at the time, it would appear that no meeting was held in violation of the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation, and that no speeches were delivered. A few persons, about a dozen in number, did, on the morning of the 25th of November last, quietly unveil the cross. But as to this and every other matter connected therewith, the Lord Chancellor would make inquiry.

PUBLIC HEALTH—VACCINATION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether he is aware that the Sanitary Committee of Hackney are proceeding to visit the Elementary Schools, to inspect the children, with a view to vaccination; and, whether the Education Department, or the managers, have any authority by Law, without the consent of the parents, to allow such a proceeding?

MR. MUNDELLA: On inquiry at the Local Government Board, Dr. Buchanan had furnished the following statement:—

"I have examined, as a Medical Inspector of Her Majesty's Privy Council, tens of thousands of children in public and private elementary schools. My custom was to inform the master or mistress of my object—namely, to get information as to the efficiency of the local vaccination—and to ask if they had any objection to my examining the arms of the children and noting the vaccine scars. I never but once met with any refusal, either in London or the country. Having examined the children's arms (usually to their great amusement), I gave a list of the unvaccinated to the master, and asked him to call the attention of the children's parents to the fact that they were not protected against small-pox."

THE PUBLIC SERVICES—COMPULSORY RETIREMENT.

MR. HOPWOOD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Admiralty or War Office, in compelling efficient public servants to retire because they have reached sixty years, are authorised to do so by any Statute or Resolution of this House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): My hon. and learned Friend should have addressed this Question to the Secretary of State for War, or the Secretary to the Admiralty, rather than to me, as the duty of the Treasury in these matters is to award the pension of an officer reported to them by the Head of his Department as retiring from the Service. But to

save time I have made inquiries on this subject, and I am not aware of any Statute or Resolution of this House which would prevent the Heads of either of these Departments from acting as my hon. and learned Friend's Question implies that they have acted in the case of a public servant holding office during the pleasure of the Crown.

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — NEWTOWNARDS BOARD OF GUARDIANS—INSTRUCTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CHILDREN.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state what has been the result of the correspondence between the Irish Local Government Board and the Newtownards Board of Guardians with respect to the religious instruction of Catholic children who are inmates of the Newtownards Workhouse; whether it is the fact that there is no Catholic guardian, either ex-officio or elected, on the Newtownards Board; whether, in consequence of a resolution adopted by the Board on the 5th of April last, the Catholic children are sent daily into the schoolyard, where they spend the time in idleness, while the rest of the children are receiving religious instruction; whether the schoolmaster and schoolmistress superintend the morning and night prayers of the Protestant children, give them religious instruction every day, and direct their religious exercises on Sundays, while there is no instructor appointed for the Catholic children, and if these latter every night are put outside the dormitory while the rest of the children are engaged in prayer; whether the Presbyterian chaplain is allowed to interrupt the secular business of the school for the purpose of religious instruction, whereby an hour of secular instruction is lost to the Catholic children; whether it has been the practice of the guardians to send Catholic orphans into the employment of persons of other religious creeds, and that numerous cases of proselytism have resulted; whether the salary of the Catholic chaplain is much less than that of either of the other chaplains; whether the guardians have refused to furnish requisites for Catholic religious worship in the workhouse; and, whether the Local Government Board will use their power to equalise the salaries of the chaplains, and take measures to secure due decency of Catholic worship, and such religious instruction and protection of conscience for Catholic children as are extended to children of other denominations?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the Board of Guardians had declined to make any additional arrangements for the religious instruction of Roman Catholic children in the workhouse. They stated the Roman Catholic chaplain was afforded the same facilities as the chaplains of other persuasions; that the number of Roman Catholic children is very small; and that some few years ago the chaplain's salary was increased, partly because he was required to attend to religious instruction. Under these circumstances, there were no grounds for further correspondence with the Guardians on this matter. There was no Catholic Guardian on the Board; no Roman Catholic had offered himself for re-election for some years past. The resolution referred to was that if the Roman Catholic chaplain did not feel it necessary to be present during the half-hour for religious instruction the children of that persuasion should not be required to be present. It was not the case that there was a distinction made in regard to religious instruction of the children either on week-days or Sunday. The schoolmistress and master did nothing but read a portion of Scripture daily under the rules of the National Board without note or comment. With regard to the alleged interruption of secular instruction by the visits of the Presbyterian chaplain, he attended for an hour once a-fortnight, and this was compensated for by an additional hour's secular instruction in the evening. He had been furnished with a list of the Roman Catholic children sent to the employment of persons of other religious creeds since 1871. There were eight cases in all. The facts did not appear to warrant the statement as to alleged cases of proselytizing. The Board of Guardians said that in a population in which the large majority of employers of labour were Protestants they could not maintain healthy young persons in the workhouse simply because masters could not be found of their own religious persuasion; but they invariably obtained from these masters promises to send them regularly to Sunday school or places of worship.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

This was a matter in which the Local Government Board had no power to control the Guardians, even although they might consider the action of the Guardians as not in all cases judicious. The salary of the Catholic chaplain was less than the salaries of the other chaplains; but the number of inmates he attended was also very much less, and much less than the difference between their respective salaries in proportion. There appeared to be a dispute of long standing as to the supply of requisites for Catholic worship. So long ago as 1859 the then Poor Law Commissioners issued a sealed order on the subject; but the Guardians refused to comply with it, and on application to the Court of Queen's Bench a *mandamus* was obtained. The Local Government Board did not consider it necessary to equalize the salaries of the chaplains.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882, SEC. 16 — THE TUBBERCURRY CONSPIRACY—MRS. GANNON.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If members of the Constabulary Force in the county of Sligo recently compelled Mrs. Gannon, an aged woman, whose two sons are lying in Sligo Gaol awaiting trial on a charge of conspiracy, to leave her home, and go with them to the town of Tubbercurry, and there submit to a secret interrogation with reference to her sons; and, whether this course was taken in regard to Mrs. Gannon with the sanction or knowledge of the higher authorities?

MR. TREVELYAN: During the holding of an inquiry under Section 16 of the Prevention of Crime Act, Mrs. Gannon was examined with reference to the firing at and wounding of Sub-Inspector Doherty, which occurred about two years ago, and to the fact that after the firing a man from Tubbercurry went to her house to remove firearms therefrom. Mrs. Gannon was not compelled by the police, but was merely served with a summons in the usual way. She is a strong, hale woman, and declined the offer of a car from her house to Tubbercurry, a distance of three miles, saying that she preferred to walk. In summoning this and other witnesses, the Resident Magistrate exercised the jurisdiction expressly conferred upon him by Section 16 of the Act.

INDIA — EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS—THE ANNUAL FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, When he proposed to make his annual Financial Statement?

MR. J. K. CROSS: As soon as I can get an opportunity.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

In reply to Mr. WAUGH,

MR. GLADSTONE said, he very much regretted the position of this Bill along with that of many other measures; but it was an independent Member's Bill, and the Government could not interfere with these measures except under very peculiar circumstances. He did not think there were any circumstances existing at the present moment which would justify the Government in offering exceptional facilities for the passing of this particular independent Member's Bill, and they must leave the matter in the hands of the House.

PARLIAMENT — ORDER — ENTRIES IN THE ORDERS OF THE DAY.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I wish to put a Question to Mr. Speaker upon a point of Order in reference to the Orders of the Day. I observe that the first line upon the Orders which relates to Supply is printed in italics, and, as there is no number opposite to it, it appears to be rather in the nature of a suggestion. The first Order in the ordinary type is the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill; and I wish to ask you, Sir, whether that Bill does not stand, at this moment, as the first Order upon the Paper?

MR. SPEAKER: According to the usual understanding, and, I may say, the uniform practice of the House for the last 20 years, the form has been adopted as it now stands upon the Paper.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Then, Sir, I will ask you, further, whether the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill does not stand as the first Order?

An hon. MEMBER: No, Supply.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) appears to be under some misapprehension. Supply will be the first Order

immediately it is resolved that Committee of Supply shall be set up.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Yes, Sir, that is the point I am coming to. It will be the first Order; but at the present moment I submit that it is not the first Order, and, that being so, I will ask you whether the Standing Order of November, 1882, does or does not at present apply—I mean the Standing Order which says that when Supply stands as the first Order on Mondays and Thursdays, Mr. Speaker shall leave the Chair without any Question put?

MR. SPEAKER: The same course which the hon. Gentleman is finding fault with was adopted on Monday last.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I am not finding fault with anything.

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: May I ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Has any day been fixed by the Plenipotentiaries to resume the business of the Conference?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The "Commission," consisting of the Financial Experts of the several Powers, over whose deliberations I have been requested to preside, is still sitting; and until the business which that Commission has in hand is completed, it will be impossible to say when the Conference will meet.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I will ask the Question again on Thursday. I will also ask the Prime Minister, whether it is intended to keep Parliament sitting until the Conference has concluded its labours?

[No reply was given.]

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—THE CHOLERA.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE: I would ask the President of the Local Government Board a Question of which I have not been able to give him private Notice—namely, Whether with regard to several cases of cholera reported in London in the last Returns to the Registrar General the doctors refused to certify that they were cases of the ordinary type; and if there was any reason to believe that they were cases of Asiatic cholera?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I do not know about doctors refusing to certify. If there had been such refusal, no doubt I should have been at once informed. There has not been reported any case of the Asiatic type in London, or in any part of England.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — MERCHANT SHIPPING LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

MR. MAC IVER asked the Prime Minister, Whether he had observed as the first Order of the Day on Wednesday a Bill for the security of life and property at sea, drawn on lines entirely different from those of the Bill of the President of the Board of Trade, and how it happened that the Government had lost all interest in the subject?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not observed that the Bill to which the hon. Member refers is the first Order of the Day on Wednesday, and the reason that I have not observed it is that it is not so. The first Order for next Wednesday is one with respect to which I may say that if it came on it would be morally certain to occupy the whole of the Sitting—I mean the Bill relating to compulsory vaccination.

MOTION.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — SETTING UP OF SUPPLY.

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg to move "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. HEALY: A question of very great importance and of considerable interest to the House was raised a short time ago by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor). We all know that Supply became a dropped Order on Friday, owing to the fact that the House was counted out. That, however, was the fault of the Government, who might have kept a House, if they had chosen to do so. The Standing Order of November, 1882, only applies to a case where Supply is the first Order; and, clearly, that is not the case on the

ent occasion. Supply is not the first Order, and it can only be put as the first Order by this Motion. Seeing that a Motion is made to place Supply as the first Order, it is evident that at the present moment Supply cannot be the first Order. The matter would be still further accentuated by a Division being taken against the Motion; but I presume there is no intention of taking a Division. But what I would impress upon the Government is, that while we assent to the Motion, we are fully aware that there is other Business, and very important Business, on the Paper, and that to-morrow we shall expect from them a definite statement as to what they propose to do with the important Irish Business which still remains on the Paper. I need only refer to the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill, which the Government have already given a guarantee to press forward. If so, I want to know whether it is to be at a Saturday Sitting, or how the Prime Minister proposes to manage it?

MR. GORST: I should like to make one or two observations on the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman, in order to point out to the Government the extreme inconvenience of allowing the Order for Supply on Friday to become, as it too frequently does, a dropped Order. I am certain that considerable progress might have been made with Supply on Friday evening if the Members of the Government had made any exertion whatever to keep a House. But, unfortunately, in order to get rid of some inconvenient subject which happens to be on the Notice Paper, they are in the habit of allowing the House to be counted out. I think there is nothing more detrimental to the progress of Public Business than these constant "Counts-out," because when a Motion is down upon the Paper, and is discussed and decided upon by the House, it is done with for the Session; whereas, if the House is counted out, and no opportunity is afforded for taking it on Friday, the discussion usually takes place upon the Estimates themselves, and no time whatever is saved. I may give, as an illustration, the important Motion which was put down for a Friday, some time ago, by my hon. Friend the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland), in reference to the present state of Zululand. The House was counted out before that Motion could be brought on, and, although it may not have been counted out at the instance of the Government, the Members of the Government made no effort to keep a House. In that case there was a distinct loss and a waste of valuable time, because, instead of the question being discussed then, the question of Zululand will now be discussed upon the Estimate itself, and probably will delay Supply for an entire night. The same thing happened again on Friday last. The Government, by neglecting to keep a House, prevented private Members from having an opportunity of bringing important questions forward which must be discussed at some time or other. The Motion for Supply became a dropped Order, and the House is experiencing the inconvenience at this moment. As to the precedent which has been established to-day, I may remark that you, Sir, have allowed the Motion "that the House will immediately resolve itself into Committee of Supply" to be debated. I am now making the second speech which has been delivered on that Motion. Therefore, there is a clear precedent for debating the Motion that Supply shall be made the first Order of the Day, and I assume that, as the Motion itself can be debated, an Amendment can be moved upon it. Therefore, by being compelled to put down the Motion "that the House will immediately resolve itself into Committee of Supply," the Government are really laying themselves open to any Amendment which any hon. Member may choose to move. I suppose that it would be perfectly competent for me, or any other Member, to bring forward a Motion now on the subject of Zululand or any other subject it might be considered desirable to discuss on the proposal that Supply be again set up.

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot allow that a general debate of that kind would be permissible. According to the practice of the House, it has been the custom, at any rate since 1866, to allow this Motion to be put as a purely formal Motion for the purpose of setting up Supply.

MR. GORST: I was not intending to take any such course. I am only pointing out the inconvenience which might arise from taking such a course for the purpose of urging on the Government not to allow the Motion for Supply to become a dropped Order on Fridays. I

do not know that you, Sir, have ruled that such a Motion would be out of Order. It is perfectly obvious that this Motion is capable of being debated, and I assume that some Amendment would be in Order which would give rise to a debate. Friday is now to be the only opportunity left to private Members for moving Amendments on the Motion for going into Supply; and if the Government become lax in the matter, the only effect of their laxity will be to deprive private Members of Friday nights, which I feel might be profitably preserved for the discussion of private Members' Motions. At present it appears to be the practice to count out, if there happens to be a question on the Paper that is likely to prove disagreeable to the Government, in order that such question may be got rid of. But questions constantly arise which, whether or not they can be discussed on a Friday night, must be discussed in some form or other.

MR. MONK: I do not think the protest should come from one side of the House only. I think that both sides have good reason to complain that on Friday nights the Government make no efforts whatever to keep a House, or, at any rate, to prevent it being counted out at so early an hour. It is most unusual, when the House meets at 4 o'clock, that it should be counted out on the first Amendment to the Motion that Mr. Speaker leave the Chair. On Friday last I had the honour of bringing forward a Motion which interests a considerable number of Members on this side of the House—more, perhaps, than on the other side—and I certainly was surprised that the Government took no steps whatever in order to keep a House, seeing the early hour at which it was counted out. I think it is only right to make a protest against this unfortunate practice, on this side of the House as well as the other.

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: With reference to the remark of the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) that no steps were taken by the Government to prevent the House from being counted out on Friday night, I must say that every possible step was taken by those who usually serve under my command. But on Friday night, when the House has been sitting until very late hours during the rest of the week, it is found almost impossible, sometimes short of using physical force, to keep Members in the House. Every possible effort was made by us on Friday night to keep a House; but I regret to say that the stream was so strong against us that we were obliged to give way. Indeed, we were almost carried away with it.

MR. J. LOWTHER: On the point of Order which has been raised, I think, Sir, the House entirely concurs with you as to the practice which previous to the passing of the new Standing Orders in November, 1882, prevailed. As you have properly said, when this Motion was made it was assented to as a matter of course; but the form in which it was put was to enable a debate to take place. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister now asks the House immediately to resolve into Committee of Supply, and the Motion is made for the purpose of setting aside Amendments to the Motion for going into Committee, so that a debate might take place with you, Sir, in the Chair in the same way as if the Motion was the ordinary one for going into Committee of Supply, and the original Motion had not fallen through from unforseen circumstances. That was the practice up to 1882, and I think, Sir, that you have quite correctly stated that the Motion was made as a matter of course, and simply took the place of the old Motion "that Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair." The Motion stood practically on all fours with the original Motion. As we all know, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister can draw exceedingly subtle distinctions in matters of this kind; but I think it will be generally admtted that practically the two Motions were on all fours. The new Standing Order passed in November, 1882, provided that when the Committee of Supply stood as the first Order of the Day, Mr. Speaker should leave the Chair without any Question put. The point now taken by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) is, that Supply does not stand as the first Order of the Day on this occasion, and that therefore the new Standing Order does not apply, but that a preliminary debate may take place. I understand that there is no intention of raising a discussion now, but that the right has been waived. That I quite understand; but in case it should be necessary on any future occasion to take advantage of the Stand-

ing Order, I wish to draw attention to the fact that prior to 1882 it was the immemorial practice for a debate to take place on the Motion that "this House do forthwith resolve itself into Committee of Supply," and that practice was in no way affected by the passing of the new Standing Order.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to corroborate what has fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther). I gathered from you, Sir, that you stated the Motion was purely a formal Motion, and that it had been so regarded for many years. Now, it has been my fortune since I have been a Member of the House to have heard it debated over and over again. It has been the invariable practice, when the Government has wished to set up Supply after an Amendment had been carried against the Motion for going into Committee of Supply, to move "that this House do forthwith resolve itself into Committee of Supply," thereby giving the hon. Member who had the next Motion upon the Paper the right to raise a fresh debate. Now, I think it most important that, as this discussion has taken place, the reasons for it should be placed on record—namely, that a "Count-out" having taken place on Friday night, and the Order of the Day for Committee of Supply having become a dropped Order, the usual rule does not now apply. It is perfectly clear that this is so, because you, Sir, have now allowed a prolonged debate to take place on the Motion "that this House will immediately resolve itself into Committee of Supply," so that it is evidently a Motion that can be debated. And if a Motion can be debated, then, by the immemorial practice of the House, an Amendment can be moved to it, and therefore I apprehend that, unless the Motion be at once assented to, it can be debated even on a Monday, and an Amendment moved to it. In consequence of what has taken place this evening, whenever, in future, a "Count-out" occurs on a Friday, and it becomes necessary to set up Supply on a Monday, it will be competent, I presume, not only for a debate to arise, but for an Amendment to the Motion to be moved.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I think, Sir, the discussion which has taken place suggests, in view of the possibility of having "Counts-out" on Friday and debates on the Motion for setting up Supply on Monday, that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister should include the whole of Friday in the Resolution he proposes to move to-morrow, as well as Tuesday and Wednesday. The Government would then have possession of the entire day, and there would be no fear of the House being counted out. At the same time, I am not prepared to say that that is the view which is entertained by all hon. Members on this side of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: In regard to the practice of the House, I believe that for the last 18 years, at least, the Motion for setting up Supply has been agreed to without debate.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Upon the point of Order may I ask if it has not been perfectly competent for any hon. Member to set forth his reasons why any one of the Orders of the Day is more worthy of consideration than Supply itself?

MR. SPEAKER: That would be quite an unusual course for the House to take. It has been so generally recognized that the Motion for setting up Supply is for the convenience of the House at large, that, as I said before, as a general rule, there has been no preliminary debate upon it.

MR. RYLANDS: I should like to be allowed to give my recollection in regard to Motions of a similar character to the one now before the House. The practice, previous to 1882, was that the proposals to set up Supply on Monday by a Motion such as that which has now been proposed by the Prime Minister were not debated; but I will tell the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) what took place. Supply was set up and then all the Motions which stood on the Paper for going into Committee of Supply were discussed, so that although the formal Motion "that this House do forthwith resolve itself into Committee of Supply" was not debated, the reason was because it was understood that it would be followed by the ordinary Motion for Committee of Supply upon which private Members had then the right of bringing forward such Amendments as they had placed upon the Paper. The circumstances have been altered since, and we now know that the Motion "that this House

will immediately resolve itself into Committee of Supply" may lead to a debate which may be of inconvenience to the Public Service. I should, therefore, feel inclined to support the view which has been expressed by my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), that under the extraordinary circumstances of the present Session, private Members would be glad to give up their right of proposing Motions on going into Committee of Supply on Friday; and I am satisfied that if the Government were to ask that Friday night as well as Tuesday and Wednesday should be appropriated to Government Business, the majority of private Members would be willing to give way in their favour, so that on every day in the week the Government should have an opportunity of going at once into Committee of Supply.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: I can only go so far with the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) as to express a hope that on this occasion hon. Members will not take advantage of the Motion of the Prime Minister to bring about an interminable debate. On the point of Order, it appears to me that the operation of the new Rule when it is necessary to set up Supply on Monday has brought about a novel state of circumstances. It has been the immemorial privilege of the House to discuss preliminary Resolutions on the Motion for going into Committee of Supply, and, therefore, the effect of the new Rule ought to be construed strictly. The Government, whenever they allow the House to be counted out on Friday, propose this Motion on Monday as a matter of right; but they ought not to be in a position to take advantage of their own wrong. If we were to adopt the proposal of the hon. Member opposite we should still further curtail the privilege of private Members. Therefore, whenever the House is counted out on Friday, it should be the duty of the Government to set up Supply again on Monday, and it cannot, in my opinion, be regarded as the first Order within the meaning of the new Rule.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not prepared to admit that the Government are responsible for the "Count-out" on Friday. What the right hon. Gentleman seems inclined to recommend is that now, at a time when the House is extremely anxious to go forward with Business, we should mark our sense of the wrongful conduct of the Government by imposing something upon them which may lead to inconvenience. I must add my recollection to that of my hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands). I think he is perfectly correct in the account he has given of the practice of the House as to setting up Supply. I think, Sir, your statement in the Chair requires no confirmation from me; but another hon. Member having confirmed it, I am bound to say that the view which has been expressed is in entire conformity with my own. As to the proposition of my hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), although there is, no doubt, a great deal to be said in favour of taking Friday, still I wish to observe that it has never been the practice for the Government to ask for Friday nights. I should, therefore, be very sorry to depart from the recognized practice.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: The right hon. Gentleman says the Government are very anxious to get on with Business; but I am afraid, bearing in mind the way in which they have mismanaged their opportunities in the course of the present Session, that it would not do much to expedite Business if we were to hand over Friday nights to them.

MR. SPEAKER: I think the hon. Member has already spoken in the course of the debate.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: No, Sir, I only addressed you on a point of Order. I merely addressed a question to the Chair, and did not address the House. I was calling the attention of the House to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had stated that he was anxious to get on with Business. Now, my observation of the mode in which Business may be best expedited is not to hand over the whole of the time of the House to the Government, because the Government appear hitherto to have mismanaged their opportunities. For some time they have taken possession of the days usually appropriated to private Members, on the ground that on those days "Counts-out" occurred. But how can the Government monopoly be defended when they allow such "Counts-out" to take place as that which occurred on Friday evening? The noble Lord the Member for Flintshire

(Lord Richard Grosvenor), with so many persons under his command, tells us that he was unable to keep a House for effective Supply. Yet we are now asked to take Supply when there is much more important matter on the Notice Paper. The third Order, for instance, is the Medical Act Amendment Bill. We have had an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman in charge of that Bill (Mr. Mundella) that he will not proceed with it after 11 o'clock, and I think the only chance of making progress with it is to take it on some such occasion as to-day, when it might easily have been reached at a reasonable hour. But, unfortunately, the "Count-out" on Friday, among other inconveniences, resulted in the dropping of a number of blocks which were then on the Paper. Order No. 25 is the Ulster Canal Bill, to which I, for one, am strongly opposed. In consequence of the "Count-out" I have been unable to renew my block, and the Bill now stands on the Paper without anything to prevent it from being taken at any hour of the night or morning. That is another result of the conduct of the Government at the last Sitting of the House. What I wish to obtain from the Government is an assurance that they do not intend to proceed with such Bills as the Ulster Canal Bill and the Tyrone Navigation Bill, which were blocked last week, but which, by reason of the "Count-out" on Friday, now appear on the Paper without a block against them. If the House agrees to allow the Government to go into Supply without further delay, the Government might reasonably give an assurance that they will not go on with any of the Bills which had blocks against them on Friday.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: I have once had the misfortune this Session to be counted out on a Friday night—when I proposed to bring under the Notice of the House the state of affairs in Zululand. I was therefore glad to hear the Prime Minister state that he intends to adhere to the present arrangement in regard to Friday Sittings, and that private Members will still have a chance of bringing Motions forward. With a view, principally, of saving time, I would ask the Prime Minister whether he can arrange to take Class V., Vote 7, on which the question of Zululand is raised, at the beginning of some evening? That would save a separate discussion upon Zululand upon a Motion of which I have given Notice. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will admit that the question is one of very great importance.

MR. GLADSTONE: I will see what can be done to comply with the request of the hon. Baronet.

MR. BRYCE: With reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) and the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor) as to the "Count-out" on Friday, I believe there were only 27 Members in the House at the time it happened, and that there were only two or three Members on the Treasury Bench. I myself was in the Lobby before the "Count-out" happened, endeavouring to induce a number of Gentlemen to stay, but they told me they had not been asked to stay. I think that, considering the importance of the question proposed to be brought under the notice of the House, Her Majesty's Government might have been fairly expected to keep a House.

MR. PARNELL: It is true that in times past the present Motion used not to be debated; but in view of the alteration of the proceedings of the House by the 21st Standing Order, passed in November, 1882, the Motion at present under the consideration of the House partakes of a considerably wider character than it formerly did, because, as the consequence of the adoption of the Motion by the House, you, Sir, would at once leave the Chair, without any hon. Member being entitled to propose any preliminary Resolution. That is distinctly laid down by the 21st Standing Order. It therefore becomes a very much more important Motion than it used to be in the days when, according to the practice of the House, no debate took place upon it. In those days Motions upon going into Supply were not interfered with by the passing of a Resolution similar to that which we are now considering, but, after it was agreed to, it was competent for hon. Members to bring them on in the usual course. Private Members did not lose their right; whereas, if the present Motion is adopted, the Government will be at liberty to move Mr. Speaker out of the Chair without debate, and the House will at once proceed to discuss the Estimates. Consequently, I think it may fairly become a subject for inquiry by

private Members — perhaps it is not exactly a matter of inquiry by Her Majesty's Government—as to how far they may expect the Government, in the future proceedings of the House, to facilitate private Members in the passage of certain Bills which have already received a second reading. The Prime Minister has given Notice that he will to-morrow move to take for the Government the only remaining days of the week except Friday, and to make the 21st Standing Order apply to them. The consequence, in regard to private Members, will be that they will be entirely shut out from forwarding the stages of Bills which stand in their name on any day except Friday. I do not propose, at the present moment, to discuss the nature and bearing of the Prime Minister's Resolution; but I merely take this opportunity of saying that, when the right hon. Gentleman moves that Motion, I shall certainly urge upon him very strongly the fairness and justice of affording us some little portion of the time of the House in order to enable us to pass the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill through Committee. It is a Bill which is highly approved of by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and it will remove a great deal of hard work from the Local Government Board. I may further remind the Government that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has practically pledged himself to endeavour to pass it into law in the course of the present Session. I have merely referred to the subject now, not with the view of opposing the present Motion, but to give Notice that I shall certainly press very strongly on the attention of the Government to-morrow, when the Motion of the Prime Minister is brought forward, the desirability of giving a few minutes of the Government time for the purpose of taking the Committee stage of the Bill to which I have referred.

MR. COURTNEY: I am unable to say anything in reply to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), as my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary happens to be away; but I can say a word in reply to the appeal of the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) in reference to the Ulster Canal Bill. I should be unwilling to take advantage of the removal of the block against that Bill, considering that it has only been removed in consequence of the "Count-out" on Friday. But what I propose to do is to hear anything the hon. Member may have to say this evening, and if I find there is any serious objection to go on with the Bill, it will not be persisted in. I hope we may be able to come to an understanding as to what the objection of the hon. Gentleman is, either to-night or any other night he likes, so that we may know what he wants.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I should like to ask the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor) a question as to the interesting statement which he has made to the House in the course of this discussion. He gave us to understand that tremendous efforts were made by the Government to keep a House on Friday last; and I think it would be useful to know who the Members of the Government were to whom he has referred?

[No reply was given.]

Question, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into the Committee of Supply," put, and *agreed to.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £63,113, to complete the sum for Home Office.

MR. HEALY said, he was glad to see the Home Secretary present. He wanted to know whether the attention of the right hon. and learned Gentleman had been called to certain articles which had appeared in *The Freeman's Journal* and other Irish newspapers concerning a lady who was said to be a female emissary sent over by the Home Office to that country? He wished to know if that lady was still in the service of the Home Department?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT was sorry to say that he was not as conversant with the Irish papers as, perhaps, he ought to be. He had read a good many of them, and he had seen in them a number of extraordinary statements, most of which he found to be inaccurate.

He had not, however, seen the statement to which the hon. Member referred. He could, however, assure the hon. Member that he had no emissary whatever, and, above all, no female emissary. That was the only answer he could give to the hon. Member.

MR. HEALY remarked, that a telegram to this person from the Home Office was in the possession of a friend of his.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: All that I can say is that I know nothing about it.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £46,474, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT believed it was within his right to call the attention of the Committee, in some detail, upon this Vote, to Her Majesty's foreign policy. He did not, however, propose to go into full details at that moment, as he had no desire to occupy the time of the Committee unnecessarily. He wished, however, to draw the attention of the Committee to the want of information which had been displayed in both Houses, but especially in that House, on the part of Her Majesty's Foreign Office; and he should be obliged to refer to various matters with which the Foreign Office had recently had to deal. He did not wish to be understood to blame the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the course he had pursued in that House. He believed the noble Lord was suffering from the company into which he had been thrown. He was satisfied the noble Lord would be disposed to give more accurate information if he were in a position to do so; but, of course, the noble Lord, in these matters, acted under the direction of the Cabinet, and especially of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who was not a Member of that House. Therefore, any remarks he had to make in reference to want of information would apply more particularly to the Cabinet and to the Secretary of State, than to the noble Lord. The first point to which he would refer was the extraordinary want of information possessed by the Government with regard to the critical position of affairs in Egypt. He had endeavoured, over and over again, to obtain some information as to the progress and the movements of the Mahdi. It was quite clear, from all the independent testimony that came to this country, that the position of Egypt was extremely critical, and that at the close of the Ramadan, which he believed would last about a fortnight longer, everybody in that country expected a serious disturbance.

MR. RYLANDS rose to Order. The Vote related to the salaries of the officials in the Foreign Office; and he submitted that the hon. Member was out of Order in raising upon that Vote a general question as to the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that before the Chairman gave a ruling upon that point, he wished to call attention to the statement he had made—that he was not going to enter into details, although it was entirely within his right to do so; but he was endeavouring to point out the special cases in which the Foreign Office had failed to afford information. He proposed to conclude by moving the reduction of the Vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is very difficult to say where a limit should be put to a discussion upon a Vote which involves the salary of the Secretary of State; but I may point out to the hon. Member that, by the long practice of the House, the convenience of the House would be best consulted by not importing into the consideration of the Foreign Office Vote questions which involve the foreign policy of the Government.

MR. HEALY wished to point out, on the point of Order, that on the Vote for the salary of the Chief Secretary for Ireland it was the custom to raise the whole question of the policy of the Irish Government. He wished to know if the Irish Members were to be stopped and prevented from entering into that discussion when the Vote for the Chief Secretary was reached?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) is in possession of the Committee, and may continue his remarks. When I think the hon. Member is out of Order, I will stop him.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he was surprised at the interruption of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who had himself been distinguished by raising discursive discussions upon almost every question for many years. He believed he was entirely within his right in entering upon a discussion of the Egyptian Question upon this Vote. But, without entering into details, he merely desired to point out, in general terms, the critical condition of Egypt, and to show how little information they were able to get from the Government. Before he was interrupted by the hon. Member, he was proceeding to point out how the movements of the Mahdi had extended, and how an invasion of Lower Egypt was expected by persons of the very highest authority on the spot, both English and Egyptian. The Government had been asked for information over and over again in reference to Berber, Dongola, and Assouan; but the House could obtain no reliable information whatever. It was said that if Dongola fell, there must be an invasion of Egypt; and yet the Government were unable to state what the position of affairs was. Although they had agents only 200 miles away, at Wady-Halfa, and although this uncertainty had been going on for two months, Ministers had been unable to obtain any information as to the position of Dongola—whether the Mudir was faithful or not, or whether the Mahdi had obtained possession of the place or not—notwithstanding the fact that very valuable British lives were at stake. There were a dozen British officers scattered over the deserts, and there were no reliable troops until Assouan was reached. At that place, he believed, there was an entire battalion; but it might find itself suddenly surrounded and overwhelmed. So imperfect was the information of the Foreign Office with regard to Egypt that they did not know what was taking place at Dongola. He would have thought that they could have sent spies in order to find out the position of affairs there. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members did not understand the importance of this, and he did not very much care for the ridicule they attempted to cast upon him, because the time would undoubtedly come when the importance of these places would be fully demonstrated—the importance of other places had been demonstrated in the past. He only raised the question now to urge on the Foreign Office the importance of obtaining reliable information in regard to this dangerous fanatical movement, which was now spreading onwards towards Egypt, and which, in the opinion of many, if not of all, well-informed persons in that country, might cause our small garrisons there, before very many weeks elapsed, to be fighting for their lives. There was another point from which he thought the House suffered owing to the want of information—a question which had been raised by the late Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke), who was not, however, at that moment, in his place to deal with it—namely, what was going to happen with regard to the police arrangements in Egypt, and how far the old system was to be resorted to? He would now go to another part of the world, in which the interests of this country, although not so great as those in Egypt, were really very considerable. He had asked the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to give the House some reliable information in regard to what was going on in Madagascar; but he found it impossible to obtain accurate intelligence as to what was going on in that remote Island, although it was well known that there were large British interests at stake. Their trade, which had been destroyed by the French operations, amounted to nearly £1,000,000 a-year, and many of Her Majesty's subjects had suffered grievous injury. A considerable sum of money had been voted by the French Assembly for the conquest of the Island. He had received many complaints from private individuals and others, showing how their interests had been neglected. They were told that a Consul General had been sent out to Madagascar last February or March. The noble Lord said he had no information, and yet the newspapers that morning informed the public that large reinforcements had been sent to the Island, which were about to march on different points. They knew what would happen when that took place. The French hold, once gained, would never be relaxed. It must be remembered that the people of Madagascar were our friends; that they had been largely Christianized; and that we

carried on a considerable trade with them which amounted to at least £150,000 per annum, but which would be permanently destroyed. Under these circumstances, it was lamentable that they were unable to obtain any information from the Foreign Office with reference to Madagascar. If he went to another part of the world—namely, China, he was equally unable to obtain information. He found, from the statements in the public newspapers, that war between China and France was imminent, and if war did break out it must necessarily cause great injury to British commerce and British trade. When they asked if any mediation was being undertaken, they were told that Her Majesty's Government had made no attempt at mediation, and that they did not believe they would succeed if they did. No one would deny that the interests of this country were largely concerned in China. He believed there was no barbarous or semi-barbarous country in which their interests were greater than in China; and yet, in the face of so injurious a prospect as that of war between France and China, the Foreign Office was unable to give the House any information. They heard, on good authority, that the unfortunate encounter between the Chinese and the French troops arose out of a misunderstanding occasioned by want of notice on the part of the French General to the Chinese Commander at Lang-son; but surely that afforded a ground for the Representatives of the Foreign Office to offer mediation. Yet, because Her Majesty's Ministers were embarrassed by these unfortunate diplomatic failures elsewhere, they dared not stand up against French aggression upon China. That was the third allegation he made against the Foreign Office. The last point he would mention had reference to the financial proposals which had been laid before the Powers of Europe who were taking part in the Conference. He was sorry the Prime Minister was not in his place, because the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State might not feel himself entitled to give information without the authority of the right hon. Gentleman. It was, however, a point on which Parliament ought no longer to be kept in the dark. On the 28th of June, proposals, in reference to Egypt, were made on the part of Her Majesty's Government by the Foreign Secretary of a grave financial character to the European Powers. It was understood that the House would be put in the possession of the whole case in regard to the proposals before they were submitted to the Conference, and yet the very point on which the House had a right to have the fullest, the earliest, and the most ample information was the only point now withheld from them. The proposals had been communicated to the Powers of Europe 16 days ago, and yet no information in regard to them had been conveyed either to this or the other House of Parliament. He held that that was a remarkable dereliction of duty on the part of the Ministers of the Crown. He submitted that the House of Commons had an absolute right to know the financial proposals submitted by the Foreign Office to the European Powers as soon as the European Powers received them, if not sooner. Certainly, they ought to have them submitted to the consideration of the House, and to the consideration of public opinion, some time before the debate upon those proposals, which was expected, took place. They were told that it was disrespectful to the Powers to reveal those proposals to the House before they had been considered in the Conference, yet it was not thought disrespectful to submit the proposals for the neutralization of Egypt, for the withdrawal of their troops, and in favour of a Multiple Control. At the time of the bombardment of Alexandria, they were told that it would be disrespectful to the Powers to land 1,500 men to catch Arabi Pasha; but it was not considered disrespectful to cause the destruction of Alexandria, and to fight the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. Although it was held to be disrespectful to the European Powers to submit the financial proposals to the House of Commons before they were considered by the Conference, it was not held to be disrespectful to submit all the other proposals before they had been adopted by the Powers. He hoped that hon. Members would admit that he had kept within the four corners of his promise, and that he had only briefly discussed matters of grave importance, in respect of which information had been withheld from the House. In order to mark his sense of the unjustifiable secrecy pursued by Her

Majesty's Government, and the want of information and general knowledge of which he complained in the Foreign Office, together with the neglect of the interests of the country by Her Majesty's Government, largely due to their astonishing ignorance of what was taking place abroad, he moved that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £45,474, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett.*)

Mr. RYLANDS said, that, of course, he did not wish to dispute the right of the hon. Member to raise a general discussion of this kind. It might show to the country that hon. Members were doing their duty in criticizing the efficiency of the Foreign Office. It was the right of any Member, before voting money, to ask questions, or to raise objections, on the ground of the alleged inefficiency of any particular Department. But, at the same time, on a Vote of this kind it was not desirable to enter into general questions of foreign policy simply because the salary of the Foreign Secretary was included in the Vote, because he ventured to say that it was utterly impossible for any Minister to make a reply. If the hon. Gentleman was proposing to reduce the Vote because he disapproved of the foreign policy of the Government, it was hardly a sufficient ground; but he understood the hon. Member to say that he objected to the Vote because the Government were inefficient apart from their general administration of foreign affairs. It appeared to him that the hon. Gentleman was dissatisfied because the Government seemed always to be behindhand in obtaining information. Now, that had been the case during the whole of his (Mr. Rylands's) experience of Parliament. He had invariably found that the Foreign Office was always the last to know anything about foreign matters, although they were communicated to other nations, notwithstanding that they had a most lavishly expensive system for putting themselves in communication with foreign countries, with a view of obtaining information. He had always contended, and he contended now, that the amount of money this country spent on the Foreign Department was altogether in excess of any advantage they derived from that Department. The whole of the expenditure of the Foreign Office was conducted on the most lavish scale. The officials were all very highly paid; and not only so, but he thought it would be found on inquiry that the total number of them might be permanently reduced. There were two or three items in the Vote which had always been objected to. He saw an hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. Lowther) look at him, probably because the hon. Member remembered the old controversy in regard to the charge for Foreign Office messengers. He found in the present Vote an item of £6,780 for Foreign Office messengers, in addition to which the country was called upon to pay £10,000 or £11,000 annually for travelling expenses. He did not hesitate to say that this country paid three times as much for Foreign Office messengers, or messengers connected with the Foreign Department, as any other first-class Power in the world. There could be no doubt about it. The Foreign Office messengers of the other Great Powers had nothing like the salaries which were paid to those of this country, nor were there as many of them as we employed for the purposes of the Foreign Office. He believed a large amount of the expenditure would be saved, if, under the great advantages they now possessed in the Postal and Telegraph system, they reduced, not only the number of Foreign Office messengers, but the salaries and expenditure charged in this account. The appointment of Foreign Office messengers had always stood upon an objectionable footing. Gentlemen were appointed who had some claim upon the official persons connected with the country, or with the Foreign Office—perhaps half-pay officers, or other gentlemen—the object being to place them in a comfortable position. They travelled through Europe under the most luxurious circumstances, from which they derived a handsome income in addition to their pay, and they had provision made for their travelling expenses on a very liberal scale, far different from what was done in other countries. He ventured further to say that the necessity for the employment of these gentlemen was much less

now than it was a few years ago. Before the telegraphic system came into operation there was a greater necessity for communicating by direct means between the Foreign Office or Downing Street and their Embassies abroad; but under the new state of circumstances the services of some of these gentlemen might be advantageously dispensed with. He sincerely hoped that the old traditions and the antiquated forms of the Foreign Office would be to some extent done away with. He did not believe there was any Department of the State which was so antiquated in its ideas as the Foreign Office. He believed that telegrams would do the work much better than these Foreign Office messengers. At present, the latter occupied themselves in conveying despatches, which anybody who read the Blue Books would see took up a considerable amount of the attention of the Government officials, and led to a considerable amount of expenditure. What he wanted to see was that the Foreign Office should get rid of these old forms, which only tended to increase expenditure and occupy time, and that they should devote themselves to the acquisition of a more business-like style, which would place them in a position to obtain better information abroad. He could not support the proposal of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) to reduce the Vote by the sum of £10,000.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, the hon. Member was mistaken; he only proposed to reduce it by £1,000.

MR. RYLANDS said, he would vote a reduction of £1,000 as a protest. He had no objection to that at all, because he considered that the Vote was altogether excessive, and beyond what was necessary for the purposes of the Foreign Office. There was another point he desired to mention—namely, the continued charge of £300 a-year paid to the Secretary of State for the management of the Secret Service Fund of the Foreign Department. He had been in hopes, when the late change took place in the Permanent Secretaryship, that this item would have been got rid of. The sum formerly paid to Lord Hammond was £500, and it was paid, without the knowledge of Parliament, out of the Secret Service money. The fact, however, was ascertained from a former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the sum of £500 was paid to Lord Hammond, and that it came out of the Secret Service Fund itself. It was then arranged, as he understood, that, while it would be continued to the then holder of the Office, there would be a reduction when Lord Hammond's successor was appointed, with a view to the ultimate removal of the charge. When Lord Hammond ceased to be Permanent Under Secretary, the amount that was paid to his successor was reduced to £300 a-year; but he felt that to be an excessive amount, considering the duties the Permanent Under Secretary had to perform in connection with this service. He thought the Committee was entitled to have some information upon the subject; and he regretted to see that, although there had been another change in the office of Permanent Secretary, Her Majesty's Government had not got rid of the charge altogether.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he would not follow the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in his attack upon the salaries of the officials connected with the Foreign Office, because he considered it useless and a waste of time. The hon. Member, as well as other hon. Members, every year, attacked the salaries of the Foreign Office officials; but, as far as he could make out, they never took any steps to inquire into the working of the Office, or even to ask for a Committee of Inquiry into it. He (Sir Henry Holland), as an old official, protested against these general attacks on the salaries of the gentlemen who performed these duties, unless they were followed up by a distinct proceeding—such as asking for a Committee of Inquiry into the working of the system. He agreed, however, in the views of the hon. Member as to the last item to which he had referred; and he had intended to put a question to the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs as to the payment of this sum of £300 for the management of the Secret Service Fund of the Foreign Department. He had understood that Lord Hammond, who was Permanent Under Secretary before Lord Tenterden, had received this sum out of the Secret Service Fund, partly in consideration of his long and able services, but that the payment was to be discontinued on the retirement of Lord Hammond. He could not understand why there

should be a claim of this kind put forward by the Foreign Office, and why, if any duties were to be performed in connection with the Secret Service Fund, they were not discharged without any special payment, as they were at the Home and Colonial Offices. The Assistant Secretary of the Colonial Office received no additional pay because he had to manage this fund; and he (Sir Henry Holland) could not for the life of him see why the Foreign Office Secretary should get this sum when it was not paid in connection with any other Department.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, there was one observation which had fallen from the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) which he confessed he had listened to with very great interest. The hon. Member said that the unfortunate difficulty between France and China had arisen from want of Notice. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had often expressed an opinion that a great number of unfortunate encounters which took place between the hon. Member and himself arose from want of notice. In this particular case he was inclined to think the Committee would not be willing to enter into all the topics which the hon. Member had raised. It would only lead the Committee into a prolonged discussion which it would not be convenient to enter into. He would remind the hon. Member, in regard to his complaint of want of information, that he would find on inquiry that there had been very few Sessions of Parliament in which such an amount of information had been given to the House by the Foreign Office in the shape of Blue Books. He would also remind the hon. Member that he had undertaken to lay on the Table, next week, Papers on one of the subjects to which the hon. Member had alluded—namely, Egypt. In regard to the Conference, the hon. Member himself had pointed out that it would be almost impossible to expect from him (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), or his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, any statement while the Conference was still sitting.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he only wished to know what the financial proposals were.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the financial proposals were part of the matters now before the Conference. The hon. Member complained of want of information in regard to Madagascar. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had over and over again stated to the House that the Foreign Office, since last year, had taken special means to obtain full and accurate information in respect of that Island by sending out a gentleman of great ability as Consul, and by appointing Vice Consuls in different parts of the Island; and, although he did not give any pledge, he thought it would be possible at an early date to lay Reports on the Table which would give the House further information. The hon. Member also complained of the want of information in regard to China. He had already alluded to what was happening between the French and the Chinese, and he confessed that in his view—and he had always understood that that view was generally held in the House—the information laid before Parliament by the Foreign Office in regard to the transactions between this country and Foreign Powers ought to be such as directly affected this country. The Foreign Office was not a Department for what might be called the mere collection of news. Information was placed by the Foreign Office before Parliament when it became evident that it was necessary to inform Parliament as to what was going on. It was also necessary that the information should be of an authentic character, and not made in a haphazard fashion from day to day—simply containing the news with which the public was at present admirably supplied by the newspapers. He thought that if the Foreign Office were to take up any new attitude in the relations between France and China, they would be justly incurring blame, and, to use the expression of his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), would be guilty of "a fussy intermeddling with other people's affairs when there was no necessity for it." Certain events had arisen between the French and the Chinese—whether they had arisen from want of notice or not he did not know—and if the time came when the relation between those Powers assumed such proportions as to render it necessary that information should be laid before Parliament, such information would be produced; but that moment had not yet arrived, and it was the hope of Her Majesty's Government that arrange-

ments would be made between France and China which might prevent the breaking out of further hostilities, or any necessity for the intervention of this country. He would remind the hon. Member that it was only on Friday last that he had said that an arrangement was made last year by the Powers, under which neutrals were to be protected.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked if the arrangement included France?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE was understood to reply in the negative. The arrangement was for the protection of neutrals, and was actually in force. He wished to say before he sat down a few words in answer to the remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland). He thought his hon. Friend had forgotten that the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had, on a former occasion, taken an active part in securing the appointment of a Committee for inquiring into the condition of the Diplomatic Service. Although those who occupied the Office he now held were sometimes adverse to such inquiries, as taking up a good deal of time, he was glad to acknowledge, nevertheless, that this inquiry had been of great use. He believed his hon. Friend had succeeded in bringing out a considerable amount of useful information; and if it had enabled the Foreign Office from time to time to touch various matters which they had previously found it difficult to deal with, it was because they had the advantage of public opinion in support of the changes they had introduced. He could not agree with his hon. Friend in saying that no changes had been made as the result of that inquiry. In consequence of the inquiry, various changes had been made from time to time, and last year he had been subjected to complaints for some of the reductions which had been made. When the Diplomatic Vote came on, hon. Members would see for themselves that the Estimates this year had been reduced, and he was making careful inquiry with a view to further reductions in the same direction. He would remind his hon. Friend that the very point he had touched upon—namely, the Foreign Office messengers—had been considered, and that a reduction was going on at that moment. No further appointments would be made until the number of messengers receiving the higher salaries had been reduced to four. That was an arrangement decided upon three or four years ago, and was gradually being brought into operation; but it could only be carried out as vacancies occurred. In regard to the question of Secret Service money, the Committee would be aware that in the past there had been a great deal of discussion upon the salary paid to the Permanent Under Secretary in respect of this fund. He was inclined to think the arrangement was that the existing state of things was to terminate on the retirement of Lord Hammond, when there was to be a reduction; and, as a matter of fact, upon the retirement of Lord Hammond the payment was reduced from £500 to £300 a-year. The reasons for retaining the salary were explained on the 24th of July, 1871, by the present Prime Minister, who said—

"Secret Service money constitutes a completely distinct and special fund, and the administration of it is necessarily a duty, not only of very high responsibility, but also of considerable labour, because it is necessarily kept in the hands of a very high and confidential person, who cannot receive in the administration of it the kind and degree of assistance which he receives in the discharge of the ordinary duties of his Office. For these reasons, it has been for a long time held in the Foreign Office that a special allowance ought to be made to the Permanent Under Secretary for this difficult, responsible, and laborious duty."—(3 *Hansard*, [208] 161-2.)

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked if the same conditions prevailed now?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he thought they did to the same extent; the duties of the Foreign Office were very often of a grave and difficult character, and this had been the position of things. At the same time, he was inclined to think that the change, brought about, to a great extent, by the action of his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), was a very wise change, and the public were under a great obligation to his hon. Friend for having called attention to the question. The hon. Member was really the father of the arrangement which had since been carried out.

MR. RYLANDS wished to say a word by way of personal explanation. He did not entertain the opinion that no change had been made, and he did not intend to use language which might convey that impression. He was quite aware

that changes had been made within the last few years which were all in the right direction; but he should like to see more of them carried out.

Mr. MAC IVER remarked, that if the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) went to a Division, he (Mr. Mac Iver) would vote for the reduction the hon. Member suggested, but not upon any of the grounds which had been put forward by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands). He thought the public servants of the Foreign Office, like other permanent officials, were seldom over-paid for the important duties they had to perform. His complaint against the Foreign Office was rather of a different kind. He found that, under the guidance of the present Administration, it had been a most unsuccessful Foreign Office. He did not blame the noble Lord who represented the Office in that House. He was sure the noble Lord did his best, and, perhaps, he had rather a rough time of it; but he did blame the Foreign Office for their inaction in regard to such matters as the crew of the *Nisero*. He blamed them for not having obtained the release of these men at a time when they might have done so much more easily than now. He blamed them for not having been able to fulfil their promises in regard to the commercial arrangements with Spain. His real complaint, however, had reference to the policy of the Foreign Office as administered by Her Majesty's present Advisers, and he thought their policy would completely justify the Committee in supporting the proposition of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) for the reduction of the Vote. He did not blame the noble Lord or the Government for any deficiency—so far as quantity was concerned—of information, because, as regards Blue Books, there were plenty of them, and there was an abundant supply of printed matter. But what he did complain of was that most of the so-called Foreign Office information, as given in the Blue Books, was of a misleading and confusing character. He had himself been referred to Blue Books in regard to statements said to be contained in them, which, as a matter of fact, were not contained in them. There were plenty of Blue Books of one kind and another, but it was quite a mistake to suppose that they necessarily contained the information which the Foreign Office ought to give. He contended that hon. Members representing important constituencies, when they put reasonable questions to the Government, ought to be able to obtain the information they wanted. For these reasons he should support the Motion which had been made for the reduction of the Vote.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he had no doubt that, if the Conservatives had been in power, all the terrible things of which hon. Gentlemen opposite complained of would not have happened; but he thought that a great deal more money would have been spent upon the Foreign Office than the Committee were now called upon to vote. He had risen, however, to call the attention of the noble Lord to a statement which had fallen from him with respect to Foreign Office messengers. His hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) complained that too much money was spent upon those Foreign Office messengers. The noble Lord replied that the salaries of some of the Queen's Home Service messengers were about to be reduced; but he had always observed, no matter whether a Liberal or Conservative Ministry was in power, that if anybody's salary was to be reduced, it was not the men who had large salaries, but those who had small ones. If hon. Members would look into the Estimates, they would find that Her Majesty's Foreign Office messengers—namely, those who were required to go abroad—received £400 a-year, whereas the Home messengers received only from £200 to £250. The House complained that too much money was spent upon these messengers; whereupon the Government said—"Let us reduce the salaries of some of them; but we will reduce the salaries of those who receive £200 and £250 a-year, and leave the men with £400 alone." Very often these gentlemen were sent abroad—at a very large cost to the country, for no practical object whatever. They went on a certain route, and the business was made up for them as they went. He had had the honour to serve at one time under Sir Henry Bulwer at Constantinople. Now, Sir Henry Bulwer was always ill; and on one occasion he remembered making a calculation that a box of pills, Sir Henry was anxious to obtain, and which was sent

out by a Foreign Office messenger, cost the country from £200 to £300. Probably the pills did Sir Henry good, and pills were much more useful than a good deal of the stuff sent out by the Foreign Office. Perhaps the noble Lord would not condescend to answer that point; but he would get up and tell them that telegrams cost so much, and that unless they employed these Foreign Office messengers they would have otherwise to send cipher telegrams on a very large amount of their business. Now, he (Mr. Labouchere) was in the Diplomatic Service for 10 years, and he had spent a good deal of his time in ciphering and deciphering telegrams; and he did not remember half-a-dozen of them that any man, woman, or child in the whole world would have taken the trouble to decipher for any information they could have derived from them. The cost of telegrams, therefore, was no excuse. These messengers were sent out by particular routes, and at particular times. He had known them sometimes arrive with nothing more than a letter from Her Majesty to her relatives in Germany. Of course, Her Majesty's relatives received the letters that were sent out in that way; but surely it was absurd to send a man from this country to Germany for the simple purpose of carrying some formal letter. He hoped the noble Lord would look into the matter. He quite admitted that the Foreign Office was at present acting economically in regard to the Diplomatic Service; but he thought there was a good opportunity for reducing the number of Foreign Office messengers, and the number of their journeys. £10,000 spent on journeys was really too large a sum.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he could not agree with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) in his statement that if the Conservative Party had been in power more money would have been spent upon the Foreign Office. That was directly contrary to all the facts of the case. It was well known that within the last few years the Liberal Government had expended £5,000,000 more than the late Conservative Government, not upon the Foreign Office, but altogether. The noble Lord excused the want of information supplied to the country by the Foreign Office by an appeal to the large quantity of Blue Books which were furnished. But no one who had examined the Blue Books issued by the Foreign Office this year and last year would find in them any excuse for a want of general information, for a more extraordinarily confused and misleading collection of miscellaneous information, for the most part wholly beside any point upon which they might have been useful, he had never seen issued by any Department, public or otherwise. An immense quantity of Correspondence had been published; but it contained very little information of value. Nevertheless, in spite of the suppression of an immense amount of information which ought to have appeared in the Blue Books, it had been possible to establish a strong case against the Government out of their own Blue Books. The noble Lord told them he had given them the best information he could in regard to the affairs of Madagascar. He would remind the noble Lord that he had somewhat jeered hon. Members for calling attention to statements which had appeared in the newspapers. It was not a habit of his (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett's) to do so; but he must say that the information which had appeared in the newspapers during the last four years had, when carefully sorted, been very accurate. Very often it had been made use of for the purpose of obtaining information from Ministers; and, although Ministers had ridiculed the information, and denied its accuracy, they had generally admitted it to be correct in the end, the denial of the Foreign Office being the only thing that was inaccurate. That had been established in a dozen cases. He was not satisfied with the reasons the noble Lord had given for the absence of information in regard to the financial proposals now before the European Powers. The noble Lord said it was not possible to do so in the absence of the Prime Minister.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I said that it was undesirable to give it while the Conference was sitting.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, it was to the latter reason that he took exception. If the noble Lord would recall to mind what had recently happened with regard to the Conference, he would remember that information had been given to the House upon three out of the four great matters submitted

to it—namely, the withdrawal of the troops from Egypt, the neutralization of Egypt, and information in regard to the Debt Commission. The noble Lord, nevertheless, considered it unreasonable to expect the Government to give the House information as to the financial proposals, which were the very essence of the deliberations of the Conference. He proposed to ask a question of the Government shortly, in order to obtain more information. Before he sat down he would venture to express a hope that the Foreign Office would endeavour to obtain accurate information with regard to the state of affairs at Dongola. That was a point to which the noble Lord had not referred in his answer at all. It was a point which ought to be pressed upon the Government; and before Vote 5 came on for discussion, full and accurate information ought to be placed before the House.

MR. MOORE said, he thought the Committee had a right to expect full information from the noble Lord with regard to the Foreign Office messengers. Nobody would object to their employment, or to incur any expense for the objects of diplomacy in averting a great war, or on any occasion of that sort; but the impression currently entertained was, that these messengers were despatched at fixed intervals to different European capitals whether they had anything to say or not, and whether they had any despatch of importance to carry out or not. The question was not whether important despatches were sent out as occasion required, but whether these Foreign Office messengers made their journeys at fixed intervals—once a fortnight or once a month. That was a point upon which the noble Lord might give the Committee some information. The impression was that on the recurrence of particular periods each messenger departed on his round. It was supposed that by the time he went he had a bag-full of despatches on the different questions which were always arising between the various European Governments. If there were any occasion of importance there could be no objection to these messengers being despatched so as to make it perfectly sure that the despatches would reach their destination; but what was complained of was that an old-fashioned and antiquated system was kept up which was of no practical use in the present day, when they had the telegraph and the postal arrangements and many other facilities for sending news. The question was, did they really require these messengers to be sent off at periodical intervals; and he would ask the noble Lord whether or not it was the fact that Foreign Office messengers were despatched at regular fixed intervals to the principal European capitals?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, it was not necessary to answer in detail the remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). The fact in regard to these Foreign Office messengers was this—there were certain circuits to the principal capitals of Europe—namely, Paris, Constantinople, Berlin, and St. Petersburg, and the messengers were sent at fixed intervals according to a rota. It had been stated that these messengers were sent when there was no occasion for employing them; but he was bound to say that during the last two years he did not think there had been any period when it had not been necessary to employ the services of these messengers. After the discussion which had taken place he would promise that the matter should be carefully inquired into, and if it was found that any reduction could be made an attempt would be made to effect it. He wished now to correct the misapprehension under which the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) appeared to labour in regard to the information contained in the newspapers of this country. Everyone at the Foreign Office was under great obligation to the newspapers for the information they supplied; but it was one thing to read the information which appeared in the newspapers and to attach credence and value to it, and quite another thing for the Secretary of State to come down to the House and give that information to hon. Members. The Government were obliged to be exceedingly careful, and they could not, the moment they saw a report, or a rumour, which it might be perfectly right to insert in a newspaper in the largest type, come down to the House of Commons and repeat that information until they became certain of its accuracy.

MR. MOORE said, he thought the Committee would like to have a little

fuller information as to the messenger question before proceeding to a vote. Was the messenger sent every fortnight to St. Petersburg, or was he the same person as the messenger who went to Berlin, or were there two separate messengers sent once a fortnight—one to Berlin and one to St. Petersburgh, passing over much of the same ground?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, there was one messenger stationed between Paris and Calais who kept up a constant communication with the Embassies mentioned. One messenger was despatched once a fortnight to Berlin, and another once a fortnight to St. Petersburg.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member for Eye move the reduction of the Vote?

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Yes; by the sum of £1,000.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 19; Noes 109: Majority 90.—(Div. List., No. 158.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(3.) £27,411, to complete the sum for Colonial Office.

(4.) £33,309, to complete the sum for the Privy Council Office.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that having seen the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) in the Lobby, he trusted he would be in his place on the Treasury Bench to reply to one or two questions which he should have to address to him on the subject of this Vote. With regard to the new Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, he should like the right hon. Gentleman to state the action, if any, which had been taken under it by the Privy Council; whether any additional foreign countries had been scheduled in accordance with the powers given by Parliament to the Privy Council, or whether there had been no necessity since the passing of the Act to put those powers into force? Then there was an inquiry which he would address to his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury with regard to the Vote, in which he observed a considerable increase as compared with the amount of the Estimate of last year. He did not know whether his hon. Friend was aware of the items which made up the increase; but, amongst others, he would point out that there was a large advance beyond the amount charged last year for copyists. The pay of these persons was at the rate of 10*d.* per hour, and the charge for the work this year was £1,250, as against £750 for last year. No doubt there had been some considerable increase in the number of Returns, yet he did not know that that ought to account for so much of the increase in this particular Vote. Then he would ask his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster whether the Irish boats had been properly dealt with in respect of disinfection? It was promised that that question should be very carefully considered, and he was satisfied that it would be a great satisfaction to the Committee to know whether the Irish cattle would now be imported into this country without let or hindrance, and that there was no cattle disease in Ireland. There was also the subject of agricultural statistics on which he would be glad to receive some information. He was rather surprised that the right hon. Gentleman was not in his place, because he must have been quite certain that when the Vote for the Privy Council came forward these questions would be entered upon. Perhaps, under the circumstances, it might be possible to postpone the Vote until the Chancellor of the Duchy came in to reply to the inquiries he had made.

MR. COURTNEY said, he was willing, if necessary, to postpone the Vote until the arrival of the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT, on the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster taking his place, said, he was glad that his right hon. Friend was now present, because the present was in all probability the last opportunity they would have of obtaining an explanation on agricultural matters. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to state whether anything had been done with regard to the Act passed this year; whether any fresh foreign countries had been scheduled, and whether he had found it necessary to put the Act into force? He would also ask particularly what was the present condition of the foot-and-mouth disease in the country; and whether there was any ground for hoping that it was at that moment nearly, if not quite, extinguished? He would like to

hear whether the outbreaks mentioned the other day by the right hon. Gentleman had undergone any alteration; whether the number of cattle infected had or had not decreased? Then, with regard to the Irish boats, he asked if the arrangements for having them properly cleansed had been carried out; whether cattle might now be shipped in them without fear of their becoming diseased; whether in Bristol the cattle were detained after landing, or whether that portion of the country was now free from disease? Finally, he wished to know whether the Agricultural Statistical Returns were sent in as effectively, efficiently, and regularly as the right hon. Gentleman could desire, or whether it was not the case, as he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was led to believe, that a certain number of those Returns had not been sent in?

MR. DODSON said, he felt flattered by the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite giving him credit for the possession of so excellent a memory as would enable him to reply at once to all the statistical questions he had just put to him. However, he would do his best to satisfy the hon. and gallant Gentleman. He was happy to say that they had not had to schedule any fresh countries. It was now more than 12 months ago—14 or 15 he believed—since, excepting in one special case of the *Ontario*, a head of cattle affected with foot-and-mouth disease had been landed for slaughter on these shores, and eight months since any sheep or swine so affected had been landed for slaughter. Under those circumstances, they had not thought it necessary to prohibit importation from any country under the new Act. There had, therefore, been no action under that Act. He was sorry to say, with reference to foot-and-mouth disease in the country, that it had recently increased. There were at that moment five herds diseased in different parts of the country, one of them being in Yorkshire, and three others in the counties of Norfolk, Cheshire, and Surrey, while the name of the county in which the remaining case had occurred had escaped him. An hon. Member suggested Kent; but that county was now free. The fact, however, was as he had stated—there were five counties in which there were at the moment infected places, and he was sorry to add that in each case there were a considerable number of animals on the farm which it was to be feared had come in contact with the animals diseased. In each case precautions had been taken to insure isolation, which he hoped would be strictly enforced, and the Privy Council recommended the Local Authorities to have the places watched by the police, which, so far as he was aware, had been done. The Privy Council also advised that provision should be made for the disinfection of persons in attendance upon diseased animals and moving in and out of infected places. With regard to Ireland, he was glad to say that there had been no disease since April last, so far as was known to the Privy Council; and, therefore, no detentions had taken place either at Bristol or elsewhere. With regard to the Irish boats, they were subject to the legal precautions. But the Irish Privy Council, further, had requested the proprietors of the vessels trading between the two countries to take extraordinary measures to insure disinfection; and that request, he believed, had been willingly complied with, with the result, which he had stated, of there having been no disease brought from Ireland since April last.

MR. A. F. EGERTON asked if the right hon. Gentleman had any information as to the existence of pleuro-pneumonia in Lancashire?

MR. DODSON said, he was glad to state that there was no reason to believe that pleuro-pneumonia was increasing in the country. There were, however, a few cases.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to call attention to the sale of poisons in connection with the Pharmacy Act. Believing the public health to be of some concern even to a Liberal Government, he had urged this question upon them year after year. Two years ago an official who, as he believed, was a subordinate in the Home Office, stated, in reply to a Question on his part, that the subject had then reached maturity for legislation; and, believing that to be the case, he (Mr. Warton) ventured to bring in a Bill on the subject of the Pharmacy Act, for which a good place on the Paper was obtained, the Bill being set down for early in March. It was simply a Bill for the purpose of trying to remedy some of the evils arising out of the sale of poisons as medicine, and in support of it he quoted numerous authorities to

show the extensive sale, as patent medicines, of drugs that were highly poisonous; he showed that although a person could not, as was supposed, buy poisons without going through a certain form, yet that any quantity of poison could be bought in the form of patent medicine; he proved from medical evidence that there were many poisons contained in these patent medicines; and, finally, that a number of deaths had resulted from that cause; and upon that occasion the Government promised that if his Bill were rejected in the House of Commons another Bill should be brought forward in "another place." Now, until four months ago, he believed that the Government were to be trusted in this matter; and, therefore, he put two Questions on the subject, and the answer was that there was a doubt as to whether Ireland should be included in the measure or not, and, after a fortnight had elapsed, he was told by the Vice President of the Council for Education that they had not yet communicated with the Irish authorities on the subject. Looking at the fact that a number of deaths had occurred through the sale of these medicines, and that he had brought in a Bill to deal with the matter, and having regard to the time which had elapsed and the promise given that a Bill should be introduced in "another place," it seemed to him that there was really serious ground for complaint against the Government. He could not move the reduction of the Vote, because he wished to see it increased; but, looking at the matter from the Government's own point of view, he said that they had been guilty of scandalous neglect. With their increased knowledge on this subject, they had only put down the paltry sum of £120 for the purpose of carrying out the object in view. *The Lancet*, a perfectly impartial and respectable paper, contained an article which had been sent to him by the editor, strongly urging legislation in this direction, in which it was complained that the Government stamp was put upon these medicines, which led the public almost always to imagine that there was some guarantee for the goodness of the medicines themselves. There were numbers of poor and uneducated people who, when they saw a packet with the Government stamp upon it, were always ready to believe that the contents were good. He wished that stamp to be made a reality, to show whether the medicine was good or bad, and not to remain, as it was at present, something delusive. While the revenue from that source amounted to £140,000, £120 was all that the Government gave for the purpose of carrying out an important part of the Pharmacy Act. Let the Committee contrast the large amount derived from this dishonest, this dirty source, if he might say so, with the small item of £120, and let them bear in mind the promises made in judging the conduct of the Government in this matter. He had no doubt that the excuse that it was too late would be made now as it had been made before; but he said it was not too late, even at that period of the Session, to endeavour to save the lives of Her Majesty's subjects. He saw on the opposite side of the House hon. Gentlemen who always stood up on questions of this kind, amongst them the hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons); and he appealed to him as to whether it was not the case that these patent medicines did a great deal of harm, and that the stamps were the cause of a great deal of the mischief? The vendors of the medicines traded on the Government stamp; it was the means of increasing their sales; the words "with the Government stamp," were made a prominent part of their advertisements, and were by poor and ignorant people looked upon as an official guarantee for the goodness of the medicines they were invited to purchase. Seeing that 100 ridiculous Bills were brought in annually, many of which destroyed the rights and crippled the privileges of the people, it was a hard thing that when a private Member endeavoured to do his duty to the country by bringing in one reasonable and wholesome measure he should receive no support. He said it was really too bad on the part of Her Majesty's Government to promise to introduce a Bill in the House of Lords and then not bring it in. There had been plenty of time to settle the question as to whether the measure should be applied to Ireland; and in view of what had occurred he humbly begged leave to doubt that the Government ever had the smallest intention of bringing in any Bill at all. He would like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman opposite whe-

ther it was the intention of the Government to bring in the Bill; and whether the obstacle with regard to Ireland still existed, or had been overcome?

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he hoped the Committee would not give the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken any assistance in this matter; and he thought that if Her Majesty's Government had fulfilled their promise of giving him facilities for legislation, they would have called forth a strong protest on the part of a large number of Members. After the course followed by the hon. and learned Member for a number of years, it was impossible that they should ever permit him to legislate in that House. The whole proceeding of the hon. and learned Member in that House had been to prevent any private Member carrying forward any measure good, bad, or indifferent; and if ever he (Mr. Labouchere) were to see on the Paper a Bill of the hon. and learned Member, no matter how good that Bill might be, he would never lose the opportunity of blocking it. That sort of revenge was a virtue in the House of Commons. There was a very general feeling amongst hon. Members on the subject; and he could assure the hon. and learned Member for Bridport that he might give up all hope of ever having an opportunity of getting the second reading of any Bill introduced by him.

MR. MAC IVER said, after the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton, it was perhaps desirable that hon. Members should recall their minds to a more serious view of the matter. He was not aware that the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) had been in the habit of blocking any other than those mischievous measures which were from time to time put upon the Order Book of the House by private Members, and much more frequently by Her Majesty's Government. But in the Bill to which the hon. Member referred they had a measure of universal acceptance. They had had many promises from Her Majesty's Government which for various reasons had not been fulfilled. But the promise made to the hon. and learned Member for Bridport would have been easy of fulfilment; and there was no reason whatever, as far as he could see, why the excellent Bill proposed by the hon. and learned Member for the more effectual prevention of the sale of poisons should not have been passed that Session. He had no scruple in expressing a doubt that it was ever the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce the Bill in "another place," because he felt that the House was no longer the same House of Commons as that which in old times deserved and secured the respect of the country. He could not help expressing a hope that it would not be long before they had another House of Commons, which would forward legislation such as that proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, and one which would be less disposed to listen to the mischievous proposals which were put forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had never promised to bring in any measure dealing with the stamp on patent medicines. That was a question beyond the powers of the Privy Council. The only question which the Privy Council had to deal with was that relating to the sale of poisons; and it was not a very easy thing to discriminate as to whether the Government should interdict the sale altogether, or to what extent they should allow these medicines to be sold. All he could say was that the Lord President of the Council had undertaken to deal with the question at the earliest opportunity. The matter had been under consideration by the Pharmaceutical Society, and had been referred to Ireland, and the answer would in all probability would have reached the House before, but for the circumstances of which the hon. and learned Member was very well aware. The hon. and learned Member might think the question was a very easy one; but if so he could assure him that he was entirely mistaken. He would merely add that Her Majesty's Government were very anxious to deal with the subject, and that they would do so at the earliest opportunity.

MR. WARTON said, if there were no common design against the Bill on the part of the Members of the Government then the statement of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down did not at all agree with the promise made by the hon. and learned Attorney General. The distinct promise made was that the Bill should be introduced in the House of Lords, and it was curious that the right hon. Gentleman should now be speaking on an entirely different point, seeing

that three weeks ago he had said that the real difficulty in the matter was with respect to Ireland. There was a distinct difference between the statement of the right hon. Gentleman and that of the hon. and learned Attorney General; and nothing had been said by way of explanation of the wilful neglect, as he must call it, of Her Majesty's Government. The promise made was that the Bill should be introduced in the House of Lords; but the right hon. Gentleman said or appeared to know nothing about that, and he had simply spoken of its being put into the hands of the Pharmaceutical Society of the United Kingdom. If the information of the right hon. Gentleman was so misty and shaky, then the probability was that in the next Parliament, if they were in Office, it would be found that the Government had forgotten all about the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £555, to complete the sum for the Privy Seal Office.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked who was the holder of the Office of Lord Privy Seal?

MR. COURTNEY: Lord Carlingford.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR suggested the advisability of removing the item of £2,200 for the salary of the Lord Privy Seal from the Vote. He understood that a Bill which had made some progress either in that or the other House proposed to take away a number of those nominal functions which were at present discharged by the Privy Seal Office; and if that proposal were carried out there would be less reason than before for this salary of £2,200 being charged for a sinecure.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £79,033, to complete the sum for the Board of Trade.

MR. MAC IVER said, he thought there was no institution in the country which stood more urgently in need of reform than that which was called the Board of Trade. He proposed to ask the Committee to reduce the Vote asked for, by omitting the item for the salary of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. The Committee, he thought, would readily believe that in making that proposal he was not proceeding on any personal grounds whatever so far as the President of the Board of Trade was concerned, because it was not alone to the salary of the right hon. Gentleman that he asked the attention of the Committee. His intention was to propose that the salary of the Permanent Secretary to the Department should be also omitted, as well as the salary of the Wreck Commissioner, Mr. Rothery, and that of Mr. Giffen, the head of the Statistical Department, although he had not put down a specific Motion to that effect. He did not wish to be understood as at all opposed to the other officers of the Board of Trade. He admitted the usefulness of much of the work done by the Department. But with regard to the item particularly referred to, he should, in opposing the Vote, raise the question whether or not in point of law the President of the Board of Trade was entitled to the salary which he received. Looking back to the Statutes on which the constitution of the Board of Trade was supposed to rest, it seemed to him that there was nothing in the Statute passed in the Reign of George III. to warrant the existence of such an establishment as that over which the right hon. Gentleman presided. It was perfectly true that an Act was passed in the Reign of George IV. which enabled a salary to be paid to the President of the Committee of Privy Councillors who might be appointed in relation to matters of commerce and trade; but there was no legal warrant or justification for making any payment whatever to a Gentleman dubbed President of the Board of Trade, who, as a matter of fact, presided over no such Committee. This Office of President of the Board of Trade was not in itself created by Statute, but by Order in Council. His contention was that the Statute of George III. had not been complied with at all in this century, and that the sort of Department over which the right hon. Gentleman presided had no justification for its existence. This Department of, as he thought, more than doubtful legality as regards its own position, was, nevertheless, so arbitrary in its dealings with the various interests which came in contact with it, that he thought it only right to consider what the Board of Trade really was. He would, with the permission of the Committee,

refer to the words of the Statute upon which he understood the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) based his claim to the salary which it was now proposed to omit. The words of the Statute of 22 *Geo.* III. c. 8 were to the effect that—

"Whereas His Majesty, for the better security of the liberty and independence of Parliament, has been pleased to order that the Office commonly known by the name and description of the Board of Commissioners of Trade and Foreign Plantations shall be utterly abolished and suppressed; wherefore be it enacted from and after the passing of this Act . . . ."

He would quote from the Act the general meaning, only omitting certain words which did not affect the sense. In Section 15 he found that the duties formerly carried on by this Board were thenceforward to be conducted—

"By any Committee or Committees of His Majesty's Privy Council which His Majesty shall be pleased to direct and appoint by Order in Council during His Royal pleasure without any salary, fee, or pension to the Members thereof for holding and exercising the same."

Further on there was an ample and full description of what this Board was to be. The names of the Members of the Board of Trade were stated, as well as the Offices which they held; and there was a special reference to Ireland and special mention in the Statute of certain Offices held by Members from Ireland. No one could refer to the Statute of *Geo.* III. without seeing that the intention was that there should be an actual representative Board for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations. Every interest that had then to do with commerce of any kind was especially provided for by this Statute. What had occurred since then? The very last Order in Council by which any persons were appointed to form this Committee was dated September 16, 1786. There were sub-sections in the Statute which enabled this House, if it pleased, to vote a salary not exceeding £2,000 to the President of this Committee; but, as a matter of fact, there was no such Committee of Privy Councillors appointed for the consideration of matters relating to foreign trade and foreign plantations as the Act of *Geo.* III. provided for; the President of the Board of Trade did not preside over any Committee of Privy Councillors; such a Committee had never met in recent years; and, in point of fact, there had been no properly constituted Board of Trade at all during this century. If there was no Board of Trade in point of law, how could there be a President of that which did not exist? It seemed to him that although there was no doubt about the actual physical existence of the right hon. Gentleman, yet as there was no Board of Privy Councillors over which he presided the right hon. Gentleman had really no right to existence in his official capacity as President of this nominal Board. There was this old Statute which evidently contemplated the continued existence of a representative Board; but no such Board was in existence. Its Members were to be Privy Councillors. That Statute was the law of the land; but there had been no compliance with it in the present century. The duties of the Department, nevertheless, had been greatly increased, and the right hon. Gentleman was himself alone the Board of Trade. There were those who thought he was at the head of the administration of a good deal of political patronage. That might or might not be; but at this moment there was no Board of Trade such as the Statute required, and under those circumstances Parliament would be perfectly justified in refusing to pass the salary asked for for the President of the Board of Trade. He wished it to be clearly understood that not only was there no personal motive actuating him in this matter, but there was no political reason. Those who were in the last Parliament would remember that when Sir Charles Adderley was President of the Board of Trade that Gentleman hardly regarded him (Mr. Mac Iver) as a supporter of his policy. Then, as now, he complained that the Board of Trade had conspicuously failed. He need not go further than this Session to remind the House how the Board of Trade had failed in its legislation with regard to shipping—not obtaining the support even of any section of the seafaring or of the shipping community, or, indeed, of any persons liable to be affected by its proposals; or how it had failed in its legislation with regard to railways. There were those who thought the Board had not been so successful in its bankruptcy legislation as the right hon. Gentleman had anticipated. Then he (Mr. Mac Iver) thought there were duties which the country reasonably expected from the

Board of Trade, and which the country would receive from the Board of Trade if that Board were to-day what the Statute of *Geo.* III. said it should be. If it were what the old Statute contemplated he did not think the House of Commons would have to complain of the way in which their Commercial Treaty negotiations with foreign countries had been mismanaged. The country expected, and reasonably, that the Board of Trade should be able to give information to the Foreign Office; able to take part in negotiations, such as would procure markets for those who produced the manufactures of this country. The country had a right to expect that the Board of Trade should be a Department which would really do something for the good of the trade of the country; but he did not think that was likely to be the case under the administration of gentlemen such as those whose names he had mentioned to the House. The individual views of the President of the Board of Trade; Sir Thomas Farrer, the Permanent Secretary; Mr. Rothery, the Wreck Commissioner; and Mr. Giffen, were of a character such as those who had real interests at stake in regard to trade and commerce would hardly consider to be for their interest. The right hon. Gentleman, as well as the Department over which he presided, had been and was in a position of illegality; and he hoped this Royal Commission would have the scope of its inquiry extended, and that before the House broke up they would know who were to be upon it. They should have referred to them not only narrow questions, but the whole question of the constitution and functions of the Board of Trade itself. He thought he had established a case against the supposed legality of that which at present passed by the name of the Board of Trade, but for whose continuance in its present form there was no warrant either by Statute or by Order in Council.

MR. MOORE said, he wished to call attention to a matter of somewhat less magnitude than the legal question as to the Department, but yet a matter of pressing importance. On previous occasions he had repeatedly asked the right hon. Gentleman to obtain more information as to the imports of oleomargerine and butterine than was at present possessed. He did not wish to enlarge on the mere question of the importance of the matter to Ireland, for it was of great importance to every county in this country. What was complained of was that the Board of Trade had not sufficient jurisdiction, and no adequate information could be obtained, no matter how much the country was being flooded with these spurious commodities. He did not wish to exclude butterine, if it was sold upon its merits and so valued. That was perfectly just, and the first step towards the attainment of that was to have the exports carefully examined, so as to know what was to be dealt with. The Custom House officers collected the information; but they said they could not distinguish between oleomargerine and butter. It was probably only the retail dealer who sold it without committing himself to the proposition that this was butter. It was, perhaps, one-fourth butter, and was ordinarily sold at 1*s.* per pound. The frauds took place with the wholesale dealer, and the Custom House officers did not choose to give the slightest information as to these large imports. There were several classes of oil—mineral oil, fish oil, and so on; but they would not take the least trouble to give information which had been asked for year after year. It required a very strong Minister to control this matter. Permanent officials were against reforms; but there was a strong President of the Board of Trade—and a very able administrator—who could certainly obtain this reform. Everyone had heard of the interest he took in agricultural matters. The imports to Hull were 3,000,000 lbs. a-week, and every effort was made to force this spurious butter upon us in a fraudulent manner. No ingenuity was wanting to make the deception complete, and this practically meant ruin to farmers, because it tended to deprive them of their chief means of existence. This was a very serious grievance, and the Board of Trade were not merely a party to fraud by allowing these commodities to be disposed of; but there was no check on the consumption of these most obnoxious and deleterious ingredients. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give the Committee some information, and that these Custom House officers would be brought to their bearings and made to do their duty. The right hon. Member for Edinburgh and

St. Andrew's Universities (Sir Lyon Playfair) said it was almost impossible to distinguish between these things and butter; but, if that was so, that was no reason why the Custom House officers should allow these cans of oil to come into this country from Holland as they did.

MR. WARTON said, he was very glad to find the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) raising this important Constitutional question as to the Board of Trade, and he thought the time had almost come when the subject should be thoroughly investigated. He did not think there was any adequate authority for calling this Body the Board of Trade at all, because the real Body was a Committee of the Privy Council upon matters of trade. He wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman was assisted in his deliberations by any other Member of the Privy Council? He was disposed to think there was no other Privy Councillor on the Board but himself. There was no Committee of the Privy Council with him, and the Board was a mere farce, for the right hon. Gentleman had, with charming frankness, admitted, in reply to a Question, that he was the Board of Trade. He was, in fact, the Chief Director of this Body; but he was not saying this in hostility to the right hon. Gentleman himself. Some of his actions might or might not be approved of, but that was not the point; the real question was, whether it was desirable that one right hon. Gentleman should monopolize all the functions of a number of Gentlemen, who ought to be looking after a variety of interests all over the country? The President of the Board of Trade was necessarily a despot. He had to take upon himself a great responsibility, and he often performed his duty very well; but it was not in human nature to understand all the different departments of trade. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman had very great ability; but he held that there ought to be a real, and not a sham Committee of the Privy Council. With regard to what the right hon. Member opposite (Sir Lyon Playfair) had stated some time ago, he did not think that what the right hon. Gentleman said was that it was difficult to distinguish between butterine and butter, but between the chemical ingredients. They might be the same, but they were differently made up.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he agreed in the main with the remarks of his hon. Friend (Mr. Moore). He did not concur in the denunciation of this product, which was, to a large extent, very useful; but he thought his hon. Friend was entitled to have the fullest information in regard to it. Nobody could be injured by that. He was most anxious that all the information required by his hon. Friend should be given. He quite understood that there was an indisposition to give some of the details by which the difference between butter and butterine might be distinguished in every case; but he thought the person who most largely prepared this butterine would have no objection to describe it truthfully. It was a recognized article of sale, and, not being hurtful to health, he did not believe that in the large majority of cases there would be any refusal to describe the article by its proper name. He must, however, point out that he had no authority in the matter. The control of the matter was vested in the Customs Department, which was under the Treasury; and it was to the Treasury, and not to the Board of Trade, that his hon. Friend must look. Of course, it was the duty of the Board of Trade, when matters of this kind were brought before them, to make representations to the proper Departments, and he had made strong representations to the Treasury to induce them to bring their authority to bear upon the Custom House in obtaining statistics. His hon. Friend had not told him that he was going to raise the question, and therefore there had been no recent communications on the subject; but he was under the impression that the demand which his hon. Friend had made upon the Board of Trade had already been submitted to the Treasury, and had been acceded to. There was, he believed, a distinction made between these products and butter. He had not, however, had much time to investigate the matter; and if he were assured that that was not the case he would be happy to look into it again, and make a further application to the Treasury, if he found that the previous application had not been attended to.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he would not go over the ground which had been occupied by his hon. Friend the Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver). His hon.

Friend had called attention to the nominal constitution of the Board of Trade, and had pointed out that it consisted of the old Privy Council Committee, which was not responsible for the work the Board of Trade did. He would put it to the Government whether it was not worth while to consider the possibility of altering the constitution of the Board of Trade, as the matter was so constantly brought before the House? He was quite sure that it did not lead to any great inconvenience in the work of the Department; but there were many reasons to justify, and, indeed, to demand, that there should be some alteration in the constitution of the Committee of Privy Council on Trade, even to the extent of abolishing that Committee, so that the responsibility might be brought home to the real parties, and people might know that it was the President of the Board of Trade who was called to account, and not any Member of that curious Committee known as the Committee of Council on Trade. He fully recognized the difficulties the Board of Trade had to deal with, especially in connection with merchant shipping. Those difficulties were, no doubt, enormous, notwithstanding the best intentions and the hard work which he knew had been done by Members of the Department connected with merchant shipping. Nevertheless, somehow or other, under whatever administration it might be, the Marine Department of the Board of Trade had not managed to gain the confidence of the shipowners. It was undoubtedly the fact that the shipowners were constantly complaining of the administration of the Board of Trade; and he was glad the right hon. Gentleman had consented to the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the constitution of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, as it was impossible for anything but good to result from such an inquiry. There was another point upon which he desired to ask a question of the right hon. Gentleman, and it had reference to a matter which was felt very strongly last year. He desired to protest against the novel feature which had been recently introduced by the constant distribution by the Department of arguments of a polemic character in the Papers issued by them. He had always understood that all the Government Departments were totally outside mere political life, and that the statistics were fairly and impartially drawn up for the purpose of giving every side of a public question, and not for the purpose of aiding any particular Government in an attack upon their adversaries. He now found, for the first time, that there was a totally new departure in this respect in the mode of conducting the business of the Board of Trade. He did not say that the permanent officials of the Board of Trade did not entertain the views contained in these Memoranda, nor did he say that the objectionable passages had been put in by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board.

MR. NORWOOD asked what Memoranda the hon. Member referred to?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was referring to the Memoranda issued as statistical Papers by the Board; and he contended that there were passages in those Memoranda which were intended to reflect upon the political opponents of the Government. Hon. Members would, no doubt, have read the Memoranda; and he would ask them whether they were not perfectly satisfied that they constituted a departure from the ordinary method of conducting the business of a public Department? He could point to passages which could have no other object than to tell the public that another Government had not conducted the Business of the country as it ought to have been conducted; but that now there was a model Department in existence, headed by a model official, who was going to put all things right. Certainly, that was not the way in which a business Department of the State ought to be conducted. He had the highest respect for Mr. Giffen, whom he esteemed as being an important head of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade; but he also protested against Mr. Giffen writing letters of a polemical character to the newspapers. It appeared that Mr. Giffen had been attacked by certain persons out-of-doors, and charged with stating things which he said he had not stated. He would not enter into the merits of the complaint, because he knew nothing about it; but what he would say was this—that the ordinary custom, when a permanent public officer was attacked, was for the Head of the Department to take up his defence, if he found he could properly justify the course

which had been pursued. The Parliamentary Chief was the person to whom the House looked for the justification and defence of the action of the public officials of his Department; and it was very unwise and altogether a new departure to find a permanent official of a public Department writing letters of a controversial character to the newspapers, in which he attacked particular individuals in the strongest terms. If such attacks were to be made at all, they ought to be made by the Head of the Board of Trade on his own responsibility. The permanent official should entrust his defence to his proper Parliamentary Representative; and they should not have a permanent official in any Department writing letters to the newspapers of a political character, which could only have the effect of bringing an attack upon such permanent official in a manner that must tend to diminish instead of advance the efficiency of a Department.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down must be regarded very much in the same light as an attack upon himself as it was upon a permanent official connected with his Department; and, under the circumstances, he held it to be his duty, accepting, as he did, full responsibility for all that was done, at once to answer the statement of the hon. Gentleman. But, before doing so, he wished to take note, in passing, of the suggestion of the hon. Member that the constitution of the Board of Trade should be altered in order that the President of the Board of Trade should be solely entrusted with the administration of the Department, the same as a Secretary of State. He would, however, point out to the hon. Gentleman that the Board of Trade was not alone in its present position. The Local Government Board was in precisely the same position, and the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) was not strictly correct in saying that the Committee of Council on Trade had ceased to exist. It had ceased to exist just as the Local Government Board had ceased to exist; it actually existed, but it never met; and the management of the Department, therefore, rested with the individual who happened to be its President. The hon. Gentleman expressed an opinion that under the circumstances of the case the position of the President was of doubtful legality, and he had suggested that he ought not properly to draw his salary. Now, at all events, in its present form, the institution was respectable from its antiquity, inasmuch as the President of the Board of Trade had drawn his salary for 60 years, and nobody had discovered the illegality of the process until the hon. Member for Birkenhead suggested it. If, however, there was anything illegal in the constitution of the Department, it was a question to be determined by a Court of Law rather than by a discussion in that House. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman opposite that it would be better if all the anomalies connected with the Department were to be abolished, and the Department itself plainly and distinctly established on what was really a permanent and definite footing. But if they were to have recourse to legislation it was out of the question that the Government would undertake such legislation unless there was some real and practical object to be gained by it; and, as the hon. Gentleman himself said, no practical inconvenience had hitherto resulted. He now came to the Memoranda and Correspondence to which the hon. Gentleman took exception. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Stanhope) said that when a controversy arose it was the practice of the Board of Trade to publish Memoranda in defence of the person holding the Office of President. He denied that absolutely. He assured the hon. Gentleman that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, there was not one word in the Memoranda to which the hon. Member referred which reflected either directly or indirectly upon the political opponents of the Government. The Memoranda was intended to be an exhaustive examination into the practice of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, the state of the law, and the remedies which had been from time to time suggested. Having read the whole of that document, and he had read it very carefully, he was ready to declare most positively that throughout the whole of it there was not a single word which was intended by any possibility to be converted into an imputation upon any political opponent. It could not be said that it was an unusual thing for a permanent official of a Department, with

the consent of the Chief, to publish Memoranda which gave important information. That was done under the late Government, and it was done by other Departments; and, indeed, he believed it was a common practice in almost every branch of the Public Service. It was a practice that had great advantages, and it could only be objected to if, as the hon. Gentleman appeared to assume, it was done for political purposes. Then the hon. Gentleman had referred to a different point—namely, a letter which appeared in *The Times*, written by Mr. Giffen, the Assistant Secretary of the Commercial Department, complaining bitterly of the attacks to which he had been subjected. He was sorry that the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) was not present. He had been told that the hon. Gentleman desired to call attention to the matter, and in the absence of the hon. Member he would merely state to the House what the circumstances of the case were of which Mr. Giffen complained. Mr. Giffen was summoned by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets, who was Chairman of a Select Committee, to give evidence with a view of informing the Committee, in his capacity of a public official, on certain matters connected with the sugar question. Mr. Giffen went to perform a public duty as an official of the Board of Trade, and did not appear before the Committee as a volunteer. Certain questions were addressed to him with reference to certain remedies for the bounty system. He was asked whether, as a matter of fact, if the bounty were continued, it was not certain that the trade would be destroyed, and whether the effect of the bounty could be countervailed in any way except by a duty. Mr. Giffen said—

"Yes, it could in various ways, such as cheapening the manufacture or by the reduction of wages."

Thereupon he was asked a further question, and he gave an answer which was understood by certain people outside to mean that he himself thought the reduction of wages was a feasible way by which these bounties might be met. The moment, however, that that was publicly stated, and within a few days after the evidence was given, Mr. Giffen wrote a letter to *The Times* repudiating in the strongest manner any intention of making, or having made, such a recommendation. He thought every hon. Member would feel that a public servant was justified in explaining what his suggestions were, and that his statement on such a point ought at once to be accepted. It had ceased to be an object of importance what Mr. Giffen said in Committee, and what was of real importance was what he meant. Mr. Giffen's letter was written three or four days after the evidence which had been misinterpreted was given. In spite of that contradiction on the part of Mr. Giffen, charges had again and again been made that he had recommended the reduction of wages in order to meet the bounties. Only the other day a public meeting was held in the Tower Hamlets, and presided over by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie), at which a resolution was passed denouncing Mr. Giffen for his alleged recommendation, and going on to say that Mr. Giffen had made repeated and deliberate recommendations to the Board of Trade of this extraordinary character. He could not conceive a more unfair mode of warfare than that. No attention was paid to Mr. Giffen's repudiation of the charges, and to his emphatic denial; but a new charge was made against him as far as "repeated and deliberate recommendations" were concerned. That resolution was forwarded to Mr. Giffen by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets; and thereupon the Board of Trade wrote to the hon. Member asking how it was that, being the Chairman of the meeting at which these resolutions were passed, he had not explained the matter, and expressing regret and astonishment that he should have allowed the resolution to be passed without explaining to the meeting what was within his own knowledge, that Mr. Giffen, at all events, had denied the construction which had been put upon his evidence. Regret was also expressed that the hon. Member should have forwarded the resolution to the Board of Trade without any further observations. He would make no further comment upon the matter. He had stated, as fairly and clearly as he could, the circumstances of the case. The public servants of this country were always in a delicate and difficult position. It was true, as the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope)

said, that the Heads of Departments would, in all cases, endeavour to defend them against anything like an unfair attack. Not merely should the Heads of Departments do that, not merely those who now occupied such positions, or those who had occupied them in past years, but everybody who held any responsible position in the country was bound to show some regard to those public servants, who were the honour and glory of the Civil Service, and should be ready to defend them when their acts were misrepresented. He hoped, in the absence of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie), he had not carried his remarks further than would be considered necessary.

MR. NORWOOD said, he shared, to a considerable extent, the views expressed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), in regard to the sensational manner in which the Board of Trade had made public their views upon the subject of the Merchant Shipping Bill. He thought there had been some departure from the old official rule which had prevailed as long as he had had the honour of a seat in the House; and he did not find that the Board of Trade, on this occasion, in connection with the Merchant Shipping Bill, had approached that great public question with the disposition and in a spirit which had usually characterized the proceedings of Government Departments. There had been, from time to time, a succession of pamphlets and other literary communications, which were certainly of a novel and sensational character. In November last, when he read the Memorandum in *The Times*, communicated by the Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade, to which reference had been made, he had felt so strongly on the matter that he had not hesitated to express his opinion, both in writing to the papers and in public speeches. He thought the tone of the Memorandum was exceedingly objectionable, and it, undoubtedly, contained insinuations, and even a direct attack, not only upon shipowners generally, but even upon the ability and integrity of Judges of the Supreme Court, and of the juries who had refused to convict on the prosecutions instituted by the Board of Trade. He had never before read a State Paper of that kind emanating from a public official connected with any Department whatever. He had not got the document before him at that moment; but he recollected that, towards the close of the second part of the communication which appeared in *The Times*, there was a direct sneer at the Conservative Party for the manner in which they had wasted the time of Parliament by pushing forward the Imperial Titles Bill. That, however, was a question he did not care to go into. He did not think it right that an attempt should be made to introduce irritating and sensational incidents into a question of grave national importance, such as the position of their Mercantile Marine in reference to the loss of life. He repeated that the manner in which the Merchant Shipping Bill of this Session had been treated was much to be deprecated. He was unable to understand how any Minister of the Crown could think it right to call together an unauthorized body of gentlemen at his private office to discuss and amend the details of a Bill introduced in that House which ought to be discussed in that House and before the country. If a different course had been pursued from the first he was quite confident that a Select Committee might have gone fully and completely into every disputed point of the measure, and they might have had a Bill passed, which, to a certain extent, would have been satisfactory to all parties concerned. He now wished to call the attention of the Committee to the understanding which he understood had been given that a Royal Commission should be appointed to take evidence both as to the constitution of the Board of Trade and also upon the position of the Mercantile Marine; and he wished to press upon the attention of the Board of Trade that it was most important, before the House rose, that they should have laid before them not only the names of the Gentlemen who were to compose the Royal Commission, but also the actual terms of Reference to the Committee. The way in which the Merchant Shipping Bill had been handled had been most unsatisfactory to those connected with the Mercantile Marine of the country, and to hon. Members who represented that interest in that House. The Bill had been mentioned in the Queen's Speech; the Bill itself was introduced very early in the Session, and the second

reading was proposed a few weeks ago by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade in a speech of nearly four hours' duration, but a speech of such a character that it was utterly impossible it could be answered at the moment. What had happened since? No attempt had been made, on the part of the Government, to give hon. Members who were interested in the question a chance of continuing the debate on the second reading, and now the Bill had been withdrawn, so that the only possible opportunity that existed for those persons who had been attacked to defend themselves was now gone. The country had a right to know the whole truth of the matter, and it was only an act of justice to the many individuals whose character and reputation the right hon. Gentleman had more or less directly attacked that they should have an opportunity afforded for replying to the attack. The only way in which justice could be done now to those individuals and to the country was that there should be a complete inquiry before a Royal Commission. He, for one, would not be satisfied until the whole matter had been fully gone into. It would be most unjust for the Board of Trade to make an insufficient Reference to a Royal Commission in the course of a few weeks hence, or to appoint Gentlemen upon it in whom the shipowners could have no confidence. They were entitled as a right, having been placed under a certain amount of disadvantage from the course pursued by the right hon. Gentleman himself, to have this information before a Commission was actually appointed. The Royal Commission ought to be empowered to investigate the present constitution and functions of the Board of Trade, instead of having its inquiry limited to the practice of the Marine Department. They did not care about an inquiry into the Marine Department of the Board of Trade only. The Marine Department of the Board of Trade was a Department specially presided over by the Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trade; but what they wanted was a full and satisfactory inquiry into the constitution of the Board of Trade itself. He wished the House for a moment to listen to a very incomplete list of the important functions committed to the Board of Trade which he had pencilled down. The point to be determined was, whether the Board of Trade was competent to manage the vast amount of business which was now brought before it? Whenever new functions were to be discharged, and the question arose as to what Department they ought to be given, it was invariably the custom to throw the business upon the Board of Trade. In addition to questions affecting the great Mercantile Marine, the Board of Trade had the regulation of all the railways of the country, with their immense mileage, enormous capital, and vast interests. The regulation and control of the tramways, harbours, lights, foreshores, trade marks, patents, the electric light, and recently the enormous subject of bankruptcy, together with several other important questions, all came within the Department of the Board of Trade. What, he ventured to say, the Royal Commission ought to inquire into was this—whether it was possible for the President of the Board of Trade—and he believed the present President was as able and acute a man as they could expect to obtain—within the short period during which a political officer held power in a Government in this country, to make himself acquainted with all these complicated details and important functions. It was not to be expected that the President of the Board should be able to make himself conversant with one tithe of the intricate technical details of a complicated subject such as their Mercantile Marine. One-half of the difficulties and friction which existed between the Board of Trade and the Merchant Shipping interest arose not from any desire on the part of the Board of Trade to act unfairly; but from the ignorance which prevailed, and which, to some extent, must necessarily exist in that Department in regard to the Merchant Shipping interest. If there was to be an inquiry by a Royal Commission, it must enter into all the questions which were at present relegated to the Board of Trade. Above all, the Royal Commission must consider whether the constitution of that Board was sufficient to enable them to grapple with all these subjects; and they ought to consider whether or not this large question of Merchant Shipping should not be consigned to some special Minister who should have personal knowledge and a direct personal responsibility in regard to it. He had never been what was called an uncompromising opponent of the Bill

of the right hon. Gentleman. He confessed that he did not like the Bill; he saw that ignorance on the subject was revealed in almost every line of it, and would make it unworkable; but he was one of those Members who had not been content to criticize, but who had endeavoured to construct; and he himself had laid upon the Table a Bill for the reform of Marine Insurance, which the right hon. Gentleman himself had admitted went a great way in the direction he desired. The next point was, who were to be the Members of the Commission, and what were to be their functions? He contended that the Members of the Royal Commission should be selected with great care, and that it should be a Commission in which everyone should have confidence. The public were entitled to know the true facts of the case, and whether they were really as bad as the President of the Board of Trade had stated. At any rate, the Mercantile Marine of this country were not to be condemned on insufficient evidence. He had no wish to see the Commission crowded with shipowners; certainly not; but he appealed to the President of the Board of Trade to select men of wide experience and practical knowledge, who would take a broad view of the questions submitted to them, untainted by personal considerations and interests. When that was done the inquiry must be as wide as the circumstances of the case demanded. The Commission must enter into questions of Marine Insurance, wreck inquiries, and the Commissioners' Court, the loading of ships, the management of the lights, the constitution of the Trinity House, the Commissioners of the Northern Lights, and the Irish Lights, and, above all, into the position and condition of their seamen. That, he believed, was really a point which demanded more careful attention than any other part of this great subject. Let them be willing to do their seamen all possible justice; let them protect them to the best of their ability; but they had a right to know, when a demand was made upon the shipowners for seaworthy ships, that they could get seaworthy men to look after them. The shipowners were anxious that the whole question should be thoroughly examined into, and if it were found necessary to introduce sweeping legislation they would raise no objection. He would not trouble the Committee with further remarks upon those points. What he would add was, that, unfortunately, much friction existed now between the Department presided over by the right hon. Gentleman and the Mercantile Marine—more friction than ever existed before during his time. It existed throughout the length and breadth of the country. No confidence was felt in the Board of Trade, and there was a universal demand for careful and exhaustive inquiry. Great disgust was felt at the proceedings of the Board during the present Session, as respects the hostile attitude assumed by the Board of Trade in reference to great trading interests, and this feeling was experienced throughout the entire railway world as well as in the Mercantile Marine. They had this extraordinary position of things—that the proposed legislation and administration of the Board of Trade was as much objected to by the Railway Companies as by parties whose interests were generally antagonistic to those of the Railway Companies. The fact was that the Board of Trade, as at present constituted, was too *doctrinaire* by far. There were too many preconceived and antiquated ideas prevalent among the officials, for whom, personally, he had the highest respect. The time had now arrived when a greater sense of responsibility and a greater accord between the vast mercantile communities of the country and the gentlemen who presided over their destinies must be created. He trusted he had said nothing which reflected upon the private character of a single individual connected with the Board of Trade, for all of whom he had personal regard; but he had felt that he could not do otherwise than express his opinion that the position of that Department was not satisfactory, and that it was impossible for the country any longer to continue under the control of a number of *doctrinaire* and practically irresponsible officials. There must be an inquiry. That inquiry must be thorough and complete, and the confidence which the country would have in it must depend upon the Members who were to constitute the Commissioners and upon the scope of the inquiry itself. He, therefore, trusted that the Government would, at a very early date, give the names of the Gentlemen they proposed to appoint upon this Royal Commission and the extent of the questions that were to be submitted to them.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he rose immediately after the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, because he thought it desirable that the discussion should be concluded. He wanted to say a word or two with regard to the correspondence referred to; and, in the first place, he was bound to say that he had not complained of the conduct of Mr. Giffen from the point of view that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had put before them that night. He had no doubt that Mr. Giffen had a good defence to make. He might have been charged with having made accusations which he did not intend to make; but the objection he (Mr. Stanhope) had raised was that permanent officials who were receiving money from the public purse placed themselves in an anomalous position when they made attacks upon Members of that House. No member of the Civil Service had a right to put himself in the position of Mr. Giffen in these controversies. He would pass to another point—and he very much regretted the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was not present—he thought the discussion which had taken place on the other subjects he had mentioned would be of some service, for the reason that he had made no attack upon the permanent officials of the Board of Trade. What he had said was, that he held the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade himself personally responsible for these memoranda. If there had been polemical literature, the right hon. Gentleman was personally responsible. The right hon. Gentleman told them that no literature of a polemical character was produced, and that he did not mean to make an attack on his political opponents. He (Mr. Stanhope) quite accepted that assurance, though the complaints were not limited to the personal letters which had been referred to that night, but extended to matters relating to Free Trade and the memoranda which had emanated from the Board of Trade. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to take care that, for the future, the affairs of the Board of Trade should be conducted in the spirit of the assurance the right hon. Gentleman had given that night. He (Mr. Stanhope) confessed, for his own part, that the connection of the permanent Civil Service servants of this country with the public Press was a thing to be most carefully watched. He had a very strong opinion against Civil servants of this kind writing in the public Press on subjects connected with their Departments. All he could say was, if one man was allowed to write on subjects connected with his Department, there was no reason why all the remaining permanent servants of the Crown should not be allowed to write, possibly in a contrary spirit to that which had been exhibited in the present instance. He thought that no Head of a Department, if he had the interest of the country at heart, could encourage this practice of writing for the Press, which at times appeared to be growing. It required very careful restriction and watching.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, that with regard to the complaint against the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) that he had put the resolution which had been referred to to the meeting over which he presided, it must be remembered that, as the chairman, he could not help putting any question or resolution formally submitted to him. It was most unfair that, both in the Press and elsewhere, he should be taken to task by the Permanent Under Secretary to the Board of Trade for putting a resolution to the meeting which the hon. Member had no power to refuse. There was nothing in the letter from Sir Thomas Farrer to explain why he should not have put it to the meeting; but the complaint was simply that he had put it, and that in addition to the complaint a demand was made for the names of the persons who were held responsible. It was due to the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets to say this much.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH was of opinion that after the amendments which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had made in the Merchant Shipping Bill, in deference to the opinion of shipowners, the measure would have served as a good basis for legislation. The right hon. Gentleman was, he thought, to be strongly commended for taking the trouble to obtain the opinion of the leading shipowners in the United Kingdom, and he did not agree with previous speakers in condemning the action of the right hon. Gentleman on that ground. He com-

mended the right hon. Gentleman, and it was to be hoped that every hon. and right hon. Gentleman presiding over Public Departments would imitate this valuable example. [An hon. MEMBER: What example?] Why, of consulting with the private members of the trade throughout the country which was to be affected by legislation, so as to ascertain the opinions entertained by the most enlightened traders. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had taken a great deal of pains in connection with this merchant Shipping Bill, and he deserved the greatest commendations from members of the commercial community. He was extremely sorry that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was not in his place, as he wished to make some inquiries in connection with the appointment of the Royal Commission. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN here entered the House and took his seat on the Treasury Bench.] He was very glad to see the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade now in his place. He wished to impress upon him the desirability of including amongst the subjects to be dealt with by the Royal Commission an inquiry into the condition of the merchant seamen. There could be little doubt that the loss of life at sea, which they all deplored, was owing very largely to unseaworthy sailors, and not in all cases to unseaworthy ships. He (Mr. Smith) spoke as one thoroughly impartial on this matter, because he had no personal interest whatever in shipping. He, however, had conferred with large numbers of shipowners on the subject, and was bound to say that the opinion of the majority was that the condition of their merchant seamen was quite as worthy of inquiry by a Royal Commission as was the condition of their merchant ships. It was to be hoped, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman would include that subject in the inquiry. He only wished to repeat his regret that the vast amount of labour which had been bestowed on the Merchant Shipping Bill had been thrown away, and to state that if the amendments to be made in it had been carried, and the Bill had passed, it would have served as a very acceptable basis for legislation.

MR. WHITLEY said, he could not agree with the statement of his hon. Colleague (Mr. S. Smith) that the Amendments would have rendered the Merchant Shipping Bill satisfactory. No doubt, in the opinion of the shipowners of the country, some of them would have made the Bill better, but others would have failed. With regard to the question as to what was to be done for the future, no doubt, as the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) observed, a great deal of friction had arisen, and a great difference of opinion, to say the least of it, between the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade and the shipowners generally; and it was quite in the interest of the Chamber of Commerce and the shipowners, as well as of the public, that a Royal Commission should be appointed to consider it. He (Mr. Whitley), for his own part, felt very grateful to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade for suggesting this Royal Commission. He believed, if it was rightly constituted, and embraced the whole of the subject, it would meet the case. He regretted the failure of the Merchant Shipping Bill if it could have been made acceptable to the shipowners, and very much regretted that the right hon. Gentleman had not seen his way at the commencement of the Session to refer the measure to a Select Committee. Unfortunately, the whole thing had collapsed through that; but now he did think that, as there was a solution of the difficulty presented, if the Commission was constituted fairly, as he believed the right hon. Gentleman was willing to constitute it, and if it went into the question of the constitution of the Board of Trade, as affecting shipping and the whole subject of the work and science of shipping, and of ships' crews—if all these subjects were investigated by the Commission, he believed they would soon see a satisfactory settlement of this very difficult problem. He hoped and trusted that they would soon see the names of the Commissioners announced. If they could have them before the Prorogation, the mercantile community would be satisfied. He would strongly press upon the right hon. Gentleman to give them the names of the Commissioners as soon as possible, and also the scope of the inquiry. Let him give this to them before the Prorogation, in order that they might see that none of the matters which

should be included were left out from the scope of the investigation, and also that the mercantile community might see that the Commissioners to be appointed were competent to investigate these matters. It was to be hoped that the country would soon see this very much-vexed question disposed of.

MR. D. JENKINS desired to say one or two words on this question of the Merchant Shipping Bill referred to on the other side of the House. One would suppose, from the debates of the last few months, that the Act of 1875-6 had entirely failed. He (Mr. Jenkins) denied that. He believed the Act had done, and was still doing, good work, and that if it was a failure it was a Departmental more than a Legislative failure. He was almost afraid that they had expected too much from the Board of Trade. His own impression was, that if they left the merchant shipping alone altogether for the present, and left the Board of Trade to deal with cases of unseaworthiness, they would do well. For his own part, he regretted that the Bill of the present Session had fallen through, as it would have done away with over-insurance and over-loading, which were great evils. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade proposed to deal with these questions, and his amended Bill had met the case very fairly. He had appointed a Departmental Committee, and that Committee, no doubt, performed very satisfactory service; but he did not see what the Royal Commission was to inquire into. He maintained that the merchant shipping of the country was never in a better condition than it was to-day. There was never less preventible unseaworthiness than there was at the present time; and if the Board of Trade would simply carry out the powers given to them by the Act of 1875-6, he believed it would still do more good, and realize that which they were all desirous of realizing—namely, the prevention of loss of life, and the safety of property at sea. The risks of navigation of late years had greatly decreased. In spite of all the statistics put before the House and the country by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, he believed that loss of life was decreasing in the Mercantile Marine. The hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) had referred to the seamen. Well, they knew that the character of merchant shipping in this country had changed very much within the last 10 years. They had advanced from sailing ships to steamers, and it was not to be expected that they would get the same class of men to man their steamers as they used to get to man their sailing ships 20 years ago. With regard to the Royal Commission which had been referred to, in his judgment there was no necessity for it; and he believed that if the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would content himself with dealing with the questions of over-insurance and over-loading, he would meet the abuse which existed at the present time. As to procedure, he thought the present mode of inquiring into casualties at sea might be improved; and he did not think that where they could prove against a captain or other officer of a ship charges of drunkenness during the navigation of that ship, that two or three months' suspension of certificate was sufficient to meet the gravity of the case. He trusted the President of the Board of Trade would early next Session introduce a Bill dealing with these two or three abuses. By so doing—by introducing only a short Bill—he would cover the whole question and satisfy the whole country.

MR. TOMLINSON said, that seeing the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) had come in, it was perhaps hardly necessary for him to make more than one or two remarks on the question referred to a short time ago, as the hon. Member would be able to put forward with much greater knowledge and ability arguments against the position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade in reference to this matter. It appeared to him that the mistake the permanent officials of the Board of Trade were now making was in not confining themselves to the duties of their Department. The right hon. Gentleman said they ought to be careful how they spoke of permanent officials, because those gentleman ought to be kept in the back ground. That was, in general, a sound principle; but when these gentlemen forced themselves forward and made themselves political partizans, it was inevitable that their action should be inquired into. In the present instance, the permanent officials of the Board of Trade had departed to a

great extent from the proper position of permanent officials. They had made themselves partizans, and had come forward in the public Press and otherwise as the supporters of the policy of the political Head of the Department. Mr. Giffen himself was in a peculiar position, because he did not pretend to be a mere official of the Board of Trade. He occupied some position in connection with *The Times* newspaper. [Mr. COURTNEY: Nothing of the kind.] At any rate, Mr. Giffen was allowed to write long letters in *The Times*, and put forward his views in a manner in which the permanent officials of no other Department were able to do. As to the sugar bounty question, Mr. Giffen, when driven into a corner, declared that the only mode other than by countervailing duties of dealing with the system of bounties would be to effect a reduction of wages and to make smaller profits. He had been made to admit that, and his admission had been quoted against him, and of that he now complained. This was not a case of quoting any supposed inference from his words; his actual words were literally quoted. Mr. Giffen, however, said—

"You are garbling my evidence, because you do not bring forward the whole of what I said—you only take a part of my cross-examination."

Surely, a Court of Justice would not consider a quotation from cross-examination a garbling of evidence. If a man came forward to give evidence, and was cross-examined on it, and was brought to make an admission in that cross-examination, such admission they were entitled to quote against him. That was the case of Mr. Giffen. On the question of foreign bounties, it certainly appeared to him that those who supported the principle of countervailing duties had a right to quote an admission they had extorted from a Government official in cross-examination, and which they believed to be of great importance.

MR. GOURLEY said, there was, to his mind, no Department of the Government Service which required more overhauling than the Board of Trade. When the late Government were in Office he had moved for a Return, which had been promised by Viscount Sandon, to inform the House as to the names of the Board of Trade, and the constitution and duties of the various officials of the Department. Well, owing to the Dissolution in 1880, the order that was given for the preparation of the Return naturally lapsed. He had again to move for the Return—he had asked his right hon. Friend (Mr. Chamberlain) to grant it, and the reply he had got was that he would find all the information he wanted in the Library. He (Mr. Gourley) had said that he would move for the Return, and had given Notice of Motion; but to his astonishment the right hon. Gentleman had asked a friend of his to block the Notice. This hon. Member, a friend of the right hon. Gentleman, had himself informed him (Mr. Gourley) of the request which had been made to him to block the Notice. From that day to this there had not been an opportunity of bringing the Notice on. He was glad the attention of the Committee had been called to this question that evening. With regard to the members of the Board of Trade, oddly enough, one of them was the Bishop of London. He should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, what duties were performed in connection with the Board of Trade by that right rev. Prelate? He (Mr. Gourley) had not heard all the speech of his right hon. Friend, and therefore he did not know whether he had gone into the matter; but, so far as his (Mr. Gourley's) knowledge went, he did not know of any Bishop of London who had ever taken any interest in the work of the Board of Trade. The duties of the Department were of a very important character, and could not be dealt with in an off-hand manner. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade declared that since he had held his present position, he had endeavoured to discharge his duties fairly to all classes with whom he came into contact. Well, that was what all gentleman in official positions who were recognized as possessing a certain amount of ability invariably did; but some gentleman did not possess the technical knowledge required in regard to the various duties they had to perform. The gentlemen under the President of the Board of Trade, no doubt, endeavoured to discharge their duty fairly; but had they all the technical knowledge necessary? The Committee would perhaps pardon him if he gave it an illustration of what he meant—an illustration as to

the manner in which the marine duties were performed by the Board of Trade. Very recently they had seen a type of vessel called the "well-decked." Well, the Board of Trade had the power to fix the load-line of all ships. In the case of the "well-decked" ships the Marine Department, in some of the vessels, had fixed the line—which was the depth at which vessels should be loaded—without taking into consideration what was known as wood sheathing for the decks. The load-line was much higher than that which was allowed in the case of a ship with an additional weight placed on the iron decks. What he meant was that vessels of the type he was describing were built with bare iron decks and wooden sheathing over it. It so happened that the Marine Surveyor of the Board of Trade, in fixing the load-line, gave a larger freeboard to the bare iron deck than he gave to the vessel that had an addition of wooden sheathing over the deck, whereas he ought to have given a smaller freeboard to the former. Again, he would call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade to the fact that there was no regular system as to the lighting of lighthouses. Some of them were lit with the electric light, others were lit with oil, and others with the lime light. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said "Hear, hear!" but it seemed to him (Mr. Gourley) that the right policy would dictate the adoption of one universal system—either the electric light, the lime light, or the oil light. His own opinion was in favour of the electric light. It was much more powerful than any other, and to his mind all lighthouses should be lit with it. Then, again, the Board of Trade had no system as to buoyage. There was one system appertaining to England, another to Scotland, and another to Ireland. He thought the Board of Trade would do well if they would carry out the recommendations of the Departmental Committee in this matter.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: They are being carried out.

MR. GOURLEY said, if that were so, the right hon. Gentleman should inform the Committee as to what was being done. Certain it was that at the present time there was no uniform system of buoyage in the United Kingdom, though an uniform system existed in France and also in Germany. It might be true that the Board of Trade were introducing a reform; but he wished to impress upon the Department the desirability of adopting an uniform plan as soon as possible, and of not proceeding in such a matter in a piecemeal style. The reforms should be carried out with despatch and rapidity. As to the Royal Commission which was proposed in regard to the constitution of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade, he trusted that there would be nominated upon it not shipowners only, but men who technically understood the various questions with which the Commission would have to deal. A class of men very largely interested were their sailors; and he would press on the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade the desirability of having on the Commission seafaring men who had been at sea all their lives—such a man as the hon. Member for Penryn (Mr. D. Jenkins), who was a practical sailor. At any rate, they ought to have the advantage of the views and opinions of seafaring men on the Commission. For his own part, he did not believe their sailors were deteriorating; but, on the contrary, that they were as good as ever they were. To his mind, with their present system of education, their seamen as a rule were more superior, more attentive to their work, and more ready to embark on board ship than they were at any former period. He did not believe that so much of the deplorable loss of life which had been referred to, and which all, he was sure, lamented, was to to be laid at the door of their seamen, as some hon. Members supposed. He did not agree with the views of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith). Their seamen were just as good now as they were 50 years ago, and he, therefore, hoped their interests would not be neglected.

MR. RITCHIE said, he must apologize for not being present when the discussion arose with regard to the answers given by Mr. Giffen before the Sugar Bounties Committee. He (Mr. Ritchie) had not expected the question to come on so soon, or he should have made a point of being earlier in his place. He was at a disadvantage through not having heard the preliminary discussion which he understood

had taken place, and, therefore, if he said anything which had already been explained to the Committee, no doubt, under the circumstances, they would excuse him. This was a matter with regard to which he had intimated, he was afraid with very short notice to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, that he should say a few words when the Vote came on, if he happened to be in the House at the time. He had been out of town, and had only come back to London just before the House met, and did not think the subject was coming on so soon; and that must be his apology for not giving a longer notice on the subject. The matter was one somewhat personal to himself; therefore, he felt some difficulty in adverting to it before the Committee. If it were merely a personal question, however, he should venture to put up with what he considered the insolence of the officials of the Board of Trade to himself personally without troubling the Committee with it; but it was not altogether a personal matter—it was much more. Therefore, he thought he was fully warranted in mentioning it to the Committee. The question arose out of some evidence given by Mr. Giffen before the Select Committee on the Sugar Bounties, over which he (Mr. Ritchie) presided. It had been stated, though he did not think it had much to do with the case, that Mr. Giffen was a witness who had attended before the Committee at his (Mr. Ritchie's) personal request. This was quite a mistake. The Committee were very glad to have that gentleman's evidence; but, so far as his recollection went, he believed Mr. Giffen was a witness tendered by the late Lord Frederick Cavendish, and that he appeared essentially as an official of the Board of Trade, to give certain statistics and other information which was only in the possession of that Department. Mr. Giffen was a gentleman for whom he had always had the very greatest respect, so far as his abilities and personal character were concerned. He was quite sure the public had no more valuable servant in their employ than Mr. Giffen. Mr. Giffen had given some exceedingly valuable information to the Committee, and in the course of his examination he had given the following answers to three questions put to him. One question put by himself (Mr. Ritchie) was—

"Q.—Supposing pretty equal conditions, one man gets £2 a-ton and the other gets nothing, the man who gets nothing would hardly be able to compete with the man who gets £2 a-ton on an article of £22, would he?

"A.—I do not know but that he might be able to do so if he lowered the profits and wages in his trade. There are many conditions under which a great many people could compete. You might reduce the rent of a great deal of property which was growing cane sugar, so that you might have a large amount of competition still."

Then the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Thornhill), in cross-examining Mr. Giffen, put the following question:—

"It is your opinion, in answer to Question 283, that export bounties must be met by a reduction of wages?"

And the answer was—

"Yes; that was suggested in reply to a question which was put to me, and I said that when two men were competing, if one of them got a special advantage of that kind it did not necessarily follow that the other man was put out of the trade, but that he might meet it by reducing his wages or profits."

The next question put was—

"You think reducing the wages of the working men and keeping on the bounty is better than taking off the bounty and keeping the wages as they are?"

and Mr. Giffen's reply was "Yes." Now, those were the three questions and answers upon which the whole point rested. He wished to be perfectly candid with the Committee upon this subject, and he was bound to say he felt that Mr. Giffen, in making the answers he did, committed a great indiscretion. He did not believe that Mr. Giffen, as the witness of the Board of Trade, could seriously put it forward that this bounty should be met by a reduction of wages, and therefore he made no allusion whatever in the Report he laid before the Committee to this suggestion as being one means of meeting the bounty. More than that, he had studiously avoided in anything he had ever written or said on the subject of the sugar bounties making any allusion to those answers of Mr. Giffen, simply because, as he had already said, he did not believe that Mr. Giffen, on consideration, could seriously put forward such a proposal as that as a reasonable means of meeting export bounties. But, while that was his (Mr. Ritchie's) own feeling, it was impossible for him to regulate the feelings or to alter the opinions of other people who had formed a different view to his of the answers

Mr. Giffen made. He was perfectly well aware that it had more than once been put forward by the working men who were mainly interested, that Mr. Giffen, in making those answers, had laid down a means by which, in his opinion, those bounties might be met. Well, that being so, Mr. Giffen had met the contention by more than one contribution to the Press, and, of course, he (Mr. Ritchie) could not for one moment blame him. He had a perfect right to put what interpretation he thought proper upon the answers he gave. He had more than once made out that he did not intend to put this forward as a means by which the bounties should be met, but he did not attempt to deny that he actually used the words which had been more than once quoted in circulars and in pamphlets which had put forward the views of the working men upon the question. Now, the question of the sugar bounties was one, as the Committee might be aware, in which he (Mr. Ritchie) for many years had taken a very considerable interest, because it affected very materially a large number of his constituents. He was asked a short time since to preside at a meeting to be held at the East End of London upon the subject of sugar bounties, and he consented to do so. In his opening remarks, which indeed were the only remarks he made at the meeting, he spoke upon the sugar bounties and upon bounties in general; but not one word fell from his lips in reference to Mr. Giffen, or in reference to the resolutions which were put into his hand, and which he was told were to be moved. Hon. Gentlemen were well aware, from their personal experience, that Members of Parliament were called upon to preside at meetings of different kinds, and that it would be giving a new turn to affairs if chairmen of public meetings were to be held responsible for every word of every resolution which was put before the meetings over which they presided. Well, one of the resolutions adopted by the meeting over which he presided—he had not got a copy of it with him, but he thought he could describe it pretty accurately—was a resolution which deprecated the proposal made more than once by an official of the Board of Trade that bounties should be met by a reduction of wages. That was, practically, what the resolution amounted to. Well, that resolution, along with other resolutions, was put to the meeting by him and carried, and two or three days afterwards the resolutions were sent to him to sign as having been carried. He signed the resolutions, and made a note at the foot to the effect that they were carried unanimously at the meeting over which he presided. Now, that was the beginning and end of his connection with the meeting or with the resolutions. Judge of his astonishment when he saw, in a recent number of *The Times*, a letter, a column and a-half in length, signed by Mr. Giffen, and much of which consisted of personal abuse of himself (Mr. Ritchie) and his hon. Friend the Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Thornhill). The charge against himself was that he had presided at the meeting at which the resolution in question was carried, and he had been guilty of misconduct. He was bound to say that it was, at least, inconvenient when an official of the Board of Trade, who was well known to be in such intimate relation with the Press as Mr. Giffen was, took advantage of that connection to get inserted in the leading journal a long letter, in which he made a personal attack upon a Member of Parliament who performed a duty which he considered it was incumbent upon him to perform in the middle of his constituency. Even if there had been any ground whatever for that personal attack upon himself by Mr. Giffen, he was a Member of that House, and Mr. Giffen and the Department was very adequately represented by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain), and it was in that House he ought to have been called to account, if he had said or done anything which he was not justified in saying or doing.

MR. COURTNEY: It was done in the Tower Hamlets.

MR. RITCHIE maintained that made no difference whatever. There were scores of instances in which statements had been made in one part of the country or the other by hon. Gentlemen affecting some individual Members of the House, or some Department of the State, and it had been thought necessary to bring the matter before the notice of the House of Commons. And they were not statements merely confined to the House which were brought to the Bar of the House. Over and

over again, statements made outside the House were brought to the Bar of the House for examination and discussion; and therefore he said distinctly that the proper mode of proceeding, if any fault had to be found with him, was to charge him with it in the proper place—namely, in the House of Commons. But to show the further inconvenience and the disadvantage which one was placed at by an attack of this kind, made by a gentleman who had such relations with the Press as Mr. Giffen had—["What relations?"] Well, it was notorious. He did not know that Mr. Giffen had any absolute connection with the Press at that moment; but it was perfectly well known that Mr. Giffen had for years had a very honourable connection with the leading journal, and with other journals in the country. But he was not going to make any attack upon Mr. Giffen on that account; he was merely pointing out the inconvenience and injustice which hon. Gentlemen suffered in consequence of the advantage sometimes taken of connections with the Press, and he would show what that inconvenience and injustice was. *The Times* inserted an article, nearly two columns in length, composed very largely of an attack upon himself and another Member of the House; but when he wrote to *The Times* a very modest letter, containing an answer to the charge made against him, it did not gain admission to the colums of the paper. He waited anxiously from day to day, and his letter did not get admission to *The Times* until a letter appeared in another London journal from his hon. Friend the Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Thornhill) containing a copy of a letter which he also had written to *The Times* in answer to Mr. Giffen, but which was not published there, and which he asked another London journal to print for him. The day after his hon. Friend's letter appeared in *The Morning Post*, his (Mr. Ritchie's) answer appeared in *The Times*; but it was a week after it ought to have appeared, and no date was affixed to it. Well, the matter did not end there. Shortly after that he received a letter from the Board of Trade, making a most innocent inquiry of him as to whether he knew to whom the resolution passed at the meeting over which he presided referred. Well, now, looking to the fact that the Board of Trade were in possession of all the information which they asked of him, he thought it was somewhat disingenuous and misleading of them to ask him for the information. Why did he (Mr. Ritchie) know the information was in their possession? He knew it because he had seen it in the paper, because Mr. Giffen himself had referred to it in his long letter to *The Times*, and because the Board of Trade were at that moment in correspondence with the Workmen's Committee, in reference to the very subject about which they asked for information from him. In his reply he expressed surprise that they should ask information from him, and not from the gentleman who sent them the resolution, because the Committee would bear in mind that his connection with the matter terminated with the end of the meeting. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Workmen's Committee for the Abolition of the Sugar Bounties, and he supposed the resolutions adopted were forwarded by the secretary or some other official of the Organization to the Board of Trade. He very naturally said that in his opinion the Board of Trade should apply to the gentleman with whom they were in communication for any information on the subject; but he did not wish to be disingenuous himself, and therefore he said he understood the resolution referred to Mr. Giffen, and to the answers which he gave before the Select Committee on the Sugar Industries. And then, in a few days, he got another violent letter from the Board of Trade, and that letter, in order to give impressiveness and increased dignity to the communication, was signed, not by the Assistant Secretary, but by Sir Thomas H. Farrer himself. That letter informed him (Mr. Ritchie) that the reason why the Board of Trade applied to him for the information in question was that he was chairman of the meeting at which the resolution was passed, and that the copy of the resolutions forwarded to the Board of Trade was signed by him. That would seem to imply that it was the opinion of the Board of Trade that the chairman of a meeting was personally responsible for all the resolutions which it was his duty to put to the meeting. That he absolutely denied. But he would have the Committee bear in mind that there were two points in that question—firstly, whether the words which

were used in the resolution misrepresented what Mr. Giffen said; and, secondly, whether he (Mr. Ritchie) was responsible for them if they did? He fully granted that if a resolution had been put before the meeting containing words which purported to be a quotation from any evidence given before him, but which he knew to be false, it would have been his duty to point out to the meeting that the words were false, and not to put them. But that was not the question. The question was not whether Mr. Giffen made these replies, but what interpretation was to be placed upon them, and he (Mr. Ritchie) maintained that that was an altogether different point. Mr. Giffen did not deny that he used those words; but he said—"Oh, they could not mean what the workmen say they understood they did mean, because my object was to defend against a most insidious attack that Free Trade system by which the condition of the working men of this country has been so much advanced during the last 30 years." That was the explanation which, he presumed, Mr. Giffen was angry with him for not having given to the meeting; but it was no portion of his duty to give to the meeting Mr. Giffen's explanation of his own words. Mr. Giffen's words spoke for themselves, and he (Mr. Ritchie) ventured to say that quite as large a number of people thought that the only interpretation to be put upon them was the interpretation put upon them by the Workmen's Committee as there were who thought the opposite. And then, forsooth, because he did not take up the cudgels for Mr. Giffen, and explain to the meeting over which he presided what Mr. Giffen meant, he had been insolent enough to charge him (Mr. Ritchie) with misconduct. Although they had been informed by him (Mr. Ritchie) that he took no part in the denunciation of Mr. Giffen, and although they knew perfectly well he never had said one word against Mr. Giffen, the Board of Trade, in their second communication, endeavoured to fasten upon him the responsibility of the interpretation which was put on Mr. Giffen's words by a public meeting over which he (Mr. Ritchie) presided. They said—

"Mr. Giffen has always warmly repudiated the construction you place on the answers he gave," &c.

He (Mr. Ritchie) had informed them that he had placed no interpretation on the words in question; that he had never referred to them in any shape or form in anything he had ever said or done concerning the Sugar Bounties; and yet they presumed to attack him again, and to talk about the interpretation he had placed upon them. And then the Board of Trade wound up their letter by saying—

"They cannot understand"—they read him (Mr. Ritchie) a lecture—"you joining in a resolution which imputes to a witness who gave evidence before you in the course of his official business," &c.

His joining! He appealed to every Member of that House whether it could be said fairly and honestly that the president of a meeting joined in everything that was said and done at the meeting? He would like to ask the President of the Board of Trade, or any other Member of the Government, whether, in any speeches which they considered it their duty to make, they were careful to explain, not only their own interpretation of what had been said by their political opponents, but the interpretation which their political opponents attached to them themselves? He ventured to say that if some of the Ministers were to look through the files of newspapers even of recent times, and examined the interpretation which they had put on the words of their political opponents, they would very plainly see that the interpretation was not such as those who spoke the words would desire to put upon them. He maintained that his position did not require to be defended from attack. He had never said one single word which he desired to retract, either about Mr. Giffen or any other official of the Board of Trade. He denied, in the first place, that it was any portion whatever of his duty to give Mr. Giffen's explanation to the meeting; and he denied, in the second place, that he was to be held responsible for any resolution passed at the meeting. He could not help saying he considered that a gross and unwarrantable interference by the officials of the Board of Trade between a Member of that House and his constituents, between a Member of the House of Commons and the discharge of what he considered his duty to his constituents. He felt he owed an apology to the Com-

mittee for detaining them so long upon a matter which was very much of a personal character. He trusted, however, that the Committee would consider that the personal attack upon himself, and the public importance of the question whether it was right and proper that officials of the Board of Trade should interfere between Members and their constituents, was sufficient to warrant his bringing the matter under their notice?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ritchie) has spoken of the public importance of the question he has thought it necessary to raise at considerable length; but I confess I have heard very little in the arguments he has addressed to the Committee which has dealt with the public importance of the question. It appears to have reduced itself, so far as I have been able to observe, to a personal difference between the hon. Member himself and an official of a Public Department, with whom he is very indignant for having, as he says, attacked him in an unwarrantable manner. I think it is very much to be regretted that the hon. Member was not in his place when the matter was first raised in the early part of the evening, because, if he had been, he might have, to some extent, spared me the necessity of repeating what I have previously said. I do not contest the general accuracy of the greater part of the statement made by the hon. Member. There are only two subjects of controversy, as it appears to me, between us in this matter, because I will not admit for a moment that the hon. Gentleman is entitled to raise as a matter of controversy between the two sides of the House that the administration of *The Times* newspaper had not thought fit to insert his communication until a week after it was written. At all events, the Board of Trade is not responsible for the administration of *The Times* newspaper. The two points which I say are the only points of controversy between us, are these. In the first place, here is the acknowledged fact that a witness, who was himself a public servant, giving evidence before the Committee of which the hon. Member (Mr. Ritchie) was Chairman, was misunderstood. I will grant, if you like, that his answers were not sufficiently clear and that the misunderstanding was natural, but that does not in the least affect the argument. It is a fact that he was misunderstood, and that within two or three days of the publication of the evidence and the comments upon it, he repudiated in the strongest possible terms the interpretation that was sought to be affixed to his words. My first point is this. Under these circumstances, is it honourable or fair controversy, is it creditable, that any party or person should, time after time, attribute to a witness opinions which he has deliberately repudiated? I say it is not. I say it is dishonourable and discreditable to any party or person to do anything of the kind. Well, now, the second point of the controversy is this—and this is the only point which touches the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Ritchie)—that the hon. Gentleman, having occupied the position of the Chairman of the Committee on Sugar Industries, having heard the evidence of the witness, being perfectly conversant with the fact that Mr. Giffen had repudiated the erroneous interpretation which had been put upon his evidence, was now acting as chairman of a public meeting, and in his presence men got up and denounced Mr. Giffen on the ground of his having given this evidence, and they moved and seconded a resolution which accused him—the hon. Member said he was not in a position to state the exact words of the resolution—of having made to the Board of Trade deliberate and repeated recommendations that workmen's wages should be reduced in order that the bounty on sugar might be taken off—["Read!"] I am speaking from memory; but I pledge myself that the words of the resolution were "that he made deliberate and repeated recommendations."

MR. RITCHIE: I do not remember that the words were "deliberate and repeated recommendations to the Board of Trade."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I really do not see any importance in that.

MR. RITCHIE: Mr. Giffen made three distinct and separate answers before the Committee all in the same sense. He had an opportunity of correcting his evidence, or explaining when he came before the Committee subsequently, but he did not avail himself of it. The deliberate and repeated recommendations were not, as I understand, made to the Board of Trade, but to the

Select Committee in three separate answers. That is what I understand.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: It is necessary the matter should be clearly understood. The hon. Member called upon me to read; but how is it possible for me to read the resolution? The hon. Member has already said he only gave me Notice a short time ago of his intention to bring the question forward, and accordingly I have not the papers with me.

MR. RITCHIE: I did not call upon him to read. The only words I object to in what he has said is that the resolution stated that deliberate and repeated recommendations had been made to the "Board of Trade."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am speaking from memory, but, at the same time, I am prepared to pledge myself to certain words—they are the words of which Mr. Giffen complains. He complains that this resolution denounced him, or denounced an official of the Board of Trade, because he had made deliberate and repeated recommendations. The hon. Member lays stress on the other words — namely, "to the Board of Trade." To those words I should not like to pledge my memory, but I believe they appeared in the resolution. I, however, attach no importance to them at all. I put it to the hon. Member, whether he can possibly sustain the position that it was a fair representation of the evidence of a witness given in answer to three successive questions, to describe them as repeated and deliberate recommendations to reduce wages, in face of the fact that within two or three days the witness repudiated the construction placed upon his words?

MR. RITCHIE: One answer was given on the 14th of June, and the other two answers on the 18th of June.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I accept the hon. Member's statement as to the dates on which the answers were given. I was not a Member of the Committee. But the statement of the hon. Member does not touch the question at issue. The answers of importance were the second and third. I will grant, for the sake of argument, that the words used by Mr. Giffen are consistent with the interpretation placed upon them by the Workmen's Committee; but I ask, seeing that within two or three days of that interpretation having come to Mr. Giffen's knowledge, he said, after full deliberation, "I do not mean that," and that he explained what he did mean, whether it is fair and honourable again and again to tax Mr. Giffen with having meant that which he repudiated? The hon. Member was well aware that Mr. Giffen repudiated the interpretation placed upon his words; nevertheless, he allowed a resolution which embodied that interpretation to be passed in his presence—he allowed it to be put from the chair. I do not think the hon. Member meant to do Mr. Giffen the great injustice of attributing to him that which he had distinctly repudiated. The hon. Member, however, never explained to the meeting that they were misrepresenting a public servant. If he had said—"You are aware that Mr. Giffen denies the interpretation which is placed upon his words," there would not have been any blame attaching to him in the matter. If, however, under the circumstances, the hon. Member felt he was not bound to protect a public servant who was not present, and who could not defend himself, then I can only say that I differ altogether from him in regard to what is the duty of a chairman of a public meeting. Then the hon. Member complained that Mr. Giffen wrote to *The Times*, and thought that the matter should have been dealt with by the House. The offence, if it were an offence, was not committed in that House, but outside of it; and, as far as I can see, there was nothing unjustifiable or improper in Mr. Giffen making a reply to the attack made upon him. Does the hon. Member contend that I should get up in my place and use the public time in making a statement or in moving a Resolution in reference to this matter? I think such a proposal would be really too absurd. I began by saying that I have always found the hon. Member fair towards his political opponents. I think he would especially desire to be fair to an opponent who hardly met him on equal terms. The position of a Member of this House is one of great responsibility, and such as imposes upon him the duty of not attacking a public servant except under grave necessity. The hon. Member, therefore, ought not to be a party to an attack upon a public servant without grave necessity; and I hope the hon. Member, on reflection, will consider that his conduct justified the

serious complaint of Mr. Giffen, and that he will not consider there was any insolence in the language which Mr. Giffen employed. I would point out that when the question of the sugar bounties comes before the House, there will be an opportunity of considering the circumstances of the case; and until that time I venture to deprecate any further discussion of the matter. I now wish to say a few words with reference to the Marine Department of the Board of Trade and the proposed Royal Commission in relation to commercial and other similar matters. With regard to the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), I can say that there is no one in this House who regrets more sincerely than I the fact that the discussion on the second reading of the Merchant Shipping Bill was not continued. I desired that discussion to be continued, above all things, in order that what the shipowners wished to say on the question should have been heard in this House as elsewhere; and, in the second place, I was anxious that the question should be sifted, not only by a discussion, but also by a Division, in order that it might have been seen who were opposed to and who were in favour of the measure. I considered myself most unfortunate in the circumstance that the Government could not afford the time necessary for the completion of the discussion, and that the Bill had to be withdrawn without any decision of the House being obtained upon it. As regards the Royal Commission, and as regards some of the remarks of my hon. Friend the Member for Hull, I may tell my hon. Friend that, while I hear with regret that the Board of Trade has not altogether secured the confidence, as he calls it, of, or popularity with, the whole of the shipowning interest, that is not the business of the Board of Trade. We were not established simply as representatives of shipowners; we were established to hold the balance between the shipowners, sailors, merchants, and others—in short, between the different interests concerned in this business. I do not think it would be a defence of the Board of Trade to say that we never got into any differences of opinion with the shipowners; we are bound to supervise them, and, to certain extent, to interfere in their operations; and although that, of course, must involve a certain degree of friction, I trust that mutual respect between the Board of Trade and the shipowning interest will remain unimpaired. It is, however, no accusation against the Department that there should at times be some amount of friction of the kind I have indicated. Then my hon. Friend said that the shipowners were entitled to demand that such and such things should be referred to a Royal Commission, and that the Commission should be of such and such a character; and, further, my hon. Friend asks me for a pledge with respect to the Commission that the persons composing it should be stated to the House. As to the last point, I may say that I should be very glad if it were in my power to make such a statement; but negotiations are going on, and my hon. Friend knows how very difficult and delicate a matter it is to create a Commission of this kind which will command general respect, and he must not be surprised if the process of constructing it takes a considerable amount of time. My object will be to have, what will be recognized by everybody whose opinion is worth anything on this question, a strong and impartial Commission. It is not to a Committee of shipowners that these questions should be referred. If I were, however, to comply with the demands made in letters addressed to me from the various ports, there would be 24 shipowners upon a Commission which should not exceed 12 members. The Commission should be, of course, constituted in such a manner that the shipowners have fair play. At the same time, it is necessary that the interests of underwriters, merchants, officers of the Mercantile Marine should be represented, as also the mechanical and engineering interests concerned. There are, besides, legal points involved; and there must, therefore, be members whose position and character will secure a belief in the general impartiality of this Body. All these are matters which will be carefully weighed; and I can promise my hon. Friend that it will be my anxiety to recommend for appointment on such a Commission men who will command the assent of all impartial and reasonable persons. Finally, I may say that I shall be glad, as soon as it is possible to do so, to state to the House the names of the Commissioners, as well as the terms of the Reference.

MR. NORWOOD said, with reference to the constitution of the Commission, he thought that hon. Members who acted with him would recollect that he had himself protested against the Commission being composed entirely of shipowners, and that he had said that the Commission should include men of high character and position, who were entirely unconnected with the Mercantile Marine, in order to prevent anything like dissatisfaction. His right hon. Friend, therefore, made a great mistake in supposing that it was desired that the Commission should be composed entirely of shipowners. On his own behalf, he might observe that he had assumed no dictatorial tone in speaking on this subject; he had simply said that, as the shipowners had had no opportunity of answering in that House the long and able speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, it was absolutely necessary that the investigation, which alone would be satisfactory to those interested in the Mercantile Marine, must be thorough and complete.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD said, he had to congratulate the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade on having grappled, perhaps too thoroughly, with this important question in the interests of human life. Last Session, when he ventured to introduce into the House a short Bill to deal with a portion of the question, he had been treated with remarkable courtesy by the right hon. Gentleman, who said he would take care that the subject should be considered. He was quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman had not lost sight of his proposal, which referred more particularly to the loss of life resulting from collisions due to reckless conduct at sea. He believed it had been ascertained that off their coasts there occurred, on the average, throughout the year, one collision *per diem;* and for his own part, he was convinced that if shipowners gave more stringent directions to their captains not to race home, nor make the passing of other vessels the subject of wagers decided, so to speak, on the Books in Lloyd's Rooms —if those directions were enforced by a penalty, he believed that much loss of life would be prevented. He, for one, was very grateful for the thorough manner in which the right hon. Gentleman had grappled with this most important subject; and he hoped, that if a Royal Commission were appointed, the scope of the inquiry would include collisions at sea.

MR. MAC IVER said, he thought the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had paid the President of the Board of Trade a compliment wholly undeserved. He said this for the reason that there was not a single word about collisions at sea in the defunct Shipping Bill. Upon his own individual knowledge, not as a matter of opinion, but upon proofs which he should be ready at any time to submit to the House, he said most emphatically that the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman, and the position of the Board of Trade generally as regarded the seafaring and shipowning community had not the approval of any single class in the Kingdom. On the contrary, he said that seamen, officers, and shipmasters mistrusted the Board of Trade quite as much as shipowners and others. He had been invited to attend a meeting of seamen within the last two days at Shields. The complaint of the seamen was that they were unfairly competed with in their calling by foreigners and other persons who were not sailors. That was one of the questions which the seamen wished to be inquired into, and on which they did not trust the Department. Even officers and shipmasters had written to him from Liverpool and from other ports in such terms as made it clear that it was not the shipowners alone who mistrusted the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken on one occasion of having received some support from Liverpool, and the junior Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) was referred to as representing the opinion of that great constituency; but he omitted to say what particular section of opinion he represented there. As far as he (Mr. Mac Iver) was aware, there were three persons who approved the proceedings of the Board of Trade in this matter. One was a Greek gentleman—Mr. Basilio Papayanni—whose opinion could not be said to be identified with English interests; another was a gentleman—the present Chairman of their local Steamship Owners' Association—of whom he might also say that his views and interests were not those either of English shipowners or English sailors, as most of

the ships that he had to do with sailed under the Spanish flag, and were manned with Spanish crews. There remained only the name of one gentleman who had any kind of prominent position, and he was the brother of the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone), who sat on the opposite side of the House, and was one of the supporters of the right hon. Gentleman's legislation. That gentleman never had anything to do with the practical management of ships, and it was only because, as he had said, his brother was a prominent Member of the Liberal or Radical Party that the right hon. Gentleman was able to obtain from him any kind of support. With regard to other gentlemen in Liverpool with whom the right hon. Gentleman had been in communication, they were not persons who had any special connection with the particular class of vessels likely to be affected by the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. He had to say, however, that there was a universal complaint coming from all the seaports of the Kingdom of the hole-and-corner negotiations which had gone on respecting this proposed legislation. The reason why the right hon. Gentleman obtained the support of any shipowners at all was because those who gave him such support, and met him in consultation in London, were persons connected with those Companies whose fleets, and whose methods of doing business, were such as he would describe as being a little out of date—persons whose business was being competed with on more modern principles, who feared competition, and who hoped to see the law put in such a form as would discourage shipbuilding. Such was the only support which the measure of the right hon. Gentleman had received from the shipowning community. As a matter of fact, the right hon. Gentleman had had the opposition of the whole of the shipowning interest, and of the sailors themselves. He begged to assure the Committee that sailors had a very real grievance which they wanted to be redressed—that was to say, they wanted an end to be put to the way in which their honourable profession was disgraced by the competition of persons, not sailors at all, who brought that profession into disrepute. With regard to Mr. Giffen, then, he (Mr. Mac Iver) was certainly one of those persons who believed, in common with most people, that he had at that moment a very close connection indeed with *The Times*. He believed that to be the case, and he had reason to believe that the Board of Trade knew perfectly well that it was so. It was, moreover, the general impression. ["No, no!"] If that could be contradicted, he should like to hear a more specific contradiction than a word from the President of the Board of Trade across the Table. Could the right hon. Gentleman tell the Committee that Mr. Giffen had not at that moment any close relation with *The Times?* [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes; I can.] Could the right hon. Gentleman say that within the last few months or years Mr. Giffen had not enjoyed a dual position with regard both to the Board of Trade and *The Times?*

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Member asks me a question with reference to a contradiction which I gave across the Table. Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to say that Mr. Giffen's connection with the Press terminated when he accepted a permanent office in the Board of Trade.

MR. MAC IVER said, it would have been more satisfactory, and certainly clearer, if the President of the Board of Trade had put that contradiction forward at an earlier period of the debate. He accepted the right hon. Gentleman's explanation, as he was bound to do; but, at the same time, he wished to point out that his statement did not contradict the fact that there was, at all events, a close indirect connection between Mr. Giffen and *The Times*. Indeed, in one of the Board of Trade proposals, published last summer, officially, by the Board of Trade in *The Times*, there appeared the words—"In our columns there appeared. . ." which, he ventured to think, would only have been used by a person accustomed to contribute to *The Times*. At all events, it was very obvious that there was a close connection between the Board of Trade and *The Times*, which gave the Department an opportunity of putting forward their own views, held, no doubt, with perfect sincerity, and at the same time prevented replies.

MR. WARTON said, he was glad that this question as to the connection of a public official with the Press had been brought forward by the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver). It had led to an interesting discussion between

the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. Having listened to that discussion carefully, he was quite sure that anyone who did the same must have felt that the right hon. Gentleman had been obliged to labour immensely to make out his case. He thought it was perfectly clear that in the evidence given by Mr. Giffen before the Committee he repeatedly and distinctly referred to the lowering of wages as being the best way of meeting the sugar bounties, and that he had done so in the interests of so-called Free Trade, notwithstanding that one of their most important industries was being ruined by the action of Foreign Governments. The Board of Trade, however, had such Free Trade tendencies that they refused to propose countervailing duties, for fear of the cry of "Protection" being raised against the Government. Mr. Giffen gave it, as his reason for that policy, that he wished men to understand Free Trade. That was his object; and he availed himself of the Committee for the purpose of saving interests which he knew were perishing; and he repeated what he knew to be false, and bowed down before the idol of Free Trade as understood by the Board of Trade. There was no excuse for Sir Thomas Farrer, in his position as an official of the Board of Trade, sending his pamphlets on Free Trade all through the land. He had published an important pamphlet on Free Trade; and he maintained that it was most indecent for an official of the Government to do that. He ought to hold himself free from all economical theories; and it was not his duty to disseminate his views on political economy throughout the land. There was no justification for Mr. Giffen running away; and there was none for Sir Thomas Farrer publishing pamphlets as an official of the Board of Trade.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR wished to say a few words on the observations of the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood). The hon. Member had remarked that the multiplicity of the functions of the Board of Trade interfered with the efficient discharge of the duties of that Department. In connection with one of the branches of business—the Board of Trade Mercantile Marine Fund—a very interesting Parliamentary Paper was furnished in August last year. In that Paper he found that in connection with this Fund there were certain Commissioners of Northern Lights, and, among others in the 25 named, the Lord Advocate, the Solicitor General for Scotland, the Provosts of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and other towns, as well as the Sheriffs of a number of Scotch counties. But they no longer did the work they used to have in hand. The change was introduced from the 1st of April last year; and by this Paper it was stated that their total income was only £130 a-year. But it appeared that they had an annual dinner, which for the 25 gentlemen, including the Lord Advocate, cost £150, or £6 a-head. That was, apparently, defrayed out of an income which fell short of the expenditure by £20. A great deal had been heard about the dinners of London Vestries and Local Boards; but he was certain that nothing of this kind was ever exposed in connection with Boards of Guardians or Vestries in any part of England; and he regretted that the President of the Board of Trade was not present at that moment to explain how it was that when such reports as this appeared in the Papers issued by his Department nothing whatever was done to remove so gross a scandal.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he wished to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,820, and that for two reasons. In the first place, there were five Assistant Secretaries, each of whom had a maximum salary of £1,200 a-year—or £6,000 in all. He saw by the Note that one of these Secretaries received a salary of £300 for acting in another position; and another of them received nearly as much again. He would like to know how much of the Government time was given up to their other offices, because, if that time was occupied in these other offices, if it was given up to enable these gentlemen to fulfil their other duties, it was unfair that the nation should have to pay £1,200, just as if the whole of their time was given up to the work of the Government. He should like to have an explanation of this matter, because it was scarcely proper that they should be paid the same salaries as those gentlemen who gave up the whole of their time to the Government. Then he wished to call attention to an item of £520, consisting of

14*s.* a-week for a charwoman; that was £38 8*s.* a-year; and, besides that, there was a sum of £483 12*s.* a-year allowed for an office-keeper and servant. That was too much for an office-keeper and servant. Next, he wanted to know why the salary of the solicitor in the Legal Branch had been increased from £1,500 a-year to £1,800? The solicitor was also allowed to have a clerk, with a salary ranging from £485 to £505, and three clerks and copyists, for whom he was allowed £1,700 a-year—that was £450 a-year each, not including the copyists. Some explanation of both these matters ought to be given; and, unless some satisfactory answer was given, he should move the reduction of the Vote by the sum he had mentioned.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the hon. Member had given Notice of a Motion to reduce the Vote by £1,850; but he did not find any sum of £1,850 in these Estimates, and he was quite unprepared for the particular questions to which the hon. Member had called attention. With all respect for the hon. Member, he had found two mare's nests. One of his complaints was as to an item of 14*s.* a-week for a charwoman; but that depended on the assumption that there was only one charwoman, whereas, if the hon. Member would read the Estimates, he would see that the item was for "charwomen."

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he could not be responsible for the misprints in the Estimates. He could only take the words as he found them.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that the hon. Member had no right to assume that "charwomen" was "charwoman;" and he hoped the hon. Member did not wish that the President of the Board of Trade and all the servants should be kept in dirt rather than pay for charwomen to brush the carpets. That was the first complaint of the hon. Member. His second complaint was of a similar kind, and it was also a mare's nest. He said the Legal Branch had an allowance for the solicitor's three clerks and copyists. The hon. Member there assumed that this was for three clerks and three copyists; but it was for three clerks who were permanently on the Civil Service as clerks to the solicitor, and for an indefinite number of copyists who were employed from time to time owing to the nature of the work—at one time there might be 100 copyists, and at another one. At all events, this was the estimate of what, according to past experience, was necessary for copying clerks who were put on from time to time owing to the pressure of work. Then, with regard to the item as to clerks who received additional sums for other work, that was inserted in accordance with a pledge the Government gave years ago that any extra receipts by public servants should be stated. It was not a new thing, and he believed that, as a matter of fact, the Assistant Secretary to the Finance Department of the Board of Trade was Auditor to the Water Works Companies; and he understood that the whole of that work was performed out of office hours. It was well known that the demand on public servants was not a demand which would preclude them from devoting some extra time to other work. Then he understood the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) to call attention to the Commissioners of Northern Lights; but that was outside the Board of Trade. He had nothing to do with them; but, as he understood the matter, there was no longer any public money received from any public source for these Commissioners. There seemed to be some private income, amounting to £130, which was spent upon the Commissioners' dinner; but that was not a public matter.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, this was reported to the House in an official communication, signed by a Board of Trade official, whose name he believed was Mr. Evelyn Stone.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that was not so. The Report he supplied was ordered by the House, and it was signed by the Commissioners of Northern Lights, or, rather, by their Secretary. This was a private matter over which the Board of Trade certainly had no control.

MR. HARRIS said, the President of the Board of Trade had stated that the complaint of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) was of no public importance; but he thought it was a matter of the greatest public importance when a Member of that House was attacked by a public servant. It was eminently a matter which required some attention. The right hon. Gentleman said Mr. Giffen repudiated the evidence; but if that repudiation was a

substantial repudiation it ought to have been made to the Committee, and not written to a newspaper; and his hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie) would not necessarily be conversant with that repudiation, unless it had been personally sent to him. Then the President of the Board of Trade said he objected to the words "deliberate and repeated" in the resolution which was passed by the workmen. In the first place, he maintained that a gentleman of Mr. Giffen's standing, when he took the oath and gave evidence before a Committee, did so in a deliberate manner. Secondly, there was no doubt that the evidence was repeated, because it was given four times afterwards; and he therefore re-asserted that the Working Men's Committee were perfectly justified in using the words to which the President of the Board of Trade made so much objection—namely, "deliberate and repeated." During the cross-examination of Mr. Giffen Mr. Courtney asked the following question:—

"If we suppose what we may call a normal condition of things, and that trade is going on without any disturbance from bounties, and that from some cause or another the commodity which we consume is supplied on cheaper conditions than we can supply them, does that involve a disturbance of the industry at home?"

Mr. Giffen replied as follows:—

"It seems to me that it does not involve a complete disturbance of the industry at home. The industry may go on with less profits and with less wages to the people concerned, but the industry itself is not destroyed; and in any case, if that particular industry was weakened and diminished, the people engaged in it might go into some other industry, and the loss to the country would be the difference between the profit and the loss to the industry."

He did not wish to speak longer on the reply of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade; but it meant this—that if one after another of our industries were injured for the sake of our import trade there would soon be very few of them for the displaced workmen to find employment in. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that Mr. Giffen's repudiation was made within two or three days. He had his doubts whether that was so; he believed it was not made for a considerably longer period; but, at all events, the evidence was so distinct that he thought nine out of ten people would admit that the construction put upon it by the Working Men's Committee was the proper construction, and he wished to end his remarks by saying that it was extremely inconvenient for any servant of the Crown to get into the habit of writing to newspapers instead of writing directly to the persons concerned, and more especially so if they were hon. Members of that House.

MR. WARTON pointed out that there was an increase of £300 in the expenses of the Legal Branch; and he asked why the salaries of the three clerks were not stated so that the cost of the copyists might be seen?

MR. GREGORY said, he thought there was something in the question raised as to the Legal Branch. It was not for him to cut down appointments in the Legal Profession; but the Committee must remember that some years ago the question was considered whether the Legal Branches of the different Departments should not be consolidated and the different Departments refer their legal business to one common centre—namely, to the Solicitor to the Treasury. It was proposed to give the Solicitor to the Treasury a sufficient staff, so that the other branches of the Government might refer their legal business to that Office. He saw there was a separate Legal Branch for the Board of Trade; but what its objects or its duties were he did not know. It might be that there was sufficient legal business to occupy that branch; but he could not help thinking that this was one of those instances in which Offices might be consolidated, and the legal business proper be referred to the Solicitor to the Treasury.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the Board of Trade had an enormous amount of legal work even before the passing of the recent Acts, and it would be impossible to refer that to another Department. It would have been impossible for the Board of Trade to refer the legal matter arising out of the administration of the Merchant Shipping Act and the Railway Act, and the Board had had to consider whether they should appoint a separate solicitor for each branch of the administration of those Acts; but he quite agreed with his hon. Friend (Mr. Gregory) that it was desirable to consolidate, as far as possible, and put all the Legal Branches under one principal solicitor. They had asked the Treasury for a moderate increase of £300 a-year—which had been readily

granted—for the extra work had been very large. A great number of difficult and complicated cases had arisen under the Bankruptcy Act, and it was important to have a solicitor on the spot to act at once.

MR. TOMLINSON asked whether the Committee were to understand that the bankruptcy clerks included in the Vote had still bankruptcy work to do?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN replied that those clerks had been connected with the London Bankruptcy Court; and the duty had been imposed on the Board of Trade of finding employment, as far as possible, for clerks who had been in that Court. The two gentlemen separately mentioned were employed in connection with bankruptcy work, and they were mentioned separately because they were not new appointments, but were appointments transferred.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,677, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for meeting the Deficiency of Income from Fees, &c. for the requirements of the Board of Trade, under 'The Bankruptcy Act, 1883.'"

MR. W. FOWLER said, he proposed to reduce this Vote by £500, his object being to call attention to a charge which he considered hardly right under the circumstances. When the Bankruptcy Bill came before the Grand Committee, a clause with reference to the banking department was so worded as to provide that all the accounts should be sent to the Bank of England, unless the Board of Trade should order otherwise. That was objected to by a majority of the Members, and after considerable discussion the clause was so worded as to provide that the permission of the Board of Trade must be obtained to sending the accounts to a local bank. It was purely a formal application. The scale of fees had been framed by the Lord Chancellor under the Act, and had received the sanction of the Treasury; and as regarded all the former applications specified in this scale of fees they were—namely, 2*s.* 6*d.* 5*s.* or 1*s.*, or something of that kind. When they came to a formal application on the part of the Committee of Inspection to the Board of Trade to open an account at a local bank £1 was charged for the Order to the Board of Trade, and then a general charge of £2 was made when the arrangement was carried out, making a total of £3 for the application. Judging from his recollection of what happened before the Grand Committee—and he had taken a very prominent part in the discussion—he might describe this arrangement as practically a breach of faith with the Committee, because these fees were in reality intended to discourage the opening of these local banking accounts, and to draw as much business as possible to London to the Bank of England. He was not a member of a banking firm, and therefore he had no personal concern in the matter; but he was connected with the monetary world and took great interest in the question, as he looked upon himself as having been a party to the arrangement made in the Committee. Certainly, if they had any idea in the Committee that these fees were to be charged objection would have been raised to it at the time, and they unquestionably would have carried the Committee with them, because it was clear that as a whole the Committee strongly agreed with him in the matter. So strongly, in fact, did the Committee agree with him that the proposal he made was agreed to without a division. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had conducted the work of the Committee in a very courteous and conciliatory manner. When he saw the Committee was against him he invariably gave way at once. In this matter he had given way immediately, and the whole thing was arranged on the footing he (Mr. Fowler) had mentioned. He strongly objected to the imposition of these charges, although it was only in keeping with the practice which was very common at the present time—namely, a practice of endeavouring to get as much business as possible up to London. Each Department desired to have as much business as possible put into its hands. In opposition to that principle hon. Members in the Grand Committee had objected to the clause as originally drawn. They had mentioned that the business of winding up a bankrupt's estate should be conducted as much as possible in the locality, and that as a matter of course, where practicable, the banking arrangements should be

conducted in the locality, if it could be done without injury to the estate. After much care and consideration, and with the assistance of the Solicitor General (Sir Farrer Herschell), the clause was drafted as he had indicated; and he maintained that the spirit of that clause had not been carried out in the fees which had been imposed. The spirit of the clause had been entirely broken by imposing what was practically a very large charge in cases where resort was had to country banks, while in other similar cases, when the business was done through the Bank of England, no such charge was made. After the discursive debate they had had, he desired to confine his remarks within the shortest possible compass, and not to waste a moment of the time of the Committee. He thought he had made his meaning clear. His object was not in any way to embarrass the proceedings of the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade. They had settled by law that the Board of Trade was to arrange the bankruptcy business—they had settled it so—rightly or wrongly. He did not wish to disturb that settlement; but he did object to anything which seemed like a breach of faith on the part of the officers of the Board of Trade in imposing these fees. He therefore, in order to raise this question, moved to reduce the Vote by the sum of £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,177, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for meeting the Deficiency of Income from Fees, &c. for the requirements of the Board of Trade, under 'The Bankruptcy Act 1883.'"—(*Mr. William Fowler.*)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not complain at all of the way my hon. Friend has introduced this matter, and I should be very glad to have the decision of the Committee upon it. Generally I agree with the accuracy of the statement he has made; but I think he has a little forgotten the circumstances when he says a final settlement was arrived at by general agreement, because I think he will bear me out when I say that, as a matter of fact, the discussion occupied the time of the Committee during two days of its sitting; and, on the second occasion, there was a Division taken, the form of the clause as it now stands in the Bill being then decided by a considerable majority. I believe in that majority the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) voted; and that, no doubt, gives him a right to express his opinion of the intention with which the arrangement was supported. The majority of those interested in the banking business, however, voted against the arrangement; at least, the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) did. So also did the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland), the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), and other hon. Members representing the banking interest. They voted against the arrangement finally come to, as they had voted against the original proposal. Let me point out to the Committee what this proposal was, and why it was this difference of opinion arose. The original proposal of the Bill was that the banking accounts of bankrupt estates should be carried on at the Bank of England. To that the objection on the part of the bankers was raised that it was centralization of the worst kind, and that it was desirable, on the contrary, that in every case where a Committee of Inspection desired it, a local banking account should be opened. We objected to that on behalf of the Board of Trade—in the first place, that under such circumstances many of the creditors would run a certain amount of risk, the Returns of the past showing that there had been heavy losses in connection with balances left at private bankers, and that it was very desirable that these estates, which are in the nature of trust funds, should be placed in the Bank of England, where they would be absolutely safe; and, in the second place—and we attach greater importance to this—we said it was impossible for the Board of Trade to exercise that sort of control and supervision which it was intended that they should exercise over these estates unless they had the management of them. The feeling of the Committee was very strong in favour of the opening of accounts in private banks; and, finally, the proposal was made on behalf of the Government that the Committee of Inspection should be allowed to open a local account in certain well-defined cases. That was put to the vote, and carried by a con-

siderable majority. Now, my hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) says that, that having been decided, the Department is wrong in now demanding a fee for the opening of these accounts. He goes so far as to say that that appears to him to be a breach of faith. Let me say at the outset of this discussion that I protest against the expression "breach of faith." Those words mean something dishonourable. I am sure the hon. Member does not mean anything offensive; but, as a matter of fact, the words in their general sense signify something dishonourable. There may have been a mistake, and that is for the Committee to decide; but, at all events, there has been no intention of a dishonourable proceeding on the part of the Board of Trade or its President. Suppose my hon. Friend had carried his original Resolution, and it had been left open to every Committee of Inspection to open a private account if they wished, would that have prevented the Board of Trade from charging a fee on the opening of the account? Certainly not. It would have been possible for the Board of Trade to charge it, and it is most certain that it would have been charged in every case. That being so, how can it be said to be a breach of faith because we charge the fee in the limited number of cases to which the operation of the rule was ultimately confined? I am now dealing with the argument that owing to what is sometimes called a compromise—owing to the final decision of the Grand Committee, we are precluded from charging this fee. I say we are not precluded from charging it, because we should not have been precluded even if the original Motion had been carried. Now, why do we charge the fee? That is a very simple matter, and I ask the attention of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) particularly to this, because the whole importance of the matter depends upon it. The expenses of the administration in bankruptcy are provided in two ways—first, by the interest on balances of estates in the Bank of England; and, secondly, by fees. Now, if an estate has a balance at a private or Joint Stock Bank it gets an advantage in the shape of interest, and it does not contribute in that way to the expense of a bankruptcy administration, and consequently the administration of these estates will have to be conducted by increasing the charges on other estates unless you provide for it in some way, and that is why we charge a fee. We have to compensate for the loss of interest that would be otherwise derived to the advantage of the bankruptcy administration in the country. I am prepared to accept any decision the Committee may think it right to come to; but I wish to point out that if the Committee accept this suggestion of my hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) it will be increasing the charges upon small estates which do not keep a separate banking account, in order that these other insolvent estates may be wound up at their expense. It is a question of justice and fairness as between the different classes of accounts with which we have to deal. It is not a question of general policy, but, as I say, of justice and fairness between the different classes of accounts. When the matter was first explained to the Lord Chancellor, a strong representation was made to him that the charge should be in the nature of an *ad valorem* fee, and that £3 was too little. Well, I am bound to say that, for my own part, I do not think it is sufficient to cover the expense or loss of interest. It was felt, with regard to the proposal for an *ad valorem* fee, that it would cause too great a complication, that we, therefore, fixed the general fee of £3; and the result is, wherever there is an account with any considerable balance, a considerable profit is made out of the transaction by the particular estate—that is to say, if the banker pays interest on the balance. If there is any balance, it is much more likely to be worth more in the shape of interest than the £3 charged as fee. As regards the matter of principle, the only thing to consider is whether the Committee thinks it fair that these accounts at local bankers should be especially favoured at the expense of other accounts—that smaller accounts should pay not only the expenses of their own administration, but that of these favoured accounts.

MR. R. BIDDULPH MARTIN was of opinion that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had made out a very weak case in this matter; so much so that he thought that the weight of his argument cut at the very root of his own Act. The object of

Supply, on Monday or Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT wished to say one or two words upon this very serious question. It was his belief that never before had the Government asked that Tuesdays and Wednesdays be granted them for Supply as well as for the transaction of their other Business. He quite admitted that this was a particular and perhaps an exceptional Session; but there was no precedent for the course proposed to be adopted. Monday was for some time the only day given up absolutely to Supply. Thursday was afterwards added, and now they were asked to give up Tuesdays and Wednesdays in addition. All he wished to say was that if Government were to have this privilege granted to them towards the end of the Session, the House would really have no guarantee that Supply was to be properly and fairly discussed in the earlier part of the Session. He hoped that the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who took a strong view with regard to these questions, would have something to say upon the Motion. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) felt that a full discussion upon the Army and Navy was absolutely necessary every year in the interests of the country; because, unless Government were kept up to the mark with regard to the expenditure on the Services, the efficiency of both Forces must be impaired, and they would soon fall behind those of foreign nations. He thought the present proposal an innovation which ought not to be placed upon the records of their proceedings, without at the same time placing on record a strong and strenuous protest against the proposal of the Government being made a precedent in future years, and also against this mode of putting off to the end of the Session discussions on Supply which ought to take place at a much earlier period.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT observed that the hon. and gallant Gentleman was perfectly in his right in entering a protest against the present proposal of the Government being regarded as a precedent to be followed in other Sessions. He quite agreed that it was important that the Estimates should be discussed at an earlier period of the Session; and he could assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman that the Government had no desire to set up a precedent under which the Estimates would be brought on at a late period of the Session at the expense of the rights of private Members. It was, however, imperative that Supply should be proceeded with without delay under present circumstances.

MR. J. LOWTHER wished that it should be clearly understood that, in giving his cordial support to the Government proposal, he was influenced by their distinct assurance that they intended to devote the time yielded to them by private Members to the necessary work of winding up the Session, and not to other purposes.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he was extremely glad that his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had called attention to this subject; because Her Majesty's Government, with the support of their followers, had managed to become the monopolists, as the sole originators of legislation in that House. They had introduced a greater number of measures than even, under ordinary circumstances, there would have been any reasonable prospect of their carrying. By this means they precluded independent Members from the hope of obtaining the attention of the House. They thus drove independent Members to the end of the Session; and when the end of the Session came, having proposed a revolutionary measure, which had not received "elsewhere" the blind acceptance which they hoped, they now pursued the arbitrary system of acquiring a monopoly of the time of the House. They not only proposed to appropriate the time allotted to hon. Members, who were not Members of the Government, for the remainder of the Session; but they proposed to summon Parliament to a special Session, with the understanding that the time of this special Session should be exclusively their own. He had never known any Administration pursue this system of monopolizing the time of the House to the extent that Her Majesty's present Ministers had done. Early in the Session they obtained leave to have Morning Sittings on Tuesdays and on Fridays; the inevitable effect of the House sitting from 2 o'clock until 7 o'clock in the evening, for the consideration of Government Business, was that the House was tired and exhausted, and

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, that as it was through his action that a Division was taken in the Grand Committee on the clause as it originally stood in the Bill, he might be allowed to say a word or two on the question. He wished to protest against the idea stated by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade that this was a question of the interest of the bankers. The question raised before the Grand Committee was whether the State had a right to the interest accruing from the funds of bankrupt estates, and the Committee had come to the conclusion that each estate had the right to the interest on its funds, and that they ought not to go to swell the sum in the hands of the Board of Trade in order to disguise the cost of the working of the Act. When the matter was first brought before the Grand Committee the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade opposed his (Mr. Dixon-Hartland's) Amendment in the strongest way; and on the first occasion, as the hon. Member for Tewkesbury (Mr. R. Biddulph Martin) had hinted, the feeling of the Committee was so strong in favour of the Amendment that it would have been carried if it had not been talked out by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Barran). During the time that elapsed between the Thursday afternoon when the subject was first discussed, and the Monday morning when it came up again for consideration, negotiations took place between the Gentlemen interested in the matter and the President of the Board of Trade, the result being that a distinct compromise was arrived at. If it had not been for that compromise his Amendment would certainly have been carried instead of being defeated by the majority the right hon. Gentleman had mentioned. The result of that compromise was the arrangement which had been referred to. He could not agree with what the right hon. Gentleman had said that the first three items required the consent of the Board of Trade. He (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) maintained that they required none. It was certainly a breach of the Act of Parliament to impose any fee at all for carrying out a part of its provisions. It was only under the 4th section that the consent of the Board of Trade was required. There it stated that if from any other cause the Committee of Inspection could show the Board of Trade that it was desirable that an account should be opened at the local bank in that case they had to get the consent of the Board of Trade, and in that case alone the Board of Trade would have power to charge a fee. Surely, there could be no power to fine for doing that which an Act of Parliament stating what was the right thing to do. As to cases having been brought before the Committee where losses had occurred through funds being in the hands of private bankers, he entirely denied that such was the case. The cases brought before the Committee were as to losses which had occurred through money being left in the hands of Trustees. At the beginning of the Session he had asked the right hon. Gentleman as to these fees, and the right hon. Gentleman had denied that any compromise had been arrived at. He (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) quite admitted that he had declined to accept any compromise, because he did not believe that any compromise which was arrived at would be carried out, and what had happened clearly showed that he was justified in his belief. He was too much accustomed to Liberal compromises which were never carried out to accept any suggestion of the kind. If those who complained of the conduct of the Board of Trade had simply stuck to him (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) on the second day of the discussion they would not now have had to raise this question. He distinctly stated that he considered the action of the Board of Trade a breach of faith with the Grand Committee. It was understood that the whole of the balances in the three first items should be given up, and that the Government should in return have all the small accounts under £300. That was the compromise which he considered had been arrived at, and he distinctly maintained that unless it was carried out a breach of faith had been committed.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, one reason why they should support the Amendment was, because it was undesirable to incur a large expense under the Act until they were quite sure that it would work well. The hon. Member for Tewkesbury (Mr. R. Biddulph Martin) had said it was, perhaps, too early to judge whether the Act would work well or not. The part of the Bill which dealt with the debtor was, indeed, he

thought, very valuable; but as regarded the realization of the assets, he (Sir John Lubbock) had grave doubts with regard to it, as he had always held that the proper way of dealing with the estate of a bankrupt was to allow it to be managed by the creditors. He could not think that any Act was a good one which took the management of such property out of the hands of those to whom it really belonged. It was said that the Act of 1869 had given power to the creditors, and that that measure had not worked well; but, for his part, he denied that it had ever given powers to the creditors. Under that Act, creditors could not call meetings, insist on having accounts, or change Trustees. Many systems had been tried in the country; but the simple plan of allowing the creditors to look after their own affairs, which to his mind was the right one, had never yet been adopted. Under the present Bill, however, they had still less power. It was practically vested in Mr. John Smith, who was called the Board of Trade. He had a great respect for Mr. Smith, and he was not quarrelling with him or with the appointment. He believed Mr. Smith to be able, conscientious, and efficient. It was the system which he distrusted. Mr. Smith told them in his Report that there were symptoms that creditors now insisted on compositions in preference to insisting on bankruptcy. Symptoms, indeed! Why, the number of bankruptcies used to be 10,000 a-year; it had suddenly fallen to 3,000; and his own impression of that remarkable change was, that creditors were unwilling to allow estates to go into bankruptcy, because when once an estate got in bankruptcy they lost all control of the property. Under such circumstances, the Committee would do well to hesitate before incurring a great expenditure in creating a large staff which they might hereafter find was not required. No doubt, however, the main reason for the Amendment which had been moved by his hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) was, as stated, that it was thought that the Resolution adopted by the Grand Committee, and confirmed by the House, was not being carried out. It might be said that £3 was not a large fee; but they must remember that the great bulk of the accounts were small ones, and in their very nature only temporary; and, once the principle was admitted that the Board of Trade could charge £3, why should they not be able to charge a larger sum? It appeared to him that the Board of Trade were really attempting, by charging these fees, to override the Act. That Act said—

"If it appears to the Committee of Inspection that, for the purpose of carrying on the debtor's business, or of obtaining advances, or because of the probable amount of the cash balance, ... it is for the advantage of the creditors that the Trustee should have an account with a local bank, the Board of Trade shall authorize the Trustee to make his payments into and out of such local bank as the Committee may select."

The Act really said they might have these accounts; but if they availed themselves of the power the Board of Trade fined them £3. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) came down and said—"Oh, they may do it; but if they do I shall charge them £3." Let them suppose that the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) carried his Resolution, and that everybody was allowed to have local accounts under any circumstances whatever, the right hon. Gentleman argued that he could still charge the fees. What they complained of was, that the right hon. Gentleman charged fees in some cases, and did not charge them in others. Then the right hon. Gentleman said—"Oh, but the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London did not accept the compromise, but voted against it." It was true he (Sir John Lubbock) did not, in the first place, accept the compromise. He did not think it was a satisfactory one, because he thought people ought to do what they liked with their own funds; and, therefore, in Committee he did not vote for it. But when the Committee had arrived at it he accepted it, and did his best to carry it out. Certainly, if there had been any idea that the right hon. Gentleman would charge these fees, the compromise would not have been so easily come to. He did not wish to occupy time by dwelling further upon the question. He disavowed making any charge against the right hon. Gentleman. He was persuaded the President of the Board of Trade had acted with every desire to carry out the Act in a proper manner; but, still, there was no doubt a general feeling amongst bankers that the Board

of Trade had not kept faith with them, or with the Grand Committee in this matter. He earnestly hoped that, on further considering the question, the right hon. Gentleman would see his way to remove these fees, of which there was great reason to complain.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he had no desire to follow the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) as to the merits of the Bankruptcy Act. He ventured to think that every indication up to the present showed that the hon. Baronet's prophecies would not be fulfilled. The Act was working well, and it was giving the greatest satisfaction to every branch of the community interested in it. He should like to say a word or two upon the actual position of the question. His recollection of what transpired in the Grand Committee did not bear out the statement of the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler), and the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland). He certainly did not remember that any compromise of the nature they indicated was entered into. There was no doubt that the banking interest was exceedingly strong in the Grand Committee; and he was rather amused that night to hear hon. Members stating that they were exceedingly anxious that creditors should have the advantage of their own funds, particularly when the arguments by which they supported that proposition were entirely banker's arguments. As to the allegation that faith had not been kept with the bankers, he might be permitted to state the position of the question. When the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Evesham was proposed notice was given to him that the subject would be re-opened in the House, and an hon. Member who was not now present put the case very strongly. The hon. Gentleman said—"You have in this Bill dealt with other interests—local accountants and solicitors—why is the banking interest to be held sacred; why are we to specially legislate in the interest of bankers?" The President of the Board of Trade proposed, in the first instance, that the whole of these funds should be paid into the Bank of England; and he gave a very substantial reason for it—namely, that the Bank of England would allow such sum in the shape of interest as would materially reduce the cost of working the Bankruptcy Act. It was true the President of the Board of Trade accepted the clause as it now stood; but it came to this—that, having given the creditors the option of opening private banking accounts, the creditors should derive the advantage of the interest paid. Why should those estates not pay their contribution to the Consolidated Fund, out of which the expenses of the working of the Act were paid? Though the estates which banked in the Bank of England got no advantage in the shape of interest, the Consolidated Fund was benefited, inasmuch as it received a contribution towards the expenses of carrying out the Act. Let them suppose two estates of £1,000. The one had a private banking account for 12 months, and received interest at the rate of 2½ per cent. The other estate paid its money into the Bank of England, who allowed interest at 3 per cent, by which the Consolidated Fund got £30. The President of the Board of Trade was certainly acting in the interest of the public; and therefore he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) was surprised the right hon. Gentleman had not the sympathy of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands). The President of the Board of Trade argued that they could not recognize private bankers in this transaction, because it was a question between the creditors and the public; and he very reasonably stipulated that estates which received the interest on the money banked privately should pay a fee of £3 to the Consolidated Fund towards the expenses of the Act. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) hoped that all Gentlemen interested in economy would endeavour to cut down the cost of working the Bankruptcy Act as much as possible; and he knew of no more fair or legitimate requirement than that those estates, which took to themselves whatever interest was obtainable, should pay some contribution to the Consolidated Fund.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was surprised that a Gentleman of the position of his hon. Friend (Mr. H. H. Fowler) should advance such arguments as the Committee had just listened to. Surely if there was any money in an estate the creditors were entitled to the full advantage of it. His hon. Friend (Mr. H. H. Fowler) quoted two estates, one of which paid £1,000 into a local bank, and the other paid a similar sum into the Bank

of England. Because the one sent its money to the Board of Trade, and did not get any interest, the estate which had the good sense to send its money where it could get interest must be made to pay a fee of £3. Such an argument was altogether untenable. It was argued that estates with a private banking account ought to pay a fee, in order to relieve those estates which were not similarly situated; but he altogether disputed the soundness of such a doctrine. It appeared to him that creditors ought to have the full advantage of any interest which accrued to the estate. It had been said that the President of the Board of Trade had been guilty of a breach of faith; and the right hon. Gentleman very naturally resented that expression of opinion. He (Mr. Rylands) did not wish to indorse that opinion; he did not believe the President of the Board of Trade would willingly be guilty of any breach of faith. But while he did not consider there had been any breach of faith, he was of opinion that the right hon. Gentleman had taken the Members of the Grand Committee by surprise. It did seem that to charge persons who desired to open private bank accounts a fee had the effect of preventing them from opening such accounts. At any rate, he trusted that the fees already imposed would be sufficient to meet the expenses of the Bankruptcy Act. Like the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), he was by no means disposed to take an unfavourable view of the working of the Act. He was very reluctant to believe that the Act would not be a success; at all events, they had not had sufficient experience to force them to the conclusion that it would not succeed.

MR. W. FOWLER said, it was evident that the estates with a local bank account were in a more fortunate position than those estates which had no such account; and what his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade contended was that the estates which were in the fortunate position in question should pay this additional fee. If they did not pay this fee, the right hon. Gentleman must charge money in other directions. He (Mr. W. Fowler) did not see why that should be. He appealed to the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland) whether, when the compromise was accepted by the Committee, and the hon. Gentleman wished to raise the question in the House when the Report was brought on, he (Mr. W. Fowler) did not come to him and beg him not to disturb the arrangement made by the Committee, because he considered the President of the Board of Trade was anxious to meet the matter fairly, and that he (Mr. W. Fowler), for one, was prepared to accept the compromise as an arrangement which he thought, on the whole, fair. He certainly did not consider it was open to any considerable objection.

MR. BARRAN said, certain hon. Gentlemen had somewhat reflected upon him for having on the first day of the debate in the Grand Committee talked out this question; but he felt rather proud of the position he then took up, because he afforded a fair opportunity to the Committee to consider the question, and he gave the President of the Board of Trade an opportunity of considering how he might best meet the wishes of the Committee as far as they had been expressed. He took it that the discussion that night had proved, if proof were at all needed, that this was a bankers' question; it had been a bankers' question from the very first. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade framed the Bankruptcy Act with the view of the whole of the bankrupt estates passing through the hands of the Board of Trade and being deposited in the Bank of England. The right hon. Gentleman made his calculation as to the income which would be derived from the capital invested with the Bank of England in relation to the probable cost of the working of the Bankruptcy Act; and he (Mr. Barran) believed, and other Members of the Grand Committee believed, that if the whole of the funds of bankrupt estates passed through the Bank of England, in all probability the trading community generally would benefit thereby. But there was a very strong feeling in the Committee in favour of creditors being allowed to use private banks for the purpose of working bankrupt estates. The President of the Board of Trade considered he might meet the demand that was made upon him by a compromise. That compromise was accepted, and it had been kept up to the present time. Objection was now raised by bankers to the charge of a fee of £3,

which was made for permission to work the estates of bankrupts by means of provincial bankers. The President of the Board of Trade had clearly proved that if bankrupt estates were to be worked through private banks, either the private banks or the estates would get the benefit of the interest accruing from the sums of money lying in the bank; and that being so, unless the estates paid something for the advantage they got, the other estates not similarly situated would have to pay considerably towards the working of the Act. In the interest of the trading community, he thought the Board of Trade were bound to make some charge from private banks for the advantage they got in working bankrupt estates. If the private banks paid £3 in fees, the amount would be repaid to them, because the expense of working the estates must fall on the creditors and not on the banks. But while the expenses of working the estates would fall on the creditors, he believed that the estates which were worked through private banks would benefit considerably by the advantage they got. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade that the amount of money accruing from these fees might not be large, but a principle was involved.

MR. ECROYD said, that, having been a Member of the Grand Committee which had this matter under consideration, he desired to say a few words upon the question at issue. It so happened that he was one of the minority on this question, who had no interest, direct or indirect, in any bank, private or joint stock. The objection which many Members of the Committee felt to this arrangement for impounding the funds of bankrupt estates, and making the interest accruing the chief means of providing the expense of working the Bankruptcy Act, was that it was utterly unsound in principle, and contrary to the interests of the estates. It was felt that in many cases it would be necessary to work bankrupt estates in the localities in which they were situated, and most convenient, indeed requisite, to obtain temporary advances from private banks, and that great advantage would accrue to the working of such undertakings, if every facility were afforded to open accounts with private banks. In the next place, he and others objected, because they saw that to adopt the principle proposed by the right hon. Gentleman was actually to give a premium to the Board of Trade to prolong the working of the accounts in order that as much interest as possible might accrue. Besides that, many Members of the Committee knew from experience that a larger amount of interest could often be legitimately obtained from local banks than from the Bank of England. He did not wish to restate all the arguments which were used in the Grand Committee; but, without making any accusation of bad faith, a term which, perhaps, ought not to be used in the House in this connection, he would make bold to say that if the right hon. Gentleman had frankly stated that it was his intention in framing the Rules to attach such penalties as these to the privilege of opening accounts with private bankers, the compromise would never have been passed by the Committee. He was perfectly certain that had a Division been taken on the evening of the first discussion, the Act would never have been passed in its present form. The hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) must now feel that it would have been better to have stuck to his guns and supported those who, though totally disconnected with the banking interest, were prepared, on public grounds, to stand firm in the position they had assumed. He (Mr. Ecroyd) would certainly support the hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. Fowler), if he went to a Division.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he thought the action of the Board of Trade was perfectly just in reference to the case now before the Committee. It also seemed to him that it was not only too soon to consider the operation of the Act, but that it was not the occasion on which to consider its general policy. The question at that moment before the Committee was a very narrow one. The fees complained of did not constitute a charge made by the Board of Trade upon bankers; it was a charge made upon each bankrupt's estate; and it must be borne in mind that there was no *ad valorem* fee, and that the highest tax put on a bankrupt estate was £3. All he could say was, that if the interest on the estate was not worth more than that, he was sure that no banker would want to keep open an account of such a character. The Department said, and

said rightly, and the provisions of the Act declared, that, as far as possible, bankrupts' estates should bear the whole expense of the administration of the Act; and it was not fair that the Consolidated Fund should be called upon to bear the charge or any considerable portion of it. It was but a small question as to whether the charge should be made on the estates. One part of the charge was in the form of fees, and the other part was in the form of interest on money in the Bank of England belonging to the bankrupt estates. Well, his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade said that some estates would contribute specially to the expenses under the Bankruptcy Act—namely, those which had deposits in the Bank of England; and he (Mr. Illingworth) was obliged to admit that it was only right that those estates which had not should, in some form or other, pay a fair equivalent. The charge was one from which local bankers did not suffer in the slightest degree; and he undertook to say that if this £3 was the whole tax for a local banking account—for keeping open the local banking account—it was not too much. There was no injustice on the part of the Board of Trade in saying to the creditors—"If you do not contribute to the expenses in the shape of interest, you must do so in another form." He was surprised that it was not proposed there should be an *ad valorem* charge in proportion to the amount of money turned over in the administration of the estate. That he certainly thought would be a fair thing, because it would be an equivalent to the amount received in the shape of interest. He denied that there was any favour shown to the Bank of England or any tax upon local banks; the fee was put on the bankrupt estates in order that the Board of Trade might not suffer pecuniary loss. For these reasons he was bound to admit that justice in this matter lay with the Department.

MR. BULWER said, he should be glad, if possible, to receive from the right hon. Gentleman a satisfactory answer to the question put by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), as to what power the Lord Chancellor had to impose the fee in question under the Act of Parliament? The words of the Act were to the effect that if it appeared to the Committee of Inspection that for the purpose of carrying on the debtor's business, or of obtaining advances, or because of the probable amount of the cash balance, or if it were for the advantage of the creditors that a Trustee should have an account with a local bank, the Board of Trade should authorize the Trustee to make his payment into or out of such local bank as the Committee of Inspection might select. That did not give any power for the Committee to make any charge. A charge, under some circumstances, might be reasonable enough; if it were a matter of merely making an entry in a book kept by a clerk, the small sum, say 5*s.*, as had been suggested by his hon. Friend, might be made to cover the whole charge. With reference to the merits of the Bankruptcy Act, he was sorry to hear that there was no difference of opinion as to that. His own opinion was that the Act was likely to turn out an absolute failure. He agreed with all that had been said by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), that the Bankruptcy Act interfered too much with the management of the bankrupt's affairs by his creditors; and that, he thought, was the very worst form that an Act could take. He would go further, and ask what was the use of a Bankruptcy Act at all? He thought there would be less fraud and much more honest dealing in the commercial world if persons were left to trust to the honesty of those with whom they dealt. However that might be, he saw no reason why the creditors of an estate should be mulcted for carrying on their business in the way most convenient to themselves—namely, by having a banking account in the immediate neighbourhood in which the business was to be transacted. The only reason attempted to be set up in favour of the charge in question was that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade wanted money. It was for that reason the right hon. Gentleman said that the creditors were to pay this fee. But that did not get rid of his objection to the charge. The matter having been fully discussed, he would not occupy the attention of the Committee further than to say that he should be glad to hear from the right hon. Gen-

tleman an answer to the question put by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, with reference to the point raised by his hon. and learned Friend, it was clear that the Lord Chancellor had power to establish a scale of fees with regard to any proceedings under the Act. Anyone might present a Petition under the Act, and the Lord Chancellor had power to order a fee to be paid. With regard to the policy or propriety of the payment in question, he would like to recall to the recollection of the Committee the position taken up in relation to this matter by the Government when the Bill was introduced, and throughout its whole progress in that House. Hon. Members would know very well that there was a great deal of work to be done under the Act on behalf of the creditors by the Board of Trade; that the Department had to see that the conduct of the debtor had not been improper; that there was a thorough investigation of the estates in order that a proper amount should be secured to the creditor; and he would point out that no secret was made that the fees for that work were to be provided by the estates of the bankrupts. That was the position taken up and maintained throughout the whole of the discussions which took place upon the Bill during its passage through Parliament. He had had much experience of the working of the Act, and from what he had heard and seen he was bound to say that his own view of it did not accord with that of the hon. and learned Member opposite. Thus he was in a position to say of his own knowledge that the Act was beneficial, because he knew of more than one case in which, the creditors having agreed to a composition of a small amount, the officials of the Board of Trade discovered that there was a great deal more money for them; in one case, instead of receiving 7*s.* in the £, they received 17*s.* in the £. There were many cases of that sort, and, apart from other considerations, they constituted a perfect justification of the Act as well as a strong confirmation of its value. From the beginning to the end of the discussions on the Bill, it was clearly stated that the bankrupt estates should be paid into the Bank of England, and, that being paid into the Bank of England, they would yield in that way some 3 per cent on the general ordinary amount of the balance, and that that would provide a very considerable fund towards the meeting of the expenses under the Act. That was part of the scheme. Objection was made because it was said that it would not be permitted to open a local banking account for the purpose of winding up an estate; it was said that there was an advantage in having a private banking account, and that that advantage might be needed for the benefit of the creditors. That was the position taken up by those who objected to every account being sent to the Bank of England. Well, that was met by a provision that, in such cases, there should be a local banking account. But when it was said that the creditors would be deprived of a great deal which came to them under the old Act, when they kept their own banking accounts, he would refer the Committee to the Returns, which showed what was the total amount realized under the old Act. The total amount of the estates recovered under the old Act was about £4,220,000, and what did the Committee think was the total amount of the interest received upon that enormous sums of money? £31,000. That was the amount of interest for the whole time during which those estates were in the hands of the bankers. Some accounts, of course, extended over a longer and some over a shorter period; but £31,000 was the whole amount received, and did not represent more than $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent upon the capital. [An hon. MEMBER: Over what period?] He had stated the interest upon the whole amount; he cared not whether it was for a day or for a month, or six months. He had taken the total sum received, and the amount he had stated was all the interest paid upon the capital sum of £4,220,000. From that it would appear that the arrangement under the old Act was not a very valuable one for the creditors; but under the new Act the proposal was that the money should all be paid into the Bank of England. Of course, it was said that that would realize a considerable amount of money for the purpose of working the Act, and that the balance of cost could be made up by fees upon smaller matters. The expenses of the Bankruptcy Act would, of course, have to be met in

some way or other. When the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) said that the Board of Trade did nothing with regard to local banking accounts, he quite agreed with him; the fees were not wanted for working the banking accounts. But the Board of Trade did as much, or more, for the estates which had a local banking account than they did for those who paid their accounts into the Bank of England, and they did this without making any charge. [Sir JOHN LUBBOCK: I beg pardon, there is a charge.] The Board of Trade did not charge for the work he had referred to. Did not his hon. Friend see that if they had to supply by fees the amount now received from the Bank of England they would have to increase the fees? The work must be paid for in some way or other; and if it was not paid for by the interest from the Bank of England the fees must be increased. The expenses were met by the fees, *plus* the interest, if the money in the Bank of England and the fees were so much less than they would otherwise be because of the money which was in the Bank of England. And if no charge at all was made by way of fees on accounts which were with local bankers, the result would be that those estates which paid money into the Bank of England would be bearing the expense of those estates which paid the money into local banks. The matter was as plain as could be. The money came from various sources; but if the £30,000 a-year was not realized from the accounts in the Bank of England the fees must necessarily be increased. On the other hand, the receipt of that sum would allow the fees to remain as they were at present. The money which came from the Bank of England only diminished the fees every estate had to bear. Was it so unreasonable a thing that the creditors, who received the benefit of the work done by the Department, should be asked to make some contribution to the cost? He thought not. Well, let it be what it was, a reasonable contribution. It was not a question of banking at all, although it seemed to be made a banking question by hon. Members who had spoken on the Vote. He had seen the Manifesto from the banking interest on the subject; but he contended that it was not a banking question, and that the Board of Trade had not treated it as a banking question. The Department had to consider whether they were dealing fairly as between different classes of creditors. He could see nothing unfair in there being an uniform scale of fees. There was a fee paid by the creditors whose money went into the Bank of England, *plus* which he had to contribute the interest on the money paid in; whereas the creditors, who had a local banking account, paid the same fees, but had nothing more to pay. That seemed to him the most fair way of dealing with the matter; and it appeared to him that if the arrangement were open to criticism on any ground, it was that the local banks were dealt with too favourably. Could it be seriously contended that any body of creditors, or a committee, to whom it would be worth while to have a private local banking account, would abstain from having it because this fee had to be paid? The question the creditor had to consider was this, whether he should pay his money into the Bank of England or into a local bank? He would say to himself—"If I put the money into the Bank of England the Board of Trade would get the interest; but if I put it into a local bank, although I get the interest I shall have to pay the fee of £3." That seemed to him to be a very small matter, and one which it was difficult to conceive as interfering with any estate. The arrangement was not framed in any spirit of hostility to bankers; it was simply a question of dealing fairly with this class and with that. It was a question of seeing that the one did not contribute more than its proportion to the common expenditure which had to be incurred in the case of all classes of estates.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK pointed out that the meaning of the Solicitor General was that the expenses of working the existing Bankruptcy Act was to be obtained by keeping a large balance at the Bank of England.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): I did not say that. I said it was the opinion that there would be always a certain balance at the Bank of England.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, it was clear to some hon. Members, when the Bill was before the Committee, that there would be a temptation to the Board of Trade to keep the money in

the Bank of England, and upon that ground a compromise was arrived at. The words of the Act were as follows:—

"If it appears to the Committee of Inspection that for the purpose of carrying on the debtor's business or of obtaining advances, or because of the probable amount of the cash balances, it is for the advantage of the creditors that a Trustee should have an account with a local bank, the Board of Trade shall authorize the Trustee to make his payments into and out of such local bank as the Committee may select."

If the right hon. Gentleman placed a fee upon the creditors who made use of a local bank, it was not really carrying out the compromise arrived at in the Committee.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, his hon. Friend spoke for the Committee; but it was hardly fair that he should do that. He was, of course, entitled to speak for himself; but there were certain matters upon which the Committee differed. His hon. Friend was wrong in supposing that it was to the interest of the Board of Trade to keep the proceeds of estates in hand; and it must be borne in mind that the Department was bound to declare a first dividend within four months, and a second dividend within six months, a period much earlier than had been known under previous Acts. The conclusion was that the small floating balances which must necessarily remain in hand would provide for about half the expense of administration. In the Estimate before the Committee they had assumed that they would get £15,000 in the shape of interest from the floating balances, and £20,000 from the fees; but if they were not to receive that amount of interest they must make an additional charge to cover the £15,000 in the shape of fees. In the majority of cases the balances were so small that no interest was paid by private banks, and the question was whether the estates would benefit by the change proposed.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 58; Noes 80: Majority 22.—(Div. List, No. 159.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked whether it was to be understood that there would always be a Vote in the Estimates in respect to Bankruptcy; and said it would be possible for the Department to get rid altogether of Parliamentary control. It was difficult to find out from the Estimates what the real cost was; but he hoped that Parliamentary control would be preserved, and that there would always be a Vote for Bankruptcy.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN replied that it was intended always to put some Vote in the Estimates in order that the administration of the Department might come under the notice of Parliament.

MR. WARTON wished to know whether it was possible to change the language of the Vote, which he thought was not so good as it might be? It was quite clear from what had just passed that the legal description of what was called the Board of Trade was Committee of the Privy Council; but they had got into the habit of speaking of the Board of Trade just as they spoke of a Cabinet Council, which was unknown to the Constitution. Would it be possible to alter the terms of the Vote, and, instead of saying Board of Trade, say Committee of the Privy Council, so as to keep the Constitutional description and make the two Votes agree?

THE CHAIRMAN: No doubt it is not impossible to change the language of the Vote; but that is an unusual thing to do. "The Board of Trade" is a term which is generally accepted, and it does not seem to me to be a matter of importance.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he had the next Amendment, and in proposing to reduce the Vote he wished to bring forward the whole question of the success of the Bankruptcy Act. A great many Members seemed to think the time had perhaps hardly come for discussing that question——

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that the hon. Member proposes to move to reduce the Vote by £500?

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he would make the amount £100 to put himself in Order. It was his intention to bring forward the question of the working of the Bankruptcy Act; but several Members seemed to think it was too soon to discuss the whole question, and therefore he proposed to postpone the matter for another year. He had no doubt in his own mind that whatever the right hon. Gentleman might say the Act had been a failure. It was all very well for the right hon. Gentleman to come there with a quantity of figures

as to the reduction of the number of the Bankruptcy cases; but he thought the argument turned greatly against the right hon. Gentleman. These cases had fallen from 10,000 a-year to about 3,000, and he had no hesitation, having a practical knowledge of the subject, in saying that there were more cases of private arrangement than there had ever been before, and he was afraid that the feeling as to the expense was so strong in the country, that unless the scale of fees was altered the Act would not be a success. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would consider the question before the end of the year came; and he believed that if the scale of fees was regulated there would be more chance for the Act than there was at the present time.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he was glad the hon. Member had postponed the general discussion of the Bankruptcy Act until there had been some real experience of its working. Up to the present time they had only the Report of the Inspector General for three months; but he had not the slightest doubt that the Act would be a striking success. In the first place, a very important element was the fact that the number of Bankruptcy cases had been so greatly reduced, and anybody who would read the elaborate, and careful, and able Report of the Inspector General would see that there was no reason to believe that as the hon. Member had said, there had been an increase in the private compositions. He had taken great pains to obtain information on the subject, and all the resources of his Department had been directed in the same direction; and, so far as he could judge from the accounts of private Credit Societies and County Court Judges and Bankers, there was probably no increase at all in the number of private compositions. He believed that a very short further experience of the Act would confirm this opinion, and that the number of private compositions would tend to decrease rather than increase, as creditors began to find that under the new Act they were sure to have the most advantageous distribution of an estate. Never since the passing of the Act of 1867 had the distributions been so prompt and the costs so small.

MR. WARTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had stated that there had been an increase of £300 a-year for the Solicitor to the Department; and what he wished to know was, how much of that increase was in respect of bankruptcy business? He would suggest that that part of the £300, whatever it might be, should be put under this Vote—the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, it was impossible, in dealing with different Departments under one Vote, to allocate with absolute accuracy the cost of particular cases. In the present instance the salary of the Solicitor to the Board of Trade was charged to the proper Vote. He received £1,500 a-year until last year, and then that amount was increased by £300, partly because his duties in connection with the Board of Trade had been greatly increased, and partly because, in consequence of the supervision of Bankruptcy and Patents, he had other duties thrown upon him in connection with the two Departments. Now, the hon. and learned Member asked him to say how much of this increase was due to increased duties in the Board of Trade, how much to Patents, and how much to Bankruptcy. He must express his entire inability to make a division of that kind; and as the whole sum was only £300, he hoped the hon. and learned Member would not press any objection to it.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £22,811, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission for England and Wales."

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

EAST INDIAN UNCLAIMED STOCKS BILL.—[BILL 269.]

(*Mr. J. K. Cross, Mr. Courtney.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: The Bill is blocked.

MR. COURTNEY: It is a Money Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: This being a Money Bill, the Blocking Notice will not prevent its being taken.

MR. WARTON said, he would submit that this was a Bill for plundering the possessors of dividends in the East India Railways of what belonged to them. It was not a Money Bill, but a Plunder Bill. He had another objection to it, and the Prime Minister had stated that if any serious objection were taken to any measure it would not be proceeded with.

MR. COURTNEY: I recognize the propriety of the observation which has just fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman. The Prime Minister did say that if a serious objection were taken to the Bill it would not be gone on with. Under the circumstances, I propose that the second reading be deferred till to-morrow.

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow*.

ULSTER CANAL AND TYRONE NAVIGATION BILL—[BILL 244.]

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. COURTNEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he wished to ask for the opinion of Irish Members upon it. A Commission was appointed to consider Navigation in Ireland in 1882; and with respect to the Ulster Canal it reported that, in consequence of the lack of traffic, the Canal was worked at a loss of £1,000 to £1,100 a-year. The Government desired to get rid of it, and advertised it for sale in the Northern papers; but, unfortunately, no one responded to the invitation. The existence of the Canal was believed to operate as a check on the conduct of the Railway Companies which came in competition with it; and, therefore, he did not think it wise that it should be altogether given up. Ultimately, an agreement was come to with the Lagan Company, by which the Company agreed to take over the Canal if the Treasury would undertake to put it in order. The sum of £12,000 was proposed to be expended for that purpose, and would be repaid by an annuity. This agreement would be an advantage to the Treasury, inasmuch as it would relieve it from loss. As he had said, it would not be wise to abolish the Canal, and there would be a great deal of objection to such a course in the North of Ireland. He was ready to receive and carefully consider any suggestions made by hon. Members from Ireland, and he trusted they would accept the second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

COLONEL NOLAN said, he was not going to keep the House for any length of time in discussing this question; but, as neither of the Members from the North of Ireland who were on the Royal Commission on Irish Navigation was present, he should like to say a word or two on this important matter. It was said that the Irish Members were continually asking for money. Well, in this case no money had ever been asked for by the Irish Members, that he knew of. The majority of Irishmen, Peers and others, on the Commission, were in favour of abolishing the Canal altogether. The Government were afraid of the extravagance of giving up the Canal, so they sent over an Indian hydraulic engineer to Ireland to report upon the subject. This officer reported that it was worth while to make some attempt to keep up the Canal, and the Government had therefore become anxious to sell it and hand it over to another Company. There was an important omission from the Bill in regard to lowering the waters of Lough Neagh, which annually flooded the adjoining lands. The farmers in the district complained of this flooding. Some of the Commissioners doubted as to whether they could deal with the matter; therefore there was no specific Report as to whether the Lough should be lowered or not, though they alluded to it in the Report, and said they had obtained sufficient evidence to show that a great tract of country was periodically flooded by it. If this Canal were sold to the Lagan Company without provision for lowering the Lough, and the Lough were then lowered, they would be bound to compensate the Lagan Company. Unless some provision were made, the Treasury would not find the money for lowering

the Lough, and, consequently, they would go on flooding the property of the farmers in order to keep up this navigation. Lough Neagh very much required to be lowered, and now they were about to put a great obstacle against it in the shape of this Bill. The only other navigation which interfered with Lough Neagh was the Lower Bann, which had been condemned as utterly useless. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had given them a promise that he would make it his duty to take an opportunity of seeing that the Bill was drawn up so as to cover the Lagan Company for any injury inflicted on them by the lowering of the Lough. If the Government would spend a few thousands in putting the Canal in order, he had no objection to the Bill being passed, though he certainly believed they would be wasting the money.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had an objection to the Bill, because he believed it would not only involve a useless expenditure of money, but continue a very bad system, which had been doing a great deal of harm in Ireland for a large number of years. The Royal Commission to which reference had been made had been a very strong one, having upon it Peers, Members of Parliament, and other persons capable of forming an opinion on the subject. Their Report was very emphatic, indeed, in regard to the Canal. There was one Member of the Committee, Colonel Dickens, who dissented from the recommendations of his Colleagues as to this particular Canal; but even he did not go so far as to propose that the Government should part with the Canal and put it in the hands of a private Company. He said it was undesirable to let the property or the Canal pass altogether out of the hands of the Government, and had said that if nothing else was done with the Canal the Government should retain it in their hands, with the prospect of obtaining a little return for their former outlay. The story of this Canal was a story of a most extraordinary waste of public money. The House would be surprised to learn that the Canal was started, first of all, in 1825. It took 17 years to complete, at an estimated cost of £160,000, the money being obtained by loan from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. This money had never been repaid. Indeed, further sums had from time to time been advanced, always on much the same grounds as had been advanced by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury that night. The Public Works Loan Commissioners, failing to obtain any repayment, took the Canal into their own hands, as mortgagees, in 1851, and then they leased it to a man named Daniel, who could not make anything out of it. It was handed over to the Dundalk Steam Navigation Company, and on the expiration of the lease it was vested again in the Public Works Loan Commissioners. It had been in such a bad condition that it had become thoroughly derelict. Between 1865 and 1873 the Public Works Loan Commissioners had laid out £22,000 on restoration. In spite of that, the Canal had never paid. It had never made so much as would pay the wages of the lock-keepers; and the Lagan Company, to whom it was now proposed to hand it over, was only paying a dividend of 1½ per cent. The Canal had only a depth of five feet six inches, and the Ulster Canal had only a depth of four feet. The work of deepening the latter would be very costly and troublesome, and it would have to be undertaken, otherwise the Lagan boats would not be able to float in it. The Lagan Canal was 16 feet wide, and the Ulster only 12 feet. Sir John M'Neill, in 1861, had reported that the only plan by which a return could be obtained from the undertaking would be to take off the lock gates, drain the Canal, and let the land for grazing purposes, and let out the locks and the basins in the Canal, which were, some of them, of considerable extent, for purposes of tillage. This was the precious concern which was to be handed over to a Company to deal with on the chance of their being able to get it into working order. There was not the least prospect of the Canal ever paying its expenses. He complained of the injury which was done by these navigation schemes to the agricultural interests of Ireland, not only in connection with the Lagan Canal, but also in connection with the Shannon navigation. In order to keep up the connection between Limerick and other towns, an enormous amount of land in Ireland was flooded, and a great deal of property injured every year. To test the value of these navigation schemes, he had last year gone from Athlone

nearly as far as Limerick, in order to find out the amount of traffic which was on them, and the result of his investigation had been that he had found that there was not as much traffic on the whole of the Shannon during the day he was on it as passed the building in which they now were on the Thames in the course of half-an-hour; whilst the amount of damage done to the property of the farmers in the previous four or five months was incredible. People had been obliged to leave their houses for weeks together, and to go into such towns as Athlone, because of the floods; and people living along the line of the river had for many miles had their crops and houses injured; and this was of almost annual occurrence. If the Canal this Bill dealt with were treated as Sir John M'Neill recommended it should be, there would be some prospect of seeing an end, or, at any rate, an abatement, of the floods which annually did so much damage in the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had not told the Committee whether he proposed to take the Vote of £15,000 this year.

MR. COURTNEY; No; only the first instalment of £3,000.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that £3,000 would be the first instalment of the total of £15,000 to put this thing in order. There would be a further sum of £12,000 to be taken. It was to be repaid to the Government by the Company, if the Company could do so; but the Government could not have much expectation that there was any chance of the Lagan Company being able to pay the money, for there was a provision made in the Bill for mortgaging the property to the Government, and over and above that there were special powers given to the Company for the extension of their borrowing powers. He did not know what might be the personal and private interests which were promoting this Bill; but he was certain that no national interest could be served by the Bill. It certainly might bring about a large outlay of public money. It would involve the throwing of more money after the hundreds of thousands which had been already thrown into the bog in connection with these undertakings. In conclusion, he wished to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he could not entirely agree with everything which had fallen from the hon. Member who had just sat down, in regard to the Ulster Canal. There were so many different opinions given on both sides that it was a matter the House could not be expected to go into at such an hour as 10 minutes to 2 o'clock in the morning. He did know something about this Canal, and what he knew was that it was perfectly useless. He (Colonel King-Harman) represented a barony which had to pay a great deal of money for keeping up the Canal system, and he was thoroughly convinced of the uselessness of a great deal of that expenditure.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must call the hon. and gallant Gentleman's attention to the fact that the subject before the House is the adjournment of the debate.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he was trying to give his reasons for supporting the Motion for the adjournment of the debate. His main reason was that, so far as he could see, this Canal business was not sufficiently known or understood to be discussed in the House at that moment. For that reason, he took leave to second the Motion for Adjournment. He did not think the House was in possession of sufficient information to enable it to vote this large sum of money for this measure.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Motion for Adjournment was very cleverly put, as it prevented anybody from saying anything about the Canal; but he might perhaps be permitted, by the courtesy of the House, to say that the course which hon. Members seemed to be in favour of—that was to say, the retention of the Canal by the Government—would simply leave them in the possession of that which cost them £1,000 a year.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Why not abandon it?

MR. COURTNEY said, that the Government could not abandon it. In order to do that, they would have to introduce another Bill, which would be opposed by another section of Members. The system proposed was the cheapest way of getting rid of the Canal.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: You are the mortgagees under the Bill.

MR. COURTNEY said, he was aware of that. The cheapest way to get rid of it would be to sell it to a Company that was solvent, and in a position to carry it on. The Government were in possession of a Canal which was a constant drain upon them; and they therefore thought it desirable to get rid of it in the manner proposed in the Bill, believing that the Company which was about to acquire it was perfectly capable of carrying it on.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate adjourned till *To-morrow.*

PRISONS (IRELAND) [EXPENSES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the Expenses incurred in the maintenance, and removal of prisoners from one place of confinement in Ireland to another, from the period when the order for committal to prison is made, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend "The General Prisons (Ireland) Act, 1877."

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

INFANTS BILL.—[BILL 14.]

(*Mr. Bryce, Mr. Davey, Mr. Henderson.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. BRYCE said, that at that hour he would not ask the House to do any work in Committee on the Bill. He would merely move that they should go into Committee, and immediately report Progress. The measure had been debated at great length on a Wednesday afternoon. It had occupied nearly the whole of the day, and had been carried by a large majority.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

MR. GIBSON said, it was perfectly true that the Bill had been debated at considerable length two or three months back; but on that occasion a great number of objections to the Bill were pointed out. The hon. and learned Gentleman, in replying to those objections, certainly conveyed to him (Mr. Gibson), and he believed, also, to many other Members of the House, that he was not in a position to say that he would adhere, or ask the House to adhere, to the draft as it then stood. Well, the hon. and learned Member had taken no steps to indicate that he was not prepared to amend the measure. There were several Amendments on the Paper, one in his (Mr. Gibson's) name; but the hon. and learned Member had not intimated that he was willing to accept any of them. It was competent for the hon. and learned Member to say whether he was willing to drop Clause 2, as to which there was grave objection in debate, and in regard to which he (Mr. Gibson) had received a great many communications from people interested in the subject, expressing rooted objection to what was proposed to be done. To the points in the Bill to which he referred he should certainly give the most strenuous opposition. The hon. and learned Member could, by permission of the House, answer the question; and he (Mr. Gibson), therefore, desired to ask him whether he was prepared to accept the Amendment to exclude Clause 2, which clause, if it remained as it was, would introduce litigation into a great many households which were disposed to any opposition or squabbling, and leave the husband and the wife in a position to the last extent undesirable, and also leave the children in a position which could not be desired for any children on the face of the earth? Was the hon. and learned Member prepared to support the Amendment which stood in his (Mr. Gibson's) name? Was he prepared to omit Clause 2, and was he prepared to support the Amendment, which would leave the father the power to associate with his wife who survived him other trusted friends? At present the Bill, as it was drafted, excluded the power which both husbands and fathers at present desired to avail themselves of, and which would meet with the sanction of every sensible wife—namely, to appoint the wife and the mother guardian of the children, associated with other trusted friends of the family in whom the father and mother had confidence. The hon. and learned Member had not given a satisfactory answer to these inquiries; but he was a most sanguine man if he thought the Bill would pass into law, even if it got into Committee.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he was glad to hear that the right hon. and learned Gentleman intended to offer the

Bill his most strenuous opposition—and his opposition was always strenuous—but he thought the point raised by the hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) would be better dealt with in Committee, when he would have an opportunity of explaining his Amendments. As he understood his hon. and learned Friend, personally he would desire to pass the Bill with certain Amendments; but if the House or the Committee took a different view, he would not, therefore, drop the Bill. He thought it would be best to go into Committee, and then the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be able to give his reasons for objecting to the hon. and learned Member's Amendments.

MR. A. F. EGERTON urged that 2 'clock in the morning was too late to go into Committee, and he therefore moved that the debate be adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. A. F. Egerton.*)

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, he should not vote for the adjournment; but he entertained just as strong an objection as the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) to the 2nd clause. The majority of Members, he was sure, would rather see the Bill thrown out than passed with that clause; but there were real grievances, and he should vote against the Motion, because there were provisions in the Bill which it was very desirable to pass.

MR. GIBSON said, this matter was fully discussed on the second reading. His objection had been mainly with regard to Clause 2; but although he had tried to learn what concessions the hon. and learned Member would make, the hon. and learned Gentleman had studiously maintained his position of silence, and given no satisfaction to the House. He was satisfied, from what had fallen from the hon. and learned Solicitor General, that the Bill had very little chance of passing into law that Session, unless some concession was made.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BRYCE denied the right of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) to put a pistol to his head at that stage of the Bill, and to insist that he should state now what concessions he would make. If they would go into Committee, the arguments of the right hon. and learned Gentleman would, no doubt, weigh with the Committee, especially as the Solicitor General seemed to take a similar view.

MR. FINDLATER said, he had supported the Bill on the last occasion; and he thought it was unfair for the hon. and learned Gentleman to ask the House to go into Committee at such a late hour, and place himself in a better position than he would otherwise be in.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 22.]

(Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Mayne, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Marum.)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MR. GIBSON said, it was not his intention to divide the House at that stage; but he might point out that, as he thought, it was to be greatly regretted that last Session, when they had practically arrived at a point at which there was no difficulty as to passing the Bill into law, a course had been taken which might now seriously affect the chance of the Bill becoming law. Last year a compromise was agreed to with the consent of the Government. It enabled a person who had votes to have a vote first in any one Union; and then, under certain well-defined restrictions, to vote elsewhere. That proposal was not now on the Paper; but if it was put on the Paper again and adopted, it would be reasonable in itself, and would facilitate the passing of the Bill. He did not wish to detain the House at that hour; but he thought it well to throw out the suggestion for consideration.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he thought the House had a right, before going further with this matter, to ask the Chief Secretary what had caused the changes that had taken place since last year. On the 23rd of June, when the Bill was discussed, the Chief Secretary spoke strongly on the question of proxy voting, and brought forward many objections. He allowed that proxy voting was essential, and was a just right on the part of owners of land. He alluded to the small number of voters, and acknowledged the justice of the remarks he and other Members had made, to the effect that owners of property in different parts of the country must be absolutely unable to give their votes in different places at the same time. The right hon. Gentleman said proxies were a right which owners ought to possess; and yet he now placed on the Paper an Amendment, which left out every word about proxies, and left in Clause 8, which was an utterly objectionable part of the Bill, as it stood, without any amendment. No one had expected that the Bill would come on that day; and, therefore, Amendments were not on the Paper; but he thought they had a right to expect that the right hon. Gentleman would place on the Paper the same Amendment as he put down last year, and that, as he had not done so, he would explain the reason for the change.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he had explained on the second reading, at some length, the reasons which had induced him to think that the final and ultimate settlement of this question would not include proxy voting. He had come to that conclusion strongly as to Ireland; and he was inclined to think they would unduly hamper any alteration of the system of local government in England by giving sanction to the system of proxy voting in Ireland. The principal arguments in favour of proxy voting had been met by other provisions which, in accordance with his promise on the second reading, he had introduced into the Amendments. Hon. Members would find a provision making the election of Guardians triennial instead of annual, so that persons living at a distance from Ireland would only be obliged to go there once in three years, instead of every year; and, at the same time, power was given to the Local Government Board to arrange the dates of election, so that the whole of the owners might have reasonable time for voting. He did not propose now to repeat the arguments he had previously given at some length, and he hoped the House would go into Committee on this important Bill.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 4, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Local Government Board to frame rules for the conduct of poor law elections).

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 10, after the word "the," to leave out the word "first," and insert the words "thirty-first."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 6 and 7 *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Voters to vote in person).

MR. GIBSON said, he had an Amendment to propose as to proxies; but his Amendment did not raise the question exactly in the way he wished.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he intended to move the rejection of the clause altogether.

MR. GIBSON said, he was not going to interfere with the hon. and gallant Gentleman at all; he was only going to say that he thought it was desirable to make some amendments, and on the Report stage he would present his Amendment in a manner more satisfactory to himself.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN moved the rejection of the clause. The Bill, he said, had been brought forward when none expected it. The Front Benches were better informed than other Members, and it was an extraordinary thing to see at that late hour the Government Bench so compact as it was now. The only thing that seemed to produce a compact Government Bench at 2 in the morning was some measure for the spoliation and disfranchisement of loyal men.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Lists of voters to be prepared).

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 5, to leave out from beginning of line to "before," and insert "at the prescribed time."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 10 to 12, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 13 (Poor law election may be questioned by petition).

On the Motion of Mr. TREVELYAN, the following Amendment made:—

In page 5, line 3, leave out from "by," to end of Clause, and insert—

"Undue influence, corrupt practice, or illegal practice, within the meaning of those expressions as used in 'The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883.'"

COLONEL KING-HARMAN moved to amend the said Amendment by inserting the word "intimidation" before "undue influence."

Amendment proposed to said Amendment, before the words "undue influence," to insert the word "intimidation."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) explained that undue influence included intimidation.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN thought if that was so there was no reason why the word should not be inserted.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) thought there was an objection to that, and pointed out that the hon. and gallant Member would find that intimidation was included.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he was quite satisfied that the Government wished to allow intimidation.

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 14 to 23, inclusive, *agreed to*, with Amendments.

Clause 24 (Ratepayers entitled to only six votes. No minor entitled to vote. All ratepayers qualified to be guardians. Fresh election to be ordered forthwith on vacancy. Number of ex-officio guardians not to exceed one-third of elective guardians. Justice of peace not to be qualified as ex-officio guardian unless a ratepayer).

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 21, to leave out sub-section 1.—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

MR. GRAY said, the principle involved in the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman to leave out the first section of the clause was so important that he certainly thought it required some amount of explanation. The words of the sub-section which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to omit were as follows:—

"No ratepayer shall be entitled at any poor law election to more than six votes for each of the number of candidates to be elected in any electoral division."

Now, surely six votes were sufficient for any individual to have in the election of Poor Law Guardians. Under the present system a man might be able to poll in his own person 18 votes for each electoral division; a fact which gave him very large control over the election of Guardians. He (Mr. Gray) thought that the interest of property was sufficiently guarded by giving the wealthy man six votes as against the poor man's one. The right hon. Gentleman should remember that the functions of Poor Law Guardians had changed very much since the last Act was passed. When that Act was passed the functions of Poor Law Guardians were directed to the single purpose of giving relief to the poor; but since then other functions had been vested in them of a most important and it might be said of a most arbitrary character. For instance, they had power over the dwellings of men, power over their persons, power over their individual liberty of action, and power to tax them for a variety of purposes. The functions of Poor Law Guardians had changed so largely that it might be said that their present functions were more important than those which they were originally constituted to discharge. Under those circumstances, he and his hon. Friends were of opinion that not only should the wealthy man be represented but the poor man also. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would not re-consider his determination to omit this sub-section from the clause, because the omission would emasculate the clause so completely as to render it of very little value indeed. The retention of these words, in his opinion, was exceedingly

important; and he thought the right hon. Gentleman should show some cause why six votes for a wealthy man were not a sufficient protection for his interest as against the one vote of the poor man.

MR. PARNELL said, after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman on the second reading of the Bill he did not expect to see Amendments to leave out these sub-sections appearing in his name on the Notice Paper, because those Amendments, if sanctioned by the Committee, would deprive the Bill of almost all its value. Last year the Bill introduced by Irish Members was so whittled down by the right hon. Gentleman that they were obliged to place on the Paper a Notice of opposition to its going into Committee; that was to say, they were obliged to block their own Bill, in order to prevent its passing in an imperfect and altered state. Although the present Bill was somewhat different from that of last year it was, in reality, very little better. The provision with regard to the abolition of proxy voting was very little compensation indeed for what had been almost promised by the right hon. Gentleman in his speech on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill; and he did not suppose that that speech would have been made if the right hon. Gentleman had believed that in a short time he would place on the Notice Paper a Notice of Amendment to omit these very important sub-sections. Considering the advance made with respect to the possession of the property vote since the Poor Law Acts in regard to Ireland were finally settled, he did not think it was asking too much that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in a Radical Government should stand by his original proposal, and that he should at least modify or mitigate this very excessive power which owners of property had in Ireland of voting by proxy. At present a landowner owning perhaps half a county in Ireland, who never went over there for a single year, might in every one of the triennial elections go from one election to another and spread his votes over the county, swamping the votes of those who lived in the county, and who were most interested in carrying out the multifarious enactments of the Poor Law. He thought, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman should not press his Amendment, but should at least agree to the suggestion of a compromise which he would throw out, and which he thought ought to commend itself to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). It was most important that the Bill should pass that Session. The Local Government Board in Ireland had been reduced to a state of chaos by the large number of appeals, which he believed amounted to 200; and it would be almost impossible for that Body to maintain its efficiency unless this Bill was passed. In view of its great importance, then, he suggested that they might take 12, instead of six votes prescribed in the Bill, and that he proposed to move as an Amendment to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 22, to leave out the words "no ratepayer shall be entitled at any poor law election to more than six votes."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. GIBSON pointed out that hon. Members below the Gangway took up an entirely different position at Clause 24 from that which they assumed on a former clause of the Bill. The landlord had the luxury and the privilege of paying half the poor rate in the majority of cases, and in a great many cases he paid the whole rate, and it was only right that he should have a corresponding influence in the election of Poor Law Guardians. The Bill took away from the landlord the power of voting by proxy, so that a landlord who might have property in several unions might be obliged to vote only in one, although he would have to pay the poor rate in all of them. He would be practically disenfranchised, except for the place at which he was to vote personally. The Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was one which had for its object the abolition of plurality of votes, which was recognized all through the Poor Law system. To take away that right in Ireland would, he said, only intensify the injustice that had been done. The object of the Amendment was to prevent representation and taxation going together. If the landlord continued liable to pay the poor rate, as at

present, to deprive him, to a great extent, from having a substantial and real voice in the election of those who spent the money constituted a very great injustice.

MR. HEALY said that, in reality, the Amendment of the hon. Member for the City of Cork would not be of that great advantage to them which the right hon. and learned Gentleman supposed. Although, however, the Amendment would be of very slight service, they considered it rather better than the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. They knew very well that the landlords in Ireland had long ago had the rates included in the rents. That was obvious, because the rents had increased 50 per cent since the Poor Law Act had passed. The previous clauses of the Bill were of much less value than the 24th clause, which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to amend by omitting sub-sections 1 and 2. It was too bad, after all the time that had been occupied on the Bill, that the Government should propose to deal with Irish Members in this way.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that his argument on the second reading of the Bill was that in England 12 votes was the maximum allowed, and he had said that that was in a country where the entire rate was paid by the occupier. But the case was very different in Ireland. He was not prepared to say that if the whole system of the three countries was to be re-arranged some of these points of difference would not be open to argument; but if this Bill was to have any chance of passing, as he earnestly hoped it would, he thought that the great changes introduced into the first and second portions had better not be weighted with changes, which he called minor changes, in the third part, although he was willing to allow that two changes were proposed which were not minor changes, but changes of a very important kind. On the whole, he thought that very little would be gained, and considerable disturbance caused, by passing the first sub-section of the clause as it stood in the Bill.

MR. GRAY said, he had been in the hope that the suggestion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would have been acceptable both to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary and to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). It did not often occur that an individual had more than 12 votes in any one district; and he should have thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would have been willing to agree to the insertion of that number in the clause. The right hon. Gentleman had told the Committee that he understood 12 votes to be the maximum in England for the election of Poor Law Guardians; but he (Mr. Gray) knew that evidence had been given before a Select Committee that, under certain circumstances, one individual might have 18 votes. Therefore, he said, that to bring down the maximum of votes in Ireland to the same number as in England—namely, 12—was not an unreasonable thing, and one which might be agreed to by right hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he was quite willing to assimilate the number of votes which an individual might give at an election of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland to the number which was said to be the maximum in England, provided that the arrangements for the payment of the poor rates were the same in both countries.

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 30; Noes 38: Majority 8.—(Div. List, No. 160.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Amendment proposed, in page 8, to leave out sub-section 3.—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Question proposed, "That the sub-section stand part of the Bill."

MR. HEALY said, the Committee were entitled to some explanation on this point also. In his opinion, there could be no greater mistake than to suppose that the best Guardians were to be found amongst the higher *strata* of society. It did not follow that the most intelligent men were to be found amongst that class. His experience was contrary to that, and he believed that a better class of men could be got from a lower *stratum* of society, although he was quite aware that the Government thought from that

source could be obtained only persons who would be a scandal to the system of public representation. He trusted that the Government would, at least, lower the present very high restrictions upon candidates for the office of Guardians; and he was sorry the right hon. Gentleman was not making some proposal to equalize the franchise. If he was not going to accept the proposal in this Bill, would he not bring the franchise down to £10 to equalize it all over the country? The subject was so mixed up now that absolutely a man who was living in one Union, and then moved into another, could not tell whether he was qualified or not.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he thought the hon. Member had not informed the Committee correctly. His opinion was that the property qualification was £30; but as to its being reduced to £18, he had known it reduced as low as £12; and where it had been so reduced the representation had been bad. One of the grievances was that the representation was too low as it stood now.

MR. GRAY argued that it was for those who paid the rates to judge whether a man was competent to represent them, and that the mere fact that he was upon his own property was no guarantee of his fitness to represent them. It was marvellous that the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to retain this property test for elected Representatives. In the Reform Bill which had passed through that House a property test was proposed for Members; and yet, when revising the Poor Law system, the right hon. Gentleman proposed to retain a provision which, though a general provision at one time, had long since been discarded as utterly useless where it was not mischievous. In many cases this provision might include very excellent persons—intelligent artizans and farmers; many men who had considerable pecuniary resources, but who might not be rated at £30, and this would create much soreness in their minds. A property qualification to ensure having the best men was utterly useless, and it would be better to abolish it altogether. But if that could not be done, then it should be equalized.

MR. GIBSON said, he did not pretend to be very familiar with the subject; but he saw enormous difficulty in making this uniform with regard to Ireland, because the districts might vary considerably. That difficulty had been found to prevail to a large extent in preparing Jury Acts; and anyone who looked at the Jury Acts in Ireland would find that immense care was required to see how many people could be got at a particular rate in some of the counties.

MR. TREVELYAN said, his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Hibbert) was a great authority on this subject; and while his hon. Friend agreed with him that it was essential to keep this qualification for Guardians, for reasons he had explained on the second reading, and which weighed with him extremely, he still thought that a minimum might be fixed in some Unions. There were a few Unions in Ireland where Guardians were taken under £20, and a certain number where they were taken under £25. He should be prepared to fix it at £20, and not go below that. As to fixing a uniform qualification, he thought that could not be entertained for a moment if the figure was kept at £20; because there was, at any rate, one Union in which the amount was £6. On Report he should be prepared to propose to bring up words altering the maximum qualification from £30 to £20; but further than that he was afraid he could not go.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he could not regard the answer of the Chief Secretary as generally satisfactory. There was one point to which he wished to draw attention. A man might be rated at £20 or £15 in one division, and yet have a farm of £150 in another district. An enterprizing man who had got on in the world, and taken a farm in another district, might be placed in that position, and this proposal would do him great injury. This was no imaginary case, for in the electoral district in which he lived there was no one to serve, and they had to take people from outside the division, and that they felt as a considerable grievance. He hoped the Chief Secretary would attend to that point.

MR. GRAY asked why, in Dublin City, he could exercise all the powers vested in a member of the Town Council without any kind of qualification; but if he was a member of the Poor Law

Guardians in the same city, he must have a qualification of £18? The duties were very similar—namely, carrying out the Sanitary Acts. In the revised Bill the right hon. Gentleman had put his *imprimatur* on the principle of proxy voting for elected members. But now that principle was exploded, and applied to no bodies, except as to Poor Law Guardians. When the right hon. Gentleman named £20 as being the maximum concession he could make, he seemed to forget that at the present time, in many of the Poor Law Unions, the qualification was not £20. He was under the impression that it did not go below £18; but he understood from the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman) that it went as low as £12. When the President of the Local Government Board recognised £12 as proper, how could he justify £20 as a maximum? The Local Government Board, recognizing the necessities of the case, had itself reduced the qualification to £12; and why, then, should the House stamp every man who had not that qualification of £20 as unfit to be a Guardian in the opinion of the House? He did not see how the right hon. Gentleman could justify his position; and he would suggest that he should leave the clause as it was now, and re-consider the whole subject before the Report stage, and then amend it. That would be much better than endeavouring to settle it now.

Mr. PARNELL said, he thought it would really be well for the Government to consider the question raised by the present Amendment, and also the further question which would come up on the subsequent proposition to omit the 5th clause. He was inclined to think that with these three sections out of the Bill the Bill would be scarcely worth having, and it would be well to allow it to stand over until the new Parliament. In order to give time for the Government to consider the matter he would move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Mr. Gray

SALMON (WEEKLY CLOSE TIME) (IRELAND) BILL.—[Bill 37.]

(*Mr. M'Mahon, Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Barry.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. BLAKE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he should not occupy much time, as the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman) had dropped his opposition, and his own constituents would be benefited by the Bill. It affected Ireland very largely, and would be a great boon to anglers, by removing restrictions on trout fishing and also restrictions on the trawlers of Sligo and Galway which worked very unjustly.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Blake.*)

Colonel NOLAN said, he looked on the Bill with a considerable amount of doubt. He came from a county where the fishing was in the hands of one great proprietor. This was worth thousands of pounds a-year, while in the upper waters there was a lot of rod fishing. He believed this Bill would operate injuriously upon a great number of people in Galway, and he should oppose it on the present occasion; but if he got some more satisfactory explanation that might affect his position.

Mr. GIBSON said, there were a great many Notices of opposition from different parts of the House, and therefore he would move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

The House *divided*:—Ayes 24; Noes 37: Majority 13.—(Div. List, No. 161.)

Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Colonel KING-HARMAN asked whether he could not move that the Bill be read a second time that day three months?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not competent to the hon. and gallent Member to do so; having spoken on the Motion for the second reading.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he had not spoken on that Motion,

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. and gallant Member says he did not I will accept his word.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day three months, said, this was a Bill which he did not think the Government intended to allow to be read a second time, and which proposed to upset a question which was carefully debated and dealt with in that House in 1868. In that year the salmon fisheries in Ireland were reduced to a very low ebb, and after considerable debate the present Act was brought in. Since that time the fisheries in Ireland had increased in value nearly 10 times; and the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) was perfectly aware that what he was stating was substantially correct. The statement that the salmon fisheries in Ireland were overstocked was a ridiculous statement; and as to poor fishermen being injured by the present Act and benefited by this Bill, he held that the fact was exactly the reverse. The Bill was simply a proposal to upset the Act, which had increased the value of the salmon fisheries in Ireland ten-fold. He did not think he had ever seen a Bill more absolutely ridiculous and more decidedly not wanted. From every quarter he had received communications—from poor and rich alike, conservators, anglers, and net-men—on this question. He had received instructions to move the rejection of the Bill.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "this day three months."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. SEXTON said, he would point out in one sentence why this Bill should be passed. He represented a sea-board constituency, and had received the strongest appeals from fishermen on the coast of Sligo to support the Bill. These men wanted to have a chance of fishing on Saturdays; and he submitted to the House that their desire was a very natural one, and one which should be acceded to, both for social and moral reasons. At present, not only were the men deprived of a working day, and of the opportunity of earning their livelihood on one day in the week in addition to Sunday, but they were kept idle on the day when there was great temptation around them, and the natural result was that they resorted to the public-houses.

MR. TREVELYAN stated that the Government had come to the conclusion, after such consideration as they had been able to give to the Bill, that the system which had been in force during recent years, and which had been productive of so much good to the fisheries of Ireland, should not be altered without very careful inquiry. They considered that it would be very dangerous to do so. The Government would be unwilling to consent to the Bill being read a second time, unless it were decided to refer it to a Select Committee; because the last time the matter was gone into the conclusion was arrived at that a close time, at least of a longer period than that in force, was requisite, and a Bill to that effect passed into law. The result of that Act on the fisheries of Ireland had been gradually to raise them from a state of decadence, and to place them in a much improved position. To undo that work without a fresh inquiry into the probable effects, not on the fisheries, but an inquiry of a collateral kind, into the feeling existing amongst the classes interested in the fisheries, would certainly be open to objection. He thought that some such inquiry as this was a necessary preliminary to such a change as that proposed. For these reasons the Government had made up their minds to consent to the second reading, upon the understanding that the Bill would be referred to a Select Committee.

MR. O'SHEA said, that if the Government proposed the appointment of a Select Committee probably hon. Members would agree to it.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that he felt himself to be in a certain difficulty as to this Bill between opposing authorities. He, of course, attached a great deal of importance to the opinions of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who represented a constituency deeply interested in this question, and, of course, he entertained great respect for the judgment of the hon. Gentleman who had introduced the Bill (Mr. Blake)—the hon. Member having had such a large and familiar acquaintance with the merits of the fisheries question. On

the other hand, he found it necessary to pause when he heard the Chief Secretary offering opposition to the Bill. He should like to ask for enlightenment from another portion of the House, as his Leader (Mr. Parnell) was not present. They had the advantage amongst them that evening of the presence of a right hon. Gentleman who had filled, not with satisfaction, but with a considerable amount of fame, the position of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. He referred to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). He assumed that the right hon. Gentleman was favourable to the Bill, because on the Question of Adjournment a little while ago he had voted against the postponement of the consideration of the measure. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would be much influenced in the course he should take in the conduct of the Bill by anything that might come from the right hon. Gentleman; and therefore he thought that he was speaking the sentiments of hon. Members around him, when he said that the very keenest desire existed on their part to hear what the right hon. Gentleman had to say.

MR. KENNY said, that the question of referring the Bill to a Select Committee was one of great importance. He did not think the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) at all approved of such a course; and he thought that if the Government could not see their way to reading the Bill a second time—a Bill which was supported by the vast majority of those engaged in the fishing trade in Ireland, and only opposed by a few of those who were interested in rod fishing in the higher waters—without referring it to a Select Committee, it would be well to give it up altogether. The Bill was notoriously for the material and moral benefit of the fishermen, to afford them more time to work, and to keep them out of the way of certain inducements to dissipation which at present were thrown in their way. He thought it was the duty of Irish Members to force the Bill to a Division.

MR. HEALY said, that if the Irish Members accepted the proposal of the Government, would they give them a Select Committee again next year, supposing the Government to be in Office next year? The period remaining of the present Session was very short, and very little could be done by a Select Committee.

MR. GIBSON said, that the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) had met the proposal of the Government by a dignified silence, for he had said nothing. The position of things was this. The Chief Secretary had made up his mind that the Bill was one which should not have a second reading, and therefore they had put the hon. Member in charge of the Bill in the *locus penitentiæ* of referring the Bill to a Select Committee as a condition of its being read a second time. This showed clearly that the view of the Government was against the measure. ["No, no!"] Yes; clearly so. That was the reason why the hon. Member had voted for the adjournment. The Government said they would give the Bill a second reading if it were referred to a Select Committee. If the hon. Member for Waterford would accept that, that triumph would be secured to him by his own forces and those of the Government. But would the hon. Gentleman get a promise from the present Government that if they were in Office next year they would repeat the Select Committee? That would raise the question of the Autumn Session; and they were told that the Autumn Session was to have nothing to do with Select Committees.

MR. TREVELYAN: I mean the real Session.

MR. GIBSON: Oh, then, this Committee is to sit in the "real" Session of next year, and not in the interlude of the present year?

MR. BLAKE said, that as he could do nothing better, he would accept the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. He would take the second reading, on the understanding that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee."

MR. HEALY: I presume the right hon. Gentleman means a Select Committee with power to send for Papers and correspondence, &c.

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes.

MR. SPEAKER: That Question will be put when the names are called.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I object to the Bill being referred to a Select Committee.

MR. HEALY: Is it not a disorderly practice, Mr. Speaker, when such a Motion as this is made, for the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin to object to the Motion?

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and gallant Gentleman must object by challenging a Division.

Question, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee" put, and *agreed to.*

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT, 1878 (DISTRICTS) BILL.

(*Mr. Hastings, Sir Edmund Lechmere, Lord Moreton, Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Duckham.*)

[BILL 253.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

New Clause—(Application to Ireland,)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. KENNY said, that before this Bill were applied to Ireland he should like to know what it meant.

MR. HASTINGS said, the clause was simply this—that in the application of this Act to Ireland the expression "Privy Council" should mean the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Councillors. It was to secure in regard to Ireland that the Act should be administered by the Irish authorities, and not by the English authorities.

Motion *agreed to.*

Clause read a second time, and *added* to the Bill.

MR. HASTINGS said, that the Amendments introduced into the Bill were introduced after consultation with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson). It had been agreed that the Bill should be reprinted with the Amendments, and considered again on Report.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 284.]

MR. WARTON: Why Monday next?

MR. HASTINGS: To enable the Scotch Members to see the clauses.

WASTE LANDS AFFORESTATION (IRELAND) BILL—[BILL 40.]

(*Dr. Lyons, Sir Thomas M'Clure, Mr. Maurice Brooks.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HEALY said, he observed that this Bill was blocked by an hon. Member connected with the Government—the hon. Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Cotes). It was the Bill of the hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons); and he wished to ask that hon. Member whether, seeing that his measure was blocked by an influential Member of his own Party, he intended to remain any longer a Member of that Party?

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at Four o'clock in the morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 15th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Yorkshire Registries* (192); Sheriff Court Houses (Scotland) Amendment* (193).

Second Reading—Local Government Provisional Order (Salt Works)* (182); Local Government Provisional Order (No. 5)* (183); Elections (Hours of Poll) (179); Building Societies Acts Amendment* (188).

Report—Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment* (191).

Third Reading—Licensing Act (1872) Amendment* (160), and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment* (134).

ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLL) BILL.

(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

(NO. 179.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it related to a subject which had a rather singular history. When the Ballot Bill was be-

fore Parliament in 1872 the question of the hours of polling, which were then from 8 to 4 for boroughs and 8 to 5 for counties, came under consideration. In spite of some attempts to alter those hours, they had remained the same down to the present date, except that for the Metropolis they were extended to 8 in the evening. An Amendment had been brought forward in that House by which it was proposed that the polling places should be kept open from 8 to 8. A Division took place, and the Motion that the hours should be from 8 to 8 was carried by a majority of 15. The Government at that time had considered the matter again, and the noble Marquess, now Viceroy of India, had moved a clause, which had been adopted by the House, that the hours between the end of March and the 1st of October should be until 7, and during the rest of the year until 5 o'clock. That amended Bill had been rejected by a considerable majority in the other House, and the law on this subject had therefore continued the same. Public opinion, however, had changed since 1872, and a great desire had been expressed that there should be a later hour. The argument in favour of this was an obvious one—namely, that such a change would allow working men to get to the poll with more convenience, especially those of certain trades. The result of consideration on the subject was the present Bill, which proposed that the hour should be 8 o'clock in all boroughs having more than 3,000 registered voters. There had been great discussion on the question of the number of voters, as affecting the question of whether the Bill was to apply or not. It had originally been fixed at 5,000; but finally the number of 3,000 had been adopted. This was a mere matter of machinery, and one upon which it had been desirable to consult, as far as possible, the opinions of those affected, and after considering the views of various borough Members the present number had been fixed upon.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

LORD ABERDARE said, that the Bill met with his entire approval. There was sufficient security against fraud and disorder. He would, however, suggest that the Bill should be extended to the counties, as since the Act of 1867 there had been a large addition of the respectable working classes to the franchise, especially in the mining districts, and the provisions of the Bill would be a great convenience to them.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, he approved of the suggestion that the Bill should be extended to the counties.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY thought that it would be unwise to make such an alteration after the matter had been so fully considered in the House of Commons. At all events, he thought that it would be better to wait and see how the Bill worked in the boroughs to which it was to apply before extending its provisions to the counties.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that he would hardly like to give an answer offhand on the point; but if any Amendment should be proposed in going into Committee he would consider the point. He would put the Committee down for Monday.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether, considering the vast importance of the subject, their own professed anxiety to settle the question, and the admitted inconveniences and dangers of piecemeal legislation, they would take advantage of the coming Autumn Session to present to Parliament and the country a complete Bill for the reform of the representation of the people? said, before putting the Question that stood in his name, he wished to remind the House and the Government that every Reform Bill, with one solitary exception, that had, so far as he knew, ever been presented to Parliament, or, indeed, to any Continental State, had been a complete Bill, containing not only a measure for the enlargement of the franchise, but also what was its necessary supplement, and, in some respects, its more important part—a measure for the redistribution of seats. For, great as might be the apparent anomaly of excluding from the franchise persons in counties who

possessed the same qualification as gave persons resident in boroughs the vote, it was as nothing to the injustice of small towns —almost villages—without population, without commerce, without trade of any kind, sending Representatives to Parliament, whilst great centres of commerce, with teeming populations and large industries, were left wholly unrepresented or only partially represented. That anomaly would be increased if by any misfortune the Franchise Bill of 1884 were passed without at the same time being accompanied with a Redistribution of Seats Bill. The one exception to which he had referred was the Reform Bill of 1866, brought in, like the present one, by Mr. Gladstone. He thought that it was not an unfair assumption to make, that this mode of proceeding had peculiar attractions for that statesman, at least when he was in power. When in Opposition he held extremely different views on this point. Then he told them that—

"Nothing could be more contemptible and base than the conduct of a Government which could give forth, with the view of enlisting the generous confidence of its supporters, that it would deal with the subject of Reform and would stand or fall by its own propositions, and which all the while could silently exclude from the scope of their declaration all portions of that question except only the reduction of the franchise, although among such questions we find one only second in importance to that of the franchise itself."—(3 *Hansard*, [182] 1144-5.)

Such had been the views of Mr. Gladstone while in Opposition; but when in power he seemed to have acted on wholly different principles. He was not going to weary their Lordships by going back to the period of 1866. He might, however, remind their Lordships that it was owing to the Whig majority that the proposal of the Government in 1866 had not met with the approbation of the House of Commons. That majority had been made of sterner stuff than that which now followed the crack of the Ministerial Whip. Well, it was upon the Motion of the noble Duke the Master of the Horse (the Duke of Westminster) that an Amendment was carried which was in terms similar to that proposed by the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns), and carried in their Lordships' House last Tuesday night. It was an absolute enigma to him that the noble Duke and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) should now oppose a proposition which was identical in terms to that which they had so successfully supported in 1866. In consequence of the Amendment, all but carried, in 1866, Mr. Gladstone set himself to do what until then he had said it was impossible to do—he brought in a complete Bill. It is true that measure did not become law; but it was distinctly on the question of the franchise, and not on redistribution, that it was defeated. It was defeated on an Amendment changing the qualification from a rental to a ratable value. It was a pure question of franchise, and had nothing to do with redistribution. What he wished to submit to their Lordships was, that there was no reason whatever, provided the Ministry were in earnest about Reform, and had no ulterior objects in view, why they should not adopt the course taken in 1866, and bring in a complete Bill. On that occasion the present Secretary of State for the Colonies said they had no guarantee that a redistribution scheme would be passed if the two questions were dealt with separately, and that it would be better to leave the whole subject over until the next year, adding that if it were necessary to meet earlier, in order to overtake the work, he, for one, would not complain. Now the Government informed them that their intention was to introduce a complete Bill in the month of February, when Parliament again assembled, and to go on with it till the end of the Session; and their Lordships must give them the credit, when they said that, of imagining that they would be able to pass it. Now, there was no practical controversy about the extension of the franchise; the whole difficulty arose in regard to the redistribution of seats; and if the Government told them they could pass a Redistribution Bill between February and August *à fortiori* they certainly could pass it if they began the work next October. It seemed to him that any other course which the Government might choose to pursue must lead to the certain loss of that Bill; and it was well that the House and the country should understand that the *onus* of the loss of that Bill, and the reason why 2,000,000 of their fellow-subjects were not admitted to the franchise, lay with Her Majesty's Government, and not with the Opposition. It was impossible they

could imagine that their Lordships' House could so stultify itself before the country and the world—could so wholly justify everything that its worst enemies said against it by accepting in the month of November the same measure from the same House of Commons which they had refused to accept in July. Such a course of conduct could only be attributed to a want of ordinary intelligence, or to a craven and despicable fear. Their Lordships might, by adopting that course, avert the hatred of the Radicals, with which they were now honoured; but, at the same time, they would assuredly earn for themselves their thorough and well-deserved contempt. He could not conceive that such a course was one which they could possibly pursue, nor did he believe it was one which the Government could think they were capable of adopting. Unless the Government were prepared to solve the difficulty in the only practical way and to introduce a complete Bill, not all the sophistry and misrepresentation of Radical orators—and God knew they were masters in that art—not all the foul vituperation of which they had recently had examples in the Press and on the platform, not all the mock demonstrations and processions in Hyde Park, which were got up on the same principle and by the same means, though they were not half so good as those which they saw at Christmas time at Drury Lane, would suffice to throw dust in the eyes of John Bull, or to conceal from the people of the United Kingdom the plain and palpable fact that their zeal for reform was only a "sham," and a clever electoral trick to present a false issue to the country, in order to win back for a thoroughly despised and discredited Government another lease of that power which they had so shamefully abused. The noble Earl concluded by putting his Question.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, the noble Earl has thought right to preface the Question of which he gave Notice by a speech that would have been an eloquent addition to the important debate in this House last week. But having myself had an opportunity of speaking in that debate, I do not think it necessary now to follow the noble Earl in his argument. As to the Question which he has just put, I am not aware that I can make any addition to the statement which I made after the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) had given Notice of a Motion which, I must regret, from what fell from the noble Marquess opposite, is likely to be opposed by him on Thursday.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, he wished to prefer a request to Her Majesty's Government, and that was, that they would remember that they were responsible Ministers of the Crown, and not eke out the dearth of argument as to franchise without redistribution by inflammatory language. A few days ago, at the Foreign Office, language had been used by a right hon. Gentleman, only recently a Colleague of the noble Lords opposite, which had been looked upon as an incitement to violence. He had less concern with the right hon. Gentleman who was an old established railer, and all his life had set Englishmen by the ears; but it had been his misfortune to hear a speech from the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, which, though in deprecation of violence, was too like the celebrated speech to an angry mob—"Do not nail his ears to the pump." The noble and learned Earl went on to say he was a calm and sedate man; and no doubt he knew himself best, so that the heat he sometimes displayed was factitious and a rhetorical artifice. But as a rhetorical artifice it was ineffective, for emphasis depended on the sense of the words, and not on declamation and passionate gestures. The noble and learned Earl then said his political career must shortly close; if he referred to his health, he sincerely hoped the noble and learned Earl was mistaken, and that one they all esteemed so much would be long spared to them; but if he meant to refer to the fall of the Prime Minister, then, with equal sincerity, he hoped his prognostic might be true. The noble and learned Earl had to choose between being calm and sedate, and using warm language; but he had been very frequently reminded by speeches of the noble and learned Lord of the words—"Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS.—RESOLUTION.

LORD INCHIQUIN said, he rose, pursuant to Notice, to move that the following clause be added to all Tramway (Ireland) Provisional Orders:—

"No capital authorised by this Act shall become guaranteed capital until it has been certified by the Board of Trade to have been expended on the undertaking: Provided, that the Board of Trade shall not give any less certificate than for a sum of £10,000 (where the capital is over £100,000, or £5,000 where it is under that sum); and the Board of Trade shall not give their final certificate in respect of any such capital until twelve months after the opening of the line for traffic, when, being satisfied that the line has been duly completed and is in working order, they may issue a certificate for the balance of capital authorised by the Act."

He had been much disappointed at finding that in those Provisional Orders there was no provision whatever for the security of the money which it was proposed under the Tramways Act that the counties in Ireland were to guarantee. The Treasury, it was true, took very good care of themselves, because their contribution was not to come into operation until the line had been made and completed. On the other hand, in the case of the counties, the moment the capital was paid up it became guaranteed; so that the promoters had nothing to do but to issue their capital, and as soon as it was paid up it became, as a matter of course, guaranteed by the counties under those Provisional Orders. It was a usual provision in contracts that when a contractor undertook to execute a work he should be paid as the work proceeded; and he thought that contractors who proposed to carry out such large works as were contemplated by those Provisional Orders should have a certain amount of capital of their own. He proposed that the whole of the money should not be handed over to the promoters, or, in other words, to the contractors, because, under that Act, in nine cases out of ten, the promoters and the contractors were practically the same persons; and the object of the promoters was to get the contract for themselves. The power of raising the money should be placed in the hands of the Board of Trade, and should be paid to the promoters by instalments on the certificate of that Board. He asked their Lordships, in the interests of the counties in Ireland, to step in and protect those counties from what he was very much afraid would be a very heavy tax indeed, and which would probably involve them in great loss. Under the present arrangement there was nothing to prevent the promoters, if they were dishonest enough, only expending £50,000 on a line, although they might raise £100,000 in respect of it. Under the old guarantees for railways the guarantee never came into operation until the work was completed, and there was no reason why the promoters of these lines would not be able to raise the money on that condition. He asked their Lordships to remember that the Grand Juries, who were the acting parties in this matter, were a fluctuating body, and that, therefore, there was more need in this case for protection than in the case of a County Board. In large operations of this kind it was not, he thought, too much to ask their Lordships to see that sound men with a fair amount of capital should undertake work of this kind. He thought the proposal he had made was a reasonable one, and trusted that the Government would give their favourable consideration to the matter.

Moved, That the following clause be added to all Tramway (Ireland) Provisional Orders:—

"No capital authorised by this Act shall become guaranteed capital until it has been certified by the Board of Trade to have been expended on the undertaking: Provided, that the Board of Trade shall not give any less certificate than for a sum of £10,000 (where the capital is over £100,000, or £5,000 where it is under that sum); and the Board of Trade shall not give their final certificate in respect of any such capital until twelve months after the opening of the line for traffic, when, being satisfied that the line has been duly completed and is in working order, they may issue a certificate for the balance of capital authorised by the Act."—(*The Lord Inchiquin.*)

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD said, he thought it was necessary, when the Tramways Act was passing through their Lordships' House, that some provision should be inserted in order to prevent the money being expended in the manner suggested. At the same time, he could not help saying that if this Motion was carried in its present form it would have the effect of preventing tramways being constructed in Ireland at all. He was, unfortunately, one of those persons who had suffered from his county having given a guarantee; therefore, he was not much in favour of a guarantee. He was aware, however, that railways and tramways could not be made without a guarantee; but he should like to hear the noble Lord suggest some manner in which the counties should be protected, as undoubtedly they ought to

be. Every noble Lord connected with Ireland was anxious that encouragement should be given to the working of those tramways; but unless a protection of some kind was afforded to those counties who gave the guarantee in these Provisional Orders, they would prevent the Grand Juries giving any guarantee at all. For his own part, he thought that, as capital was already so difficult to obtain in Ireland, a Proviso of the kind contained in this Motion, with respect to the Board of Trade not giving any less certificate

"Than for a sum of £10,000 where the capital is over £100,000, or £5,000 where it is under that sum,"

would have the effect of preventing lines being made. He suggested, in the absence of any proposal from the Government, the advisability of considering whether a smaller sum would not be equally efficacious, say, £3,000 or £5,000. He thought, however, it was necessary that some protection should be given to the counties in Ireland, a protection which ought to have been inserted in the original Act.

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, there was a tramway in prospect in both of the counties in which he had property, and, subject to the decision of the House on the Provisional Order Bills, the promoters had every reason to hope that the lines would be made; but he was informed that the promoters felt that if his noble Friend's proposition was carried it would be quite impossible for them to raise any capital. It was said that the promoters and the contractors were one and the same persons, and that it was not right that a large sum of money should be handed over to those persons; but if they were one and the same persons, the only way the promoters could obtain capital was by selling their shares. He was afraid, however, if this clause was passed they would not be able to sell their shares, and all the trouble that had already been taken in the North of Ireland would be brought to nothing. With regard to what the noble Marquess had said, something might be enacted which would prevent any misapplication of the money. If that was to be done, it ought to be done by a Public Bill, and not by a clause in a Provisional Order Bill.

LORD LECONFIELD said, he should support the Motion of the noble Lord. He thought if it were adopted it would be very useful as affording protection to the Grand Juries of the counties, who would become under the Act liable for the completion of the work should the contractor fail; and if it were not adopted by the Government in its integrity, they ought, at least, to make some partial change in that direction.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK did not think that if the Standing Order proposed by the noble Lord (Lord Inchiquin) was adopted, it would stop tramway schemes. At any rate, he thought it was very important that some protection should be given to the cesspayers. It must be remembered that very large sums were being dealt with under this Act, and that in some cases they would fall on a very poor class of persons. He really did not think, if the promoters of these Companies were acting *bonâ fide*, that it would be too much to expect that the guarantee would only be for sums actually expended, as suggested in the Motion of his noble Friend. He hoped the Lord President would give a friendly consideration to this proposal.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he had been glad to hear more than one noble Lord pointing out to the House the dangers that would probably arise to the successful working of the Tramways Act if so stringent a clause as that proposed by the noble Lord were to be inserted in every tramway scheme. The Irish Privy Council, who were, of course, familiar with this subject, and who took a deep interest in the working of this Act, had examined the noble Lord's proposed clause with great care, and had come to the conclusion that it would be very unsafe for Parliament to adopt it. They believed that it would be, in many cases, injurious, if not disastrous, to the working of the Tramways Act. The Irish Privy Council had, of course, full power to introduce into these Provisional Orders any clause they might think necessary to secure that the guarantee was only applied to such amount of capital as was properly expended on the scheme. That power they had exercised, and would continue to exercise. They had exercised it in the case of one of the two Tramway Orders at present before the House, and had inserted a clause providing that the capital should only be issued as required

from time to time. The effect of passing the noble Lord's clause would be that a different requirement, and very much more stringent, would be inserted in the Order Bills yet to be passed. His noble Friend proposed to lay down a hard-and-fast line for all these Orders. The clause would immediately apply to the two Orders before the House, one of which contained a clause which, in the opinion of the Irish Privy Council, afforded sufficient protection. With respect to all future Orders, the Council would be prepared to deal with them on their merits, and consider what clause ought to be inserted for the purpose of obtaining the object which his noble Friend had in view. But the Privy Council strongly objected to laying down a hard-and-fast line which might be injurious, if not fatal, to all tramway enterprize.

LORD INCHIQUIN said, the Privy Council, he had no doubt, would, in future, exercise their power in this matter; but the Bills now before the House would not again go before the Privy Council, and in those Bills there was no security of any sort for the cesspayer. This Act was so entirely novel, that he did not think the Grand Juries quite understood or appreciated it. On the particular Grand Jury of his county he thought there were very few people who understood the matter at all. They did not appreciate the various points to be considered in connection with it. There was one provision for securing the county which the Grand Jury desired to be inserted; but when he, as an appellant, came before the Privy Council on the matter, he was ruled out of Court, as the point was not referred to in his appeal. He was perfectly willing to alter the figures in his Motion, if the Government desired; but if they did not consider the matter favourably, he would be bound to go to a Division on it. He did not at all desire to defeat the Bill by a side-wind; all he was anxious to do was to protect the county.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) pointed out that in one Bill a provision was inserted that the money should be advanced from time to time as required, and asked why that provision should not be inserted in both Bills?

LORD FITZGERALD appealed to the noble Lord to withdraw his Motion. He believed it would be most mischievous in its effects. In his opinion, if the guarantee were withheld for a year great difficulty would be experienced in obtaining local capital. This was what one who had a good deal of experience wrote to him regarding that matter—

"Lord Inchiquin has a Motion in the House which would destroy all our tramway undertakings."

LORD INCHIQUIN: Name.

LORD FITZGERALD said, the name of the gentleman was John Walter Burke, a man of great intelligence and great experience. The proposition of the noble Lord was altogether contrary to the spirit of the Act of last year, and he was afraid that the mere fact that it was proposed there would have the most injurious effect on the financing of those undertakings.

LORD INCHIQUIN asked whether the noble Lord the President of the Council did not think the contractors should be paid on production of the certificate of the Board of Trade?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, it did not appear to him that the Board of Trade ought to be brought in at all; and he should object to making use of the Board of Trade for this purpose.

LORD INCHIQUIN said, that if the noble President postponed the consideration of the Tramway Orders he would withdraw his Motion, and bring up another that might meet the views he had expressed, otherwise he would press his Motion to a Division.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he would not object to postpone them for a very short time.

LORD INCHIQUIN suggested a week.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): That is too long.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) explained that the Orders could not be committed to the Whole House before next week.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

THE SUEZ CANAL—SANITARY STATE.

QUESTION.

LORD LAMINGTON asked Her Majesty's Government, Whether their attention has been drawn to the dan-

gerous foul state of the Suez Canal; and that the cholera was introduced into France by one of the ships that had passed through it; and also whose duty it is to take charge of the sanitary state of the Canal? He thought that when it was remembered that 79 per cent of the shipping passing through the Canal was English, the importance of the question of the sanitary condition of the Canal would be recognized.

EARL GRANVILLE said, Her Majesty's Government had received no special information as to the foul state of the Canal. It was alleged the other day that a French transport to Toulon passed through the Canal, and had experienced some foul effluvia; but he was not aware that any report had been made on the subject. In reply to the last part of the Question, he believed the sanitary arrangements of the Canal were now in the hands of the Company, under the stringent rules made in 1878 for the regulation of the Canal.

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 15th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—NAVY ESTIMATES—Votes 6 to 11.—*Resolutions* [July 14] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Education (Scotland) Provisional Order * [285]; Prosecution of Offences * [287]; Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) * [289]; Irish Land Commissioner (Continuance) * [290]; Teachers' Residences (Ireland) * [288].

First Reading—Indian Marine * [291].

Report of Select Committee—Local Government Provisional Order (No. 3) * [No. 272].

Committee—Trusts (Scotland) * [279]—R.P.; County Courts (Ireland) (*re-comm.*) [104-258]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Public Libraries Acts Amendment * [273]; Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Manx Children) * [280]; Naval Discipline Act (1866) Amendment * [263]; Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) [22-286].

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Royal Military Asylum Chelsea (Transfer) * [267]; Great Seal * [268]; Prisons (Ireland) (Cost of Conveyance of Prisoners) * [275]; Newcastle Chapter [281], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Strensall Common * [266]; Oyster Cultivation (Ireland) * [43], and *passed.*

Third Reading—Canal Boats Act (1877) Amendment * [282], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage (Ireland) * [166]; Cemeteries * [21].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

MANCHESTER, SHEFFIELD, AND LINCOLNSHIRE RAILWAY (CHESTER TO CONNAH'S QUAY) BILL (*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords Amendments read.

An hon. MEMBER said, he had given Notice yesterday of his intention to oppose this Bill; but since then he had had an opportunity of communicating with the authorities at Chester, and he did not wish to offer any further opposition.

Lords Amendments *agreed to.*

EDINBURGH NORTHERN TRAMWAYS BILL.

Lords Amendments *considered.*

Amendments, as far as Clause 56, *agreed to.*

Leave out Clause 56, the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. BUCHANAN said, he had given Notice that he should move—

"To disagree with so much of the Lords Amendments thereof as proposes to leave out Clause 56 and the Fourth Article of the Agreement between the Corporation of Edinburgh and the Promoters, contained in Schedule C."

He thought he should be able to state very shortly the reasons which induced him to ask the House to disagree with the Lords' Amendments. The Bill was one for the construction of cable tramways in the Northern part of the City of Edinburgh, where the gradients were so steep that they were unable to have a system of horse tramways. The object of the Bill was undoubtedly a good one, and would confer a great public boon on the inhabitants of that locality. Therefore, it was not at all in any spirit of opposition to the merits of the Bill that he was obliged to take the action he was about to take in asking the House to disagree with the Lords'

Amendments. The House was aware that for the promotion of a Bill of this kind the Standing Orders required the assent of the local authority. That consent was given by the Corporation of Edinburgh; but prior to its being given certain negotiations were entered into, and eventually an agreement was come to between the local authority, which was the City of Edinburgh, and the promotors of the Company, which agreement was incorporated partly in the Bill and partly in Schedule C attached to the Bill. The Bill came before the House of Commons, and was referred to a Committee of that House of which the hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) was Chairman; and the Members of that Committee, if he might be permitted to say so, were specially well qualified to deal with this system of cable tramways. The Bill was carefully considered by the Committee in all its details, and was passed. He thought he was justified in saying that they were satisfied with regard to the question of the agreement, and they were satisfied that the object which was in view by the agreement was the public interest of the ratepayers, and that its terms appeared designed to safegard those interests. After the Bill had been passed by the Commons it went before the House of Lords, where it appeared first, as an opposed Bill, but the opposition was withdrawn, and it was referred as an unopposed Bill to Lord Redesdale the Chairman of Committees of the other House. The Chairman of Committees proceeded to draw his pen through Clause 56 of the Bill, and also paragraph 4 of Schedule C, which thus materially modified the position between the City of Edinburgh and the promoters of the Company. By Clause 56 the consent of the local authorities was made necessary, in addition to that of the Board of Trade, for the sale of the undertaking to any other Company, or for any amalgamation; and by Article 4 of the Schedule, rent or wayleave was to be paid by the promoters of the Company for the use of the streets, beginning with a sum of £20 a-year, and increasing to about £100 per year per mile at the expiry of five years, starting within two years after the passing of the Act. It was these two clauses he asked the House to restore to the Bill, and he did so simply on this ground—that their excision in the House of Lords substantially altered the conditions of the agreement come to by the Corporation of Edinburgh and the promoters of the Company, and on the faith of which and in consideration of which the former consented to the introduction of the Bill. He would like to put one or two other considerations before the House with regard to the way in which this question had been dealt with. The Bill, as he had already stated, was carefully considered by the Committee of that House, and these clauses, among others, were passed. In the other House these clauses were struck out, if he might say so—and he meant no disrespect—on the *ipse dixit* of the Chairman of Committees of that House. Lord Redesdale did not give any reasons for his action, and he was rather a man of action than a man of words; but he understood that the grounds of Lord Redesdale were—first of all, want of precedent; and, secondly, on the ground of public policy. As regards precedent, he had been furnished with a number of precedents bearing on this point; but he would not detain the House by reading them. To go no further, in a Bill which passed through Parliament this Session there was a clause substantially the same as that struck out by Lord Redesdale. On the ground of public policy he was bound to say he found himself under certain difficulty in discussing the question upon an occasion such as this. He should have been quite prepared to discuss the question of public policy in regard to the insertion of Clause 56, and it must be remembered that there was always the power of veto enjoyed by the Board of Trade. Under ordinary circumstances there would also be the veto of the local authority in the transfer of an undertaking of this character, as the local authority would know something about the people to whom it was proposed to make a transference. He had nothing to complain of his own knowledge of the action of the promoters with regard to the matter; but it did seem to him a mistake if they agreed to the Lords' Amendments, and that they would take a very wide step in regard to this principle if they, in fact, laid down that the local authority, in no case whatever, should have power in any degree with regard to any undertaking, and that

there should only be a power of veto on the part of the Board of Trade. As regarded the question of public policy, he was entirely at one with those who argued, and who urged with very considerable force, that there should be no encouragement given to any attempt to screw money out of any person, public Company, or those engaged in industrial undertakings, because, if for no other reason, it would militate against the prosecution of useful undertakings; but there had not been a shadow of allegation that there was any such attempt or object in view by the insertion of these provisions in this Bill. He did not wish to go into the question of the construction of these cable tramways; but he was informed that, owing to their construction, and the large masses of concrete which, as he understood, were inserted in the middle of the street, it was very probable that the cost of maintainence of the rest of the street outside the tramway would be greater than in the case of ordinary tramways. However, he did not wish to press that, as he had personally no special knowledge of the subject. But he would submit that a Committee of this House had satisfied themselves that by this agreement and these clauses the interests of the public and the ratepayers were safeguarded; and, of course, as trustees of the ratepayers, the Corporation of Edinburgh had to look to their interest in making such an agreement. If they were to come to the conclusion of Lord Redesdale, and were to agree to the Lords' Amendments, they should go much further than knocking these provisions out of the Bill, because, as he understood, Lord Redesdale had expressly laid down that, in the future, on no occasion whatever, should rent be paid by any public Company for the use of the streets. That question might be argued at very great length; but if they were to come to a conclusion on such a very wide matter as this, it should be done by the question being raised regularly and by being discussed before a Committee of this House, and before a Committee of the other House. It was not discussed before a Committee of the House of Commons, and it was not discussed fully before the Committee of the other House. He therefore ventured to think that they would be taking an exceedingly unwise course if, by assenting to the Lords' Amendments, they were to bind themselves for the future to the declaration that no rent should be paid for the use of the streets. He had only one other point to submit to the House. And it was this—He did not know whether his hon. Friend the Member for the Haddington Burghs (Mr. Craig Sellar) was in his place; but he understood that his hon. Friend and other hon. Members took a great interest in Private Bill Legislation, especially with a view of cheapening it. As he understood the present arrangement, it had been entered into in order to prevent opposition to the Bill; but if such agreements, when made, were to be set aside in "another place," it would be of no use in future to enter into agreements at all with public Companies promoting Private Bills. The Corporation had assented to this Bill, and entered into an agreement, before it came to Parliament; and when it became an unopposed measure in the House of Lords, they were placed at a disadvantage. It seemed to him it was probable that in the future local authorities would not put themselves in such a position of disadvantage, but would rather take the course of giving a general assent to the introduction of a Bill, reserving other matters for the Committees of Parliament, which would undoubtedly involve a great expense to the ratepayers. He ventured to hope that the House would agree with him in disagreeing with the two Amendments which the Lords had inserted in the Bill, and would reinsert the 56th clause, and the 4th paragraph of Schedule C, simply on the ground, first of all, that it was impolitic to lay down a general rule; and, secondly, that the terms of the agreement formed the bargain on which the Corporation of Edinburgh abstained from objecting to the Bill. He did not want in any way to oppose the Bill, and he did not wish that it should fall through; but he wished that it should be replaced in the condition in which it was, so that it might pass into law with those conditions in consideration of which the local authority had given its assent.

Mr. ANDREW GRANT, who had the following Notice on the Paper:—

"To disagree with so much thereof as proposes to leave out Clause 56 and the Fourth Article of the Agreement between the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the Burgh of

Leith and the Promoters, contained in Schedule C."

said, he should second the Motion which his hon. Friend had just made. His hon. Friend had explained to the House the circumstances under which the stipulations were orginally inserted in the Bill, and he would not therefore occupy the time of the House by entering further into that question. He was quite aware this was a somewhat unusual step to take; but he thought, in this case, there was just reason for it. He agreed with his hon. Friend that the scheme was a very desirable one, and likely to be extremely useful to the inhabitants. He should confine himself, therefore, to the case as it affected his constituents—the Corporation of Leith. As the House very well knew, in coming before Parliament with a Private Bill of such a nature as this—namely, a Tramways Bill—the promoters were obliged by the Standing Orders of the House, first, to get the consent of the local authority of the district through which the proposed tramway was to pass. In accordance with that arrangement, the promoters of this Bill came to the Corporation of Leith and applied for their consent. The terms proposed to the Corporation of Leith were not such as the Corporation felt themselves warranted in accepting, and, accordingly, negotiations for a time came to a close. Shortly afterwards, the promoters again approached the Corporation of Leith with a considerable alteration in the terms they proposed to embody in their Bill. The two principal alterations were those which his hon. Friend had already referred to, one of which provided that the consent of the Corporation of Leith should be necessary for any transfer or any amalgamation of the Tramway Company, and the other was that rent should be paid by the Company on account of the tramway passing along the streets of the burgh. The Corporation, on viewing these terms, found they could accept them; and after some negotiations the terms were embodied in an agreement, mutually and voluntarily come to, by the Corporation and the Company, and that agreement, including the two clauses now alluded to, was embodied in the Bill. The Corporation felt that when that was done their interest was sufficiently protected; but what was their surprise, when the Bill was brought before the Committee of the House of Commons, to find that the promoters did not stick to the agreement which they had voluntarily made with the Corporation, but endeavoured to persuade the Committee of the House of Commons that the agreement should be set aside, and these clauses expunged. Fortunately, the Corporation were able to contest the matter, and, after hearing both sides, the Committee of this House, of which the hon. Gentleman (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), whom he saw opposite, was Chairman, practically unanimously came to the conclusion that it was not part of their duty to interfere with an agreement that had been voluntarily come to between the parties. The Bill thus left the House of Commons with the agreement intact; but as the Corporation of Leith had consented to the clauses, they were, by the practice of Parliament, prevented from appearing against the Preamble of the Bill in the House of Lords. The other opponents having withdrawn their opposition, the Preamble was taken as unopposed, and the Bill went as an unopposed measure to Lord Redesdale. Lord Redesdale, having considered it, and having before him the result of the consideration of the Committee of the House of Commons, to the surprise of his (Mr. A. Grant's) constituents, came to the extraordinary conclusion that these two clauses must be deleted, on the ground that they were inconsistent with the public interest. The complaint his constituents made was that they and the promoters of the Bill came to a certain agreement together, and that the terms of that agreement were ratified between them, and that if it had not been so the Corporation of Leith would never have given their consent to this Bill, and, consequently, the promoters of the Bill would never have appeared in Parliament at all. As far as he knew, the only objection to these clauses had been made by Lord Redesdale, on the ground that they were inconsistent with the public interest. But was that so? Take the first, in which the consent of the Corporation was declared to be necessary to any transfer or amalgamation of the Tramway Company. In the Bill itself, by a special clause, power was given to the Corporation of Edinburgh and the Corporation of Leith to take over and acquire the Tramway Company and its undertaking upon certain rather onerous terms; and he asked

the House whether it was not a most reasonable provision that the Corporations, which were allowed to take over the undertaking under certain conditions, should have power to withhold their consent from the Company making any other arrangement which might altogether alter the conditions under which the undertaking was to be acquired by the Corporation? It seemed to him to be a most reasonable arrangement; and, further than that, it seemed to the Board of Trade also to be a reasonable arrangement. The Board of Trade saw no difficulty whatever in associating the consent of the Corporation with their own to such transfer or amalgamation; and he might say there was an example in a Bill which received the Royal Assent yesterday—a Cardiff Bill—which contained a provision on all fours with the provision in this Bill which Lord Redesdale had struck out, providing that—

"No sale or assignment of the undertaking shall have any effect until after the approval of the Board of Trade and of the Corporation respectively, to such sale or assignment in writing, signed by the Secretary," &c.

With regard to the charge for wayleave, he submitted that this, also, was a most reasonable arrangement. It must be remembered that these cable tramways were almost entirely of an experimental nature in this country, and undoubtedly the laying down of a cable tramway led to a much larger alteration and interference with the roadway than tramways of an ordinary character. Again, in the case of Leith they had an especial claim for making some charge on the Tramway Company for allowing them to go along the streets. He would not allude to that special claim further than to say that the upkeeping of a seawall and bulwarks was involved, and that Lord Redesdale had given protection clauses to another interest situated similarly to Leith, providing that the Tramway Company should pay them for all the damage they did. With regard to Lord Redesdale's contention that these clauses were against public interest, he might say that his Lordship had given no rational ground for such an assertion; and he might say also that if it were so, and the public interest had suffered, it had been to a very large extent with Lord Redesdale's express concurrence. During the last 14 or 15 years there had been at least 20 Tramway Bills passed, and in each of them there was a provision of one kind or another to show that Corporations were entitled to make a charge on the tramways for passing through their streets. He would not occupy the time of the House by going through the list; but he held in his hand a list of more than 20 Bills, in which provision was made for the payment of an annual rent to the Corporation—in one case of £75 a-year, in another of £20 a-mile, and so on. He had nothing to say against Lord Redesdale; on the contrary, he believed the public were deeply indebted to him for the watchful care he took of the public interest in connection with Private Bills; but it seemed to him that in this case his Lordship had made a mistake, and that he could not have thoroughly examined the whole position. Considering that a Committee of this House, before whom both sides laid their case, were unanimous in allowing these clauses to remain, and considering that his Lordship's dictum upset a voluntary agreement between the Corporations of Edinburgh and Leith and the Tramway Company, he thought they were entitled to ask the House to disagree with the Lords in these Amendments.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth disagree with the Lords in the said Amendment."—(*Mr. Buchanan.*)

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, it might, perhaps, be expected that he, as Chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons before which the Bill came, should state the reasons which he thought influenced them in their decision. The Bill was considered at considerable length, and they came to the decision which was recorded on the Minutes of Evidence that they were not prepared to go behind an agreement come to formally by the promoters of this scheme and the Corporations of Edinburgh and Leith, especially as it was shown to them by the speeches of counsel that the interest of the public was in no way prejudiced. He would remind the House, as had already been stated, that this particular tramway was almost a novelty in this country. There was considerable doubt as to whether it might not interfere much more with the highway in its construction than ordi-

nary tramways did. There was only one instance in England of its having been attempted, and that was the tramway opened only the other day at Highgate. One of the points struck out of this Bill by Lord Redesdale in "another place" was that in regard to the concession of way-leave which was agreed to by the Corporations and the Company themselves, as the Corporations had declined to entertain the proposal without some such terms being inserted in the Bill; and, as the hon. Member for Leith (Mr. A. Grant) had said, there were precedents without end bearing upon that point. There was an especial precedent in the instance of this Highgate Cable Tramway, which was the only instance of a tramway of a similar construction, and in the Highgate case the Company were allowed to go beyond the clauses of the Tramways Act which specified the amount of roadway the Company were in future to maintain at their own expense, and there was a larger amount of charge as to repair of roadway imposed on that particular Company because of the special nature of the undertaking than was ordinarily laid down in the Tramways Act. He believed the Company in this instance had agreed to, and Parliament had sanctioned, a clause requiring them to maintain the whole of the roadway instead of that portion only which ran for 18 inches on each side of the tramway, which was the ordinary practice. Therefore, a larger amount of charge was imposed upon the Company outside the conditions imposed by the ordinary Tramways Act. There were numberless other instances. There was the instance of Swansea, in 1882, in which an amount of charge was allowed in addition to the maintenance of the road, such amount of charge to be paid to the local authority. Certainly, the precedents were in favour of the course which the Committee had adopted, and the Committee had adopted that course entirely in the interests of the public both in the case of Edinburgh and Leith. Clearly, it could not have been in opposition to the interests of the Company, or the Company would not have voluntarily agreed to the insertion of these clauses. He could not for a moment imagine the ground of public policy on which they were opposed in "another place," and the Bill sent down to the House of Commons without them. The public were protected in every respect both as regards the interests of the ratepayers and the interests of the travelling public, who, of course, were protected by the ordinary clauses. He believed that, in this case, the public interest was in no way prejudiced except by the decision of the House of Lords. The case was carefully considered by the Committee of this House; their decision was practically unanimous; and as such he asked the House to maintain that decision, and to reinsert these clauses in the Bill.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE wished to say a few words, in order to explain why he was unable to support the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan). He regarded the Motion, if carried, as equivalent to a rejection of the Bill. He had no doubt if they sent the Bill back to the House of Lords the Bill would fail this year. His hon. Friend who had spoken on that side of the House had borne testimony to the great value of the undertaking to the community of Edinburgh. No one could fail to see that the formation of this tramway would be a great improvement and convenience. His hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh had not entered at any length into the question of public policy, and, therefore, he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) would abstain from doing so. The Company were willing that the clauses which Lord Redesdale struck out should stand part of the Bill, if that could be done without the Bill being thrown out in "another place;" but Lord Redesdale would not have the agreement. With regard to the other Bills to which reference had been made, in which payment for way-leave was allowed to be inserted, they were cases in which the Corporations concerned had given something in the way of outlay in the improvement of streets as an equivalent for the rent; but in the case of the present Bill he understood there was no consideration given at all. He did not understand that any charge was made against the Company of breach of agreement. They had carried the Bill through the House of Commons as it was originally introduced, and they had endeavoured to carry it through the House of Lords, but had failed through the opposition of Lord Redesdale. He might tell the House that when the agreement

was first entered into, it was proposed to the Company that there should be this condition, that if Parliament refused to accept these clauses of the Bill, the Bill should not be further proceeded with. The Tramway Company, however, refused to accept that condition; and, under the circumstances, he thought it would be very hard on the Company, after having done all they could, and after all the expense of coming to Parliament had been incurred, if their scheme should now fail, and the result of their labours be rendered entirely nugatory. He did not think the tramway was promoted more in the interest of the Company than of the public. This was the only part of Edinburgh in which there were no tramways at present, because it was a part in which an ordinary tramway could not, on account of the very steep gradient, be worked, and anyone who witnessed the daily cruelty to animals caused by omnibuses endeavouring to ascend the steep gradients, would at once see that the passing of such a Bill as this was of very great importance in the interests of humanity. He would not detain the House further; but he trusted they would look on the Bill as a question of serving the public of the City of Edinburgh, and that they would refuse their assent to the Amendment of his hon. Friend, because the reinsertion of these clauses would amount virtually to the rejection of the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Subsequent Amendments, as far as Schedule C, *agreed to.*

Amendments to Schedules C and E *disagreed to.*

Subsequent Amendments *agreed to.*

Committee *appointed,* "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to The Lords for disagreeing with certain of the Amendments to which this House hath disagreed:"—Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. ANDREW GRANT, Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, Dr. FARQUHARSON, Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR, and Mr. COTES:—To withdraw immediately:—Three to be the quorum.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—TEELIN PIER.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it be a fact that a pier was erected at Teelin, county Donegal, under plans prepared by the engineer of the Board of Public Works, at a cost of £8,000, of which £6,000 was contributed out of the public funds, £1,000 by the Canadian Committee in 1880, and £1,000 by a local proprietor; that since it was built no cart could be brought on the pier in consequence of the defective state in which the road of approach was left when making the design for the pier; that, in consequence, the pier is useless for any vessel to discharge a cargo at; if it be a fact that the Board of Works let the work of building the pier to a contractor for £8,000, and that when it was in the course of construction the Board assented to the pier being curtailed for about twenty feet shorter than that designed and contracted for; whether the contractor was paid for the short pier the full sum for which he contracted to build a twenty feet longer pier; and, if so, under what circumstances; and, if he will direct the Board of Works to complete the road of approach to the pier, so that it may be made available for vessels to land their cargoes at, and not leave the place a public record of more useless expenditure of public money?

MR. COURTNEY: This Question relates to two separate matters connected with Teelin Pier—first, as to its cost, £8,000 was allocated to it by the Committee of 1880, and a plan was prepared accordingly; but when this came to be carried out it was found that the nature of the ground required additional works 22 feet below water, for which the contractor would be entitled to extra payment. All other means of meeting the increased cost having failed, it was necessary to curtail the original design for this purpose, and the pier was reduced from 360 feet to 341 feet. As regards the approaches, the Board of Works have no authority over the roads; if they are insufficient, the Grand Jury, in whom the pier is now vested, should move in the matter.

MR. HEALY said, the hon. Gentleman had not answered his Question. Was the contractor paid the full sum for constructing a pier 20 feet shorter than was originally proposed?

MR. COURTNEY said, it was impossible to carry the pier to its full length, except at great additional expense.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—SUNDAY DELIVERY OF LETTERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Postmaster General, Why there is no Sunday delivery in Derry; and, in how many Irish towns is this the case?

MR. FAWCETT: Acting in accordance with the recommendations of a Committee which sat some years since in reference to Sunday Posts, the rule is adopted of not giving a house-to-house delivery on Sundays in places where it has not previously existed, unless it is asked for by people receiving two-thirds of the entire correspondence. No such representation in favour of a Sunday delivery has been received from Derry. The only towns, I believe, in Ireland which have not a Sunday delivery are Antrim, Belfast, Ballymena, Ballymoney, Newtownards, and Portadown.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION AT CUMBERNAULD.

DR. CAMERON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether he some time ago received a memorial from ratepayers in Cumbernauld parish, stating that the nearest public school for the considerable population which has grown up round Cumbernauld Station is two miles off, and asking him to order the Board to erect a new public school near the station; whether, with the concurrence of the School Board, the question was referred by the Department to one of its inspectors, who reported supporting the prayer of the memorialists; whether it is true that the School Board refuses to carry out the recommendation of the inspector; and, what steps he purposes taking in the matter?

MR. MUNDELLA: A Memorial, as described, was received, and with the concurrence of the Board Her Majesty's Inspector was sent to examine and report. His recommendation in favour of a school under a female teacher for younger children up to Standard III. was sent to the Board with an expression of hope on the part of the Department that the course recommended by the Inspector would be speedily adopted. The Board, however, have appointed a Committee to draw up a Memorial on the subject which we have not yet received. If, upon consideration, the Department remain of the same opinion as they hold at present, they will call upon the Board to erect the proposed school.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

MR. GIBSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, What does he now estimate will be the cost of the Irish Land Commission for the current year; when does he intend to introduce his Supplementary Estimate; and, what will be its amount?

MR. COURTNEY: The cost of the Irish Land Commission for the current financial year is now estimated at about £111,000; the Supplementary Estimate of £24,000 will be laid on the Table to-day, with other Supplementaries.

MR. BRODRICK: Does that include the cost of the fourth Commissioner?

MR. COURTNEY: No, Sir.

MR. GIBSON: When will he be wound up?

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—MONAGHAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following Resolution of the delegates of the County Monaghan Revision Association, published in *The Freeman* of the 9th instant:—

"That this meeting learns with surprise that the Sub-Commissioners for Monaghan are lodging in Lord Rossmore's hotel, which is managed by the estate bailiff, and ride on Lord Rossmore's vehicles, accompanied, in some instances, by a land agent in their visits to farms; and further resolved, that this knowledge is calculated to destroy the confidence of the farmers in the said Land Sub-Commissioners;"

and, will he take any notice of the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Sub-Commissioners report that they were obliged to remove from their private lodgings in Monaghan because their landlady required the rooms for the use of members of the Bar whom she was accustomed to accommodate during the Assizes. There are but two hotels in the town. The proprietor of one of them was unable to accommodate all the Sub-Commissioners, some of whom accordingly went to the other hotel, the "Western Arms." While there, they employed the cars of the establishment. They learned, after their arrival at the hotel, that the ma-

nager was in Lord Rossmore's employment. With regard to the Question as to whether they were accompanied by a land agent on their visits to farms, the fact is that a tenant whose farm had been inspected by the Sub-Commissioners, and who is a bailiff on the estate, was accommodated with a seat on their car.

MOROCCO — FRAUDULENT CLAIMS OF ENGLISH SUBJECTS AGAINST NATIVES.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If his attention has been called to statements in *The Globe* of the 10th, 11th, and 12th instant, made by its own correspondent at Tangiers, in which the details are given of fraudulent claims alleged to have been preferred by English subjects against Natives of Morocco, which claims appear to have led to the imprisonment of the alleged debtors under circumstances of great barbarity; and, whether Government will send out a Special Commission to inquire into the charges, especially the charge against an English public functionary, described as Mr. A., who it is asserted caused the imprisonment of a Native named El Arbi ben Abdulazeez on a false claim; and also the apparently dreadful state of the prisons in which the alleged debtors are confined?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have no official information as regards the statements in question. They will, however, cause inquiries to be made with a view of ascertaining what truth there is in the charges alluded to.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATH OF MICHAEL WATTERS, OF CROSSMAGLEN, IN MOUNTJOY PRISON—THE PAPERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he will lay upon the Table the Papers respecting the death of Michael Watters, of Crossmaglen, in Mountjoy Prison?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Papers will be laid on the Table to-morrow.

SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC — THE TRANSVAAL AND ZULULAND—APPOINTMENT OF A COMMISSIONER.

SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to appoint a Commissioner to reside on the borders of the Transvaal and Zululand, in accordance with Article 2 of the New Convention with the South African Republic?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I am not able yet to announce the intention of the Government, as we are still waiting more authentic accounts of the situation on the frontier before coming to a decision.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the statements in *The Times* of 14 July are correct, to the effect that a military column, supported by John Dunn's Natives, has left Ekowe presumably to operate against the Usutus; that there are constant violations of the Reserve by the Usutus; that the new Boer Republic in Zululand steadily grows; and that, through the action of Cetewayo's champions, the Zulu nation will soon cease politically to exist; and, whether he will inform the House what steps, if any, have been taken, and are being taken, to prevent the extinction of the Zulu nation, and the creation of a new Boer Republic in Zululand?

MR. A. PEASE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received any information as to the recent collision between the Native police and the Zulus in the Native reserve; whether any loss of life has taken place; and, if so, what are the number of killed and wounded; whether he is able to state what are the official and what the Native explanations of the quarrel; and, whether the Government have taken any independent steps to arrive at the truth?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The only information we have yet received bearing on the newspaper statement quoted in the Question of the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) is contained in a telegram of the 9th of July from Sir Henry Bulwer, in which he says that the officers commanding in the Reserve had proceeded with a detachment of British troops and Natives in order to examine the neighbourhood of the Inkandhla, and to reassure the Loyals, and that it was expected to return on the 10th of July. It is true that in that particular part of the coun-

try there have been frequent violations of the Reserve by the Usutus. As to the alleged Boer Republic, this seems a question more of the future than of the present, which is concerned hitherto merely with grants of land to individual Boers for services rendered. As to the action of Cetewayo's champions, I am bound to confess that in my opinion most of the evils that have fallen on Cetewayo and the Zulu nation generally, during the last two years, have sprung from the bad advice and interference of Cetewayo's so-called "White friends." I have nothing to add to what I have already said in this House as to the proposed action of Her Majesty's Government. The Question of the hon. Member for Whitby (Mr. A. Pease) seems to refer to the encounter about a month ago between certain Native forces under Mr. Osborn, and the Usutus. The reports we have received give six as the number of killed and wounded on Mr. Osborn's side, and nearly 100 on that of the Usutus. The official explanation of the matter is that the Usutus in the part of the Reserve in question were molesting and harassing the loyal resident Natives, depriving them of their cattle and other possessions on the ground that they were not adherents of the Usutu party. It was in order to protect these people and to check this violent action of the Usutus that the force was sent. The Government do not propose to hold any formal inquiry, as they are quite satisfied that Sir Henry Bulwer is accurate in his reports, and that the statements which he forwards are now, as they have been in the past, entirely truthful.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he understood the hon. Gentleman the last time he spoke on the subject to say that there were negotiations going on with the Transvaal Republic with a view that they should interfere to stop the Boers from going into Zululand. He wished to know whether there had been any answer received from the Republic?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; I thought I stated the substance of the answer. The Transvaal Government said they would do all they could to prevent the invasion of the frontier; but they could not hold themselves responsible for the actions of private parties going over the border on their own initiative. They said, however, that as far as they were able they would check the movement.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: Have the Transvaal Government been asked to appoint a Commissioner of Police along the boundary in accordance with Article 2 of the Convention?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir; the Convention empowered either party to appoint a Commissioner. We are at present deliberating whether we should appoint a Commissioner; and if it lies with us to make a request to the Transvaal Government to appoint a Commissioner, that request ought to follow and not precede our action.

MR. GORST: Is the House to understand that the Government are absolutely ignorant of the story of the Usutu Chief as to the quarrel, and that, being so ignorant, they decline to take any steps to inform themselves on the subject?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir; we are not ignorant. We have very long statements which have been forwarded to us by Mr. William Grant, who represents himself as the advocate of the Native view. As far as I remember, he says that all these disturbances arose from the fact that the Natives were called upon to pay the hut tax before they had completed Cetewayo's funeral ceremony. Whether that commends itself to the sense of hon. Members I do not know; but it does not to mine.

MR. GORST: Do the Government accept the statement of this Mr. William Grant as to the Usutus, or will they take steps to find out the views of the Basuto Chiefs themselves?

[No reply.]

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—THE CHOLERA.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If any body, board, or authority in Ireland is at present in possession of a portable hospital which could be put at the disposal of any union in which cholera might break out?

MR. TREVELYAN: The facts are as I stated in reply to a similar Question last year. In two or three cases the sanitary authorities have floating or other intercepting hospitals; but, so far as the Local Government Board know, there is

no body or authority in possession of a portable hospital which could be handed over to another authority if required as suggested. There are intercepting hospitals at Dublin, Queenstown, and Londonderry, and last year several sanitary authorities expressed their willingness to provide accommodation in their fever hospitals or otherwise.

COLONEL NOLAN asked how the Government proposed to deal with any outbreak of cholera?

MR. GRAY asked whether last year, when Ireland was threatened with cholera, the College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons did not adopt certain recommendations, one being to the effect that the hospital stationed in Dublin would not be sufficient for quarantine purposes if cholera should break out, and recommending the establishment of a quarantine station on land; whether the only land available was Government property; and, whether he was aware that the Government refused the offer of the Corporation for the quarantine station?

MR. TREVELYAN asked for Notice of that Question.

COLONEL NOLAN desired an answer to his Question, as to what steps the Government proposed to take?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board will take any steps they may think necessary.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he expected a more definite answer. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman had given him a fair reply.

MR. TREVELYAN said, it was impossible for him, without Notice of these Questions, to furnish the House with a full statement of the views of the Local Government Board. Perhaps the hon. and gallant Gentleman would give Notice.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE NATIONALIST MEETING AT NEWRY—TRIAL OF THE MEN USING FIREARMS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the Irish Executive to let the trials of the men sent forward for shooting with intent to kill at Newry take place at Downpatrick, or to follow the precedent in Dougherty's case, and change the venue; and, whether he has considered that the assizes at Downpatrick will take place just one week after the recurrence of the Orange anniversary of the 12th July, and at a time when party feeling in the county Down is likely to be strongly excited?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), said, it was not intended the trial should take place at Downpatrick.

SALMON FISHERIES (IRELAND)—POLICE SURVEILLANCE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that armed constables at Killybegs, county Donegal, have gone to sea in boats to examine whether illegal salmon fishing is going on; is this done by instruction of the Fishery Inspectors; if not, at whose request, and by whose orders; and, if there is any parallel for such Naval Police surveillance elsewhere?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that it is not a fact that constables armed or otherwise have been employed at Killybegs in the manner described in the Question.

MR. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman give a guarantee that constables will not be so employed in future?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that it is a service which ought not to be imposed upon the Constabulary. I cannot go further than that.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, With reference to the assurances given by him and by the Solicitor General that—

> "The intentions of Government were to use vigorously and impartially the powers of the Lord Chancellor"

to appoint to the Commission of the Peace Catholic gentlemen whose names were brought properly under consideration, on what grounds the Lord Chancellor has declined, in Mr. Martin Langton's case, to act on the recommendation of the Catholic inhabitants of Bray, and, in the case of Mr. Joseph Smyth, Chairman of the Corporation of the county town of Wicklow, to act on the recommendation of the Town Commissioners?

MR. TREVELYAN: Nothing was ever said in this matter, either by my hon. and learned Friend or by myself, to imply that the Lord Chancellor would surrender the exercise of his own judgment and discretion. It would, of course, be impossible that he could do so. Every case must be considered by him on its own facts and circumstances, and he has, in every case, endeavoured to act up to the spirit of the promises made in this House on his behalf. With regard to the case of Mr. LANGTON I have already more than once stated that the Lord Chancellor decided that the Lieutenant of the County had not unreasonably declined to recommend him for the Commission of the Peace, and I distinctly declined to state the grounds of his decision. The Lord Chancellor cannot be asked to announce them for publication. To that statement I must adhere; and it applies equally to the case of Mr. Joseph Smyth, whose name was put forward by the Wicklow Town Commissioners, but whom the Lord Chancellor, after the fullest consideration, declined to nominate to the Commission of the Peace.

MR. SEXTON: Is it not the fact that the Attorney General for Ireland stated in the House that the Lord Chancellor would exercise the inherent powers of his Office in sympathy with the people? In the vast majority of cases this year has not the Lord Chancellor refused to make the appointments? And I would also ask whether, as it is the fact that the Memorialists state their reasons for making the recommendation, the Lord Chancellor has made up his mind to refuse to give his reasons, and thereby allow a slur to be cast on the character of these people?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Lord Chancellor has appointed about 200 gentlemen, and has inquired into their circumstances, their position, their sympathies, and their antecedents. He likewise made the same inquiries in regard to a great number of other persons. I am sure the hon. Member will not be willing to cast any slur either upon the public spirit or the diligence of the Lord Chancellor, who has acted in a manner in which, as far as I know, no Lord Chancellor ever acted before, considering how short a time he has been Office.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to ask how many of the 200 appointments have been made in pursuance of public recommendations to the Lord Chancellor?

MR. TREVELYAN: I cannot answer that off-hand. But 200 appointments were made, so to speak, over the heads of Lord Lieutenants of Counties. Anyone who knows Ireland must know that this is a great change of policy.

MR. GIBSON: Has the right hon. Gentleman got the authority of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to openly state in this House that he has made 200 appointments over the heads of the Lord Lieutenants of Counties?

MR. TREVELYAN: Over the heads! Sir, I am not going to be bullied. When an appointment is made, not on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of the County, it is a very simple and natural form of expression to say that it has been made over the heads of Lord Lieutenants of Counties; and I think I may fairly apply the expression to no less than, perhaps, 200 cases. I am very sorry that I answered the right hon. and learned Gentleman in the words which I used.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Can the right hon. Gentleman state whether representations have been made to the Government to the effect that many of those appointments were most objectionable?

[No reply.]

LAW AND POLICE—THE CLEATOR MOOR RIOTS.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether any arrests have yet been made in connection with the rioting at Cleator Moor; whether he is aware that several persons declare that they are able to identify the man who fired the shot by which the lad, Tamelty, lost his life; and, whether, if these persons send in their evidence, the police will take precautions for preventing the escape of the person accused? The hon. Member further asked whether the attention of the Home Secretary had been drawn to a statement of the Rev. Father Burchall, one of the Catholic clergymen of Cleator Moor, that the Orange procession, when passing the Catholic place of worship, danced frantically, and played Party tunes, and that this took place while Divine worship was going on in the Catholic church; whether several of

the processionists shook orange lillies in the faces of young girls; and was it a fact, as stated by Father Burchall, that a letter was written to the Home Secretary some days before the procession, stating that there would be danger to the public peace, and calling his special attention to the fact that processions of members of the Church of England, and of the Methodist and other persuasions, had been held in this district without the smallest attempt at a breach of the peace; and, finally, he asked whether, in a case where the Home Office had been forewarned of the intention of large bodies of men to come into a district, armed with revolvers and playing Party tunes, there was no power in the Home Office to prevent a breach of the peace?

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What was the strength of the force assembled by the Government at Cleator Moor on Saturday last; what were the arrangements made by the Government for prevention of conflict and of loss of life; were the swords, spears, and revolvers used entirely by the Orange party, and was any effort made by the police to disarm the Orangemen before they began to use their weapons; have there been more deaths than one; how many persons have been wounded; have any arrests been made; and, will the officers and constables who accompanied the procession be examined as to their ability to identify those who made use of revolvers and other deadly weapons?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The subject of the two Questions is of great importance, and I will ask leave to answer them fully, more particularly with reference to the points raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) as to the measures which the Government have taken in this matter. The series of Questions put by the hon. Member for Sligo is founded entirely on a misapprehension of the province of the Executive Government in such matters. In England the Executive Government is not the conservator of the peace. The conservation of the peace is intrusted to the magistrates in the different localities for which they have jurisdiction. They are the conservators of the peace, and the Executive Government and the Secretary of State have no authority to give any orders whatever to the magistrates in this matter. The Government and the Home Secretary have no authority over the local police either in the counties or in the boroughs; that is a fundamental proposition which seems sometimes not to be understood. So firmly is this principle established in the Constitution that the Secretary of State is not even a magistrate or a conservator of the peace in his Office. That was laid down by Lord Camden in the case of General Warrants. I have no magisterial authority as a conservator of the peace in any county or borough in England, or even in the Metropolis. That being the case, the magistrates who have the knowledge of the state of affairs in a district have the responsibility of dealing with it and the authority to do so. They may, under the Army Regulations, apply directly to the Secretary of State for military aid, in the event of the police force at their disposal not being sufficient. They may also, and they have done so in former days, consult the Secretary of State and ask for advice as to how they should act in difficult circumstances; and, of course, I need not say the Secretary of State is only too happy to place at their disposal any advice which he can give with the help of the Law Officers of the Crown, for in matters of this description there is no question more difficult for the authorities on the spot to deal with than the question of meetings which are likely to lead to a breach of the peace. That question is acted upon sometimes by the Government in a method which is now before the House in a Paper which I laid on the Table in 1882 with reference to disturbances connected with the Salvation Army at Basingstoke. In the year 1867 there were Orange riots apprehended at Liverpool. The Home Office was consulted by the local authorities, and this message was sent from the Home Office to the Clerk of the County Justices, Liverpool:—

"13th Dec., 1867. Issue proclamation similar to that by the borough; collect county police; ask assistance of borough police; swear in special constables; give notice to military authorities; apply to Orange leaders to stop their meeting and procession; apply to Roman Catholic clergy to dissuade the people; do everything in your power to prevent a collision and breach of the peace; to do this you are justified in preventing meetings and stopping processions; let the people know that they are stopped on these grounds. Magistrates are not to be bound by this, but must exercise their own discretion, de-

pending on locality where a meeting is held and numbers attending, force they have at their disposal. and other elements that cannot be known to the Secretary of State. Note.—This telegram was sent after a personal consultation with Sir John Karslake, who attended at the Home Office and settled it."

This shows the principle upon which the Home Office acted in 1867 and down to 1882. It was, I think, confirmed by successive Law Officers of the Crown down to 1882. In October, 1881, I wrote a letter founded upon the same principles, and sent it to the Town Clerks and Clerks to the Justices of various places where disturbances were expected in connection with the proceedings of the Salvation Army. The ground upon which we acted seemed to me to be a reasonable ground. It was this—that it is easier to prevent processions from forming than to deal with an excited mob after a collision has occurred. That was the principle on which we advised the magistrates and on which they acted, and with the best effect. It was adopted with the advice of the English and of the Scotch Law Officers of the Crown, and it prevented collisions in a number of cases in Liverpool and Glasgow in connection with Orange processions, and it was also useful in preventing disturbances arising out of the proceedings of the Salvation Army. But unfortunately the doctrine on which it was based was challenged. In a particular case the magistrates ordered that a meeting should not be held, on the ground that information had been sworn that there was danger of a breach of the peace; and the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court declared that the magistrates had no authority to stop a meeting in these circumstances. Consequently, it was not possible to tender the same advice to the magistrates in these matters. We had, therefore, to write to the Rev. E. Husband, of St. Michael's Vicarage, Folkestone, in these terms on the 22nd of January, 1883—

"With reference to your letter of the 16th instant, in which you comment on the proceedings of the Salvation Army at Folkestone and inquire as to the state of the law with respect to the processions of the Army, I am directed by Secretary Sir William Harcourt to acquaint you that the law has been recently declared by the Courts in the matter of these processions, and that the duty of administering it rests with the local magistrates, who are responsible for the preservation of peace and order within the limits of their jurisdiction. The matter is therefore one which does not belong to the cognizance of the Secretary of State.

Therefore, I say, since that decision the power to stop processions on these grounds seemed to be put an end to, and they could not be prohibited; and then the question arose, what are the magistrates to do? It seemed to have been proved in the case referred to that the magistrates were informed that the meeting was likely to lead to a breach of the peace. I have not the full particulars of the Cleator riots. I have written to the magistrates, and I expect a full account from them. I cannot say that in anything brought to my knowledge the magistrates appear to have failed in their duty. They got together a large body of police for the occasion. [MR. SEXTON: How many?] I gave yesterday all the information I had. They stated that the force was sufficient to separate the parties—that is, after the collision had occurred. The Orange meeting appears to have taken place peaceably and without disturbance; they were on their return to the railway when they were attacked. The collision, as I gather, occupied a very brief time, and the deplorable results were due to the practice of people going to these meetings armed with firearms. If it had been a meeting of two ordinary mobs without these firearms, as far as I can see, it would have been stopped by the police; it was after the firearms were used that matters got beyond control. The magistrates had the Chief Constable there, and it seems to me they had made due preparation. Another part of the Question refers to what will be done hereafter. I have written to the magistrates to urge, although I am sure it was unnecessary, that they and the Chief Constable should make strenuous efforts to bring to justice the parties to this outrage, so that they may be punished as they ought to be. I have written to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, who, I am sure, will see that every measure is taken for that purpose. As to any more deaths beyond the one already mentioned, I have no further Report today, except a short one, which does not add anything material to that read yesterday. I have to say, with great regret, that the letter of the Rev. J. Burchall, addressed to myself, by some accident I cannot understand, did not reach me till yesterday. I have written to him

to say that it was from no want of respect on my part that it was not acknowledged sooner.

MR. SEXTON: When was it dated?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It was dated the 8th, and must have arrived on the 9th. I deeply regret that any delay should have occurred in its reaching me; but that did not affect the circumstances the least in the world. The Rev. J. Burchall says—

"Cleator Moor is a rural town in the neighbourhood of Whitehaven, which has rapidly sprung into existence within a few years owing to the discovery of extensive beds of iron ore in the district. It numbers some 10,000 inhabitants. Of these 5,000 are Roman Catholics, all Irish or of Irish extraction. The presence of such a large proportion of Catholics has hitherto prevented any hostile demonstration on the part of Orangemen on their favourite anniversary, July 12. Those belonging to the different Lodges have hitherto preferred to join with others at some distance in relieving their religious or political feelings. But there has existed for some years a desire to walk over Cleator Moor, to beard, as they say, Catholicism in its stronghold. Up to this fear or prudence has deterred them from attempting to carry out their design. This year, however, placards have been issued for Saturday next, and a hostile demonstration will be made on July 12. It seems to be designed to revive those embittered religious animosities, which we had thought had been happily buried in the past, by the display of insulting banners and the playing of Party tunes—things which would only excite a passing pitying smile in Englishmen, but which seem capable of rousing all the concentrated passions of excitable Irishmen, embittered by centuries of more or less open warfare. As the priest in charge of the mission of Cleator Moor, I cannot view without alarm the excitement that will be caused and the ill-feeling that will be engendered. An attempt, I fear beyond my control, will be certainly made to prevent the design of the Orangemen being carried out now for the first time. I have therefore appeared before the bench of magistrates, and stated I was prepared to make an affidavit that peace would be endangered, that probably bloodshed and murder would be the result, that Orangemen had been advised to come armed, &c. The Clerk of the Court advised them that they were powerless to interfere. I have therefore deemed it my duty to trespass upon your kindness, and appeal to you as Home Secretary, and to direct your attention to what I conceive likely to lead to very serious breaches of the peace and good order, and to request you, if it lies in your power, to prevent this procession over Cleator Moor, which I am sure will be regarded merely as a hostile demonstration, and which will lead to riot and disorder, and probably bloodshed."

If I had received that letter, all I could have done would have been to say that I had no power to prevent the meeting. No doubt, it is extremely to be regretted that these processions should take place, and should give rise to bitterness of feeling, and the conduct which follows; but I have shown that, under the circumstances, neither the magistrates nor I could have done anything to prevent the procession. There has been little experience of the carrying of firearms, at all events, in England; and, therefore, protection by the law has not been contemplated, as it might have been had such occurrences been common.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. and learned Gentleman has made a very detailed reply; but he has not touched the most important paragraph in my Question — namely, whether the swords, spears, and revolvers were used entirely by the Orange Party; and was any effort made by the police to prevent them bringing those weapons into use? To bring the matter to a practical issue, I would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, considering that there are two sets of statements put forth—one, that witnesses can identify the man who shot the unfortunate youth; and another, that witnesses can identify a member of the Police Force who suggested to the men to fire upon the crowd—whether the proceedings to be taken by the Government will include a public inquiry on oath into all the circumstances of the case, so as not only to secure the punishment of those who broke the law, but also to ascertain the exact measure of responsibility incurred by the local officials and police?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Certainly; that is the duty of the magistrates. An inquest is going on now, in which, I hope, all the circumstances will be brought out. But if there should be any attempt to keep back anything necessary for the vindication of the law, the hon. Member may rely on it that the Government will use every effort to bring the offenders to justice. As to the other Question, I have no information except that which I read yesterday, to the effect that the only persons armed were the Orange Party. I have told the hon. Member that I have written to the magistrates to request that they will send me a full and accurate Report of the whole of this transaction.

MR. DAWSON: As a great deal depends upon this letter of the Rev. Mr. Burchall, can the right hon. and learned Gentleman say whether it was received at the Home Office before the 12th?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have no doubt that the letter of Mr. Burchall arrived in London in due course; but I cannot agree with the hon. Member in thinking that anything depends on it. The whole of the information was laid before the magistrates.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that if he understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman rightly, what he stated came to this—that though the authorities were certain that a meeting was likely to lead to a breach of the peace, they had no power to prevent it. Would the Government allow the law to remain in that state, or were they prepared to alter it, so as to empower the authorities to prevent a meeting in such circumstances?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the case to which he had referred was determined in June, 1882. The marginal note stated that the appellants assembled with others for a lawful purpose and with no intention of carrying it out unlawfully, but with the knowledge that their assembly would be opposed, and with good reason to suppose that a breach of the peace would be committed by those who opposed it. The Court said—

"What has happened here is that an unlawful organization has assumed to itself the right to prevent the appellants and others from lawfully assembling together, and the finding of the Justices amounts to this—that a man may be convicted for doing a lawful act if he knows that his doing it may cause another to do an unlawful act. There is no authority for such a proposition."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not understood his Question. He asked whether he recognized the fact that the law was not in a satisfactory state, when there was no power vested in any competent authority to enable them, when information was laid before them, that a certain meeting was calculated to lead to a breach of the peace, to prevent it; and whether, if that was the case, the right hon. and learned Gentleman was prepared to bring in a Bill giving the necessary powers to the authorities?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am not prepared to answer the right hon. Gentleman on that point. What I should have to do is to introduce a Bill to negative the proposition laid down by the Court, and to provide that a man may not take part in a lawful act because other people might commit an unlawful act.

MR. GORST: I would like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether the fact that men assembled, armed with swords, spears, and revolvers, did not constitute an unlawful assembly?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; but it was not known that they would come armed.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Oh, yes; it was stated in the affidavit.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think not. The affidavit only said that the Orangemen had been advised to come armed. That is quite a different thing from saying that they would actually come armed.

MR. GRAY asked whether he understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman to convey that if he had communicated his views to the local justices as to the propriety of taking steps to prevent armed men from assembling, that no action would have followed?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: If I had communicated with the magistrates I should have felt it my duty to send the same letter as I addressed to the Vicar of Folkestone in reference to the Salvation Army. I should have said—

"That the law has been recently declared by the Courts in the matter of these processions, and that the duty of administering it rests with the local magistrates, who are responsible for the preservation of peace and order within the limits of their jurisdiction. The matter is therefore one which does not belong to the cognizance of the Secretary of State."

MR. DAWSON: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman say whether the Salvation Army carried spears, swords, and revolvers?

[No reply.]

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

MR. GRAY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering that notice has been given of a large number of Amendments to the Medical Act Amendment Bill, upon which there is likely to be prolonged discussion, it is intended to proceed with the measure this Session; and, if so, whether he can state upon what day it will be taken so as to avoid the inconvenience occasioned to opponents of the Bill by its being

placed upon the Notice Paper day after day?

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg to say that I think the request of the hon. Member a very reasonable one, and that we shall place the Bill as second Order for Monday.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—WASTE LANDS AFFORESTATION (IRELAND) BILL.

DR. LYONS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, as the Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) Bill is generally supported by Irish Members on both sides of the House, and by many English and Scotch Members, and is blocked by a Lord of the Treasury, he will direct the block to be removed, in order that this Bill, in favour of which numerous petitions from all classes and creeds in Ireland have been presented to this House, may be fairly considered on its merits?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was afraid he could not promise a day; but, at the same time, the Government would withdraw their block from it.

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE—THE FINANCIAL PROPOSALS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that the financial proposals of Her Majesty's Ministers as to Egypt were communicated to the Great Powers on 28th June, and that information as to three other main subjects before the Conference, viz. as to the withdrawal of the British troops, the extended powers of the Debt Commission, and the neutralization of Egypt, has been given to Parliament, he will now inform this House as to the character of the financial proposals recently laid before the Powers by the British Government.

MR. GLADSTONE: I need not take notice of the preamble of this Question; but with regard to that part of it which asks whether the Government can now inform the House as to the character of the financial proposals recently laid before the Powers, the same objection that has presented itself before continues to present itself. Her Majesty's Government will do everything they can to expedite the consideration of these questions; and I hope it will not be very long before they can make the results of that consideration public.

INDIA (MADRAS)—THE CHOLERA.

DR. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, in a Despatch dated 6th March 1883, and addressed to the Chief Secretary, Government of Madras, Mr. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department (Sanitary) reprimanded the Sanitary Commissioner of Madras for having, in his Report, published in December 1882, stated facts which seemed to prove that an epidemic of cholera in Southern India had been due to the importation of the disease from Tirupati and its dissemination by infected pilgrims; whether the rebuke proceeded on the ground that the publication of facts suggestive of such a theory was likely to prove embarrassing in view of the acceptance of a similar theory by the International Sanitary Boards at Constantinople and Alexandria; whether the Sanitary Commissioner of Madras, when called on for a reply, answered that the theory of the conveyance of cholera, suggested by the facts reported by him, was that suggested by previous outbreaks in his Presidency, and adopted by standard authorities on cholera; whether the Secretary to the Government of India Home Department (Sanitary) thereupon replied repeating the censure contained in his previous Despatch, and stating that the Government of India had for years insisted that its sanitary officers

> "Instead of wasting their time in tracing out doubtful connections of cholera contagion, should direct themselves to improving the health conditions under which the people live;"

whether he will lay upon the Table of the House Mr. Mackenzie's Despatches, and the reply of the Sanitary Commissioner of Madras; and, whether, at a time when the Governments of France and Germany are strenuously encouraging investigations into the causation of cholera, Her Majesty's Government will give orders that work so obviously for the interest of mankind shall not be thwarted by any official attempt to suppress in Indian Sanitary Reports facts materially bearing on the subject?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I have no objection to lay on the Table a Copy of the Correspondence referred to in my hon. Friend's Question. But I must state

that the view which has for a long time past been pressed upon the local sanitary officers by the Government of India, in the Sanitary Department, and by the Army Sanitary Commission, is that, in their annual Reports, the sanitary officers should refrain from stating theories as to the propagation of cholera, and should state facts bearing upon the question only after careful authentication. The sentence quoted in the Question is unfinished. It ends thus—

"In order that cholera, when it does appear, whether coming from without or evolved locally, may fail to find those congenial surroundings in which experience shows that it is most likely to develop and spread."

MOTIONS.

—o—

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — PRIORITY OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE (RULE 7).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Government Orders have priority on Wednesday."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, that before this Motion was passed the Government were bound to give the House some information as to the duration of the Session and in connection with the Conference now sitting. They had been assured by the Government that the decisions of the Conference could not be carried out until they had received the sanction of that House. He had on various occasions endeavoured to elicit from the Chancellor of the Exchequer some assurance as to the time when the labours of the Conference would be renewed; and the right hon. Gentleman had informed them that the Conference could not be summoned again until the business of the Financial Commission was finished. They were given to understand that the greatest possible difficulties existed in the way of the delegates coming to any decision at all. He did not intend to go into the subject of the Conference; but he might say it was perfectly well known that there was a great difference of opinion between the English and French delegates as to whether the interest on a certain class of Egyptian Stocks should be reduced or not; and he was told on pretty good authority that the difficulty was not likely to be overcome for a long time. Then, even when the delegates had arrived at a decision, the Plenipotentiaries had not full power to give their consent to the arrangements submitted to them, as the powers which they possessed were *ad referendum.* That being so, what was the good of hurrying on with the Business of the Session? Was the House to wait for the decision of the Conference? If the right hon. Gentleman would assure the House that the Conference would conclude its labours within a certain time, Parliament might be kept sitting till then; but, meantime, after the rights of private Members had been given up to the Government, were they, in the event of the Conference coming to no decision, to wait twiddling their thumbs perhaps until the time for the Autumn Session arrived? The decision of the Conference involved vast questions of finance. There were £8,000,000 sterling, which had been burning in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's pocket ever since he made the proposal to settle the affairs of the Suez Canal. The Government were now determined to give that sum to Egypt in some shape or other. Before that was done the House ought to be fully apprised of the manner in which the money was to be given and guaranteed. The right hon. Gentleman was bound to give the House some information on this subject; and if that information was not forthcoming he should oppose the Motion.

MR. GLADSTONE said, the hon. Gentleman did not object to the Motion on its own merits, a Motion which had been made on former occasions at earlier periods of the Session. Last year it was made on the 10th of July, and in some previous years at an earlier date. In 1878 and 1879, two years before the present Government came into Office, it was made exactly at the same time as now. But the hon. Member raised a question with respect to the Conference, and wanted to know whether the House was to be kept waiting for its decision; and what it should do if the Conference failed to come to any decision. It would be premature for the Government to say what they should do until the Conference had failed to come to any decision, a result which they had at present no title and no reason to anticipate.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: But with regard to the duration of the Session of Parliament?

MR. GLADSTONE said, that no doubt the hon. Member would be entitled to ask whether Parliament was to be kept waiting for the Conference after they had arrived at the time when they had disposed of their business, and the Conference had not disposed of its business, and the Government were not in a position to make any proposal with respect to the Conference. As far as he could understand, they had upon their books three weeks', if not more than three weeks', Business, independently of the Conference, which must be disposed of, Conference or no Conference. He quite admitted that about the end of that period, when they had made progress in their Business and had come to the close of Supply, it would then be perfectly fair for the hon. Gentleman to ask the question. Until then the Government could not say; they could not absolutely bind the Conference as to the termination of its proceedings; but he had said before, and would say again, and he thought his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer near him would support him in saying that they had no reason yet to suppose that any inconvenience would arise to the House from the prolongation of the proceedings of the Conference. Nor did they anticipate that these proceedings would be so prolonged as to make it impossible for the House to take cognizance of the result, whatever it might be.

MR. MAC IVER said, he hoped the House would not agree to the Motion after he had drawn attention to the Business on the Notice Paper for to-morrow. He believed that the question of how to save life and property at sea was a pressing and important matter. The Prime Minister yesterday, replying to a Question which he ventured to put to him with regard to the Merchant Shipping Law Amendment Bill, made, unintentionally no doubt, an erroneous answer. He was asked whether he had observed that the Business upon the Paper for to-morrow was the Merchant Shipping Law Amendment Bill, and he replied that he had not noticed it, because it was not the fact. Now, the fact was that the Bill was the second Order of the Day; but the first Order was the Vaccination Acts (Compulsory Clauses) Repeal Bill, which stood in the name of Mr. P. A. Taylor, who had resigned; and there was the additional circumstance that if any of its other supporters tried to bring it forward the Bill was not printed. Therefore the Business for to-morrow, according to the Notice Paper, really was the Merchant Shipping Law Amendment Bill. There were several reasons why that Bill should be taken to-morrow, and the Government and the House would be put in a very false position, if the very first Wednesday taken from private Members should be one that should have been devoted to the consideration of proposals to save life and property at sea. He might be allowed to say that the Bill contained the proposals of men who possessed a practical acquaintance with the question, and who had a reasonable justification for saying that they knew how to deal with it. He therefore hoped the Prime Minister would not persist in his Motion after what he had said. He had, of course, no hope that the right hon. Gentleman would give way, if he listened to hon. Members below the Gangway opposite. The Bill which the Government and hon. Members below the Gangway opposite were determined should not be discussed was supported by the seamen of the country and by many of the shipowners of the country, and it was put forward with a real desire to solve the great question of how life and property might be saved at sea. He did not suppose that under any circumstances the Bill could have become law this Session; but it might become the basis of future legislation, and it would only be right and fair that alternative proposals to those which had been so ignominiously dropped by the Government should be considered by the House.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That, for the remainder of the Session, Government Orders have priority on Wednesday.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—SUPPLY—STANDING ORDER OF NOVEMBER 27, 1882.

RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, for the remainder of the Session, the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of

Supply, on Monday or Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT wished to say one or two words upon this very serious question. It was his belief that never before had the Government asked that Tuesdays and Wednesdays be granted them for Supply as well as for the transaction of their other Business. He quite admitted that this was a particular and perhaps an exceptional Session; but there was no precedent for the course proposed to be adopted. Monday was for some time the only day given up absolutely to Supply. Thursday was afterwards added, and now they were asked to give up Tuesdays and Wednesdays in addition. All he wished to say was that if Government were to have this privilege granted to them towards the end of the Session, the House would really have no guarantee that Supply was to be properly and fairly discussed in the earlier part of the Session. He hoped that the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), who took a strong view with regard to these questions, would have something to say upon the Motion. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) felt that a full discussion upon the Army and Navy was absolutely necessary every year in the interests of the country; because, unless Government were kept up to the mark with regard to the expenditure on the Services, the efficiency of both Forces must be impaired, and they would soon fall behind those of foreign nations. He thought the present proposal an innovation which ought not to be placed upon the records of their proceedings, without at the same time placing on record a strong and strenuous protest against the proposal of the Government being made a precedent in future years, and also against this mode of putting off to the end of the Session discussions on Supply which ought to take place at a much earlier period.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT observed that the hon. and gallant Gentleman was perfectly in his right in entering a protest against the present proposal of the Government being regarded as a precedent to be followed in other Sessions. He quite agreed that it was important that the Estimates should be discussed at an earlier period of the Session; and he could assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman that the Government had no desire to set up a precedent under which the Estimates would be brought on at a late period of the Session at the expense of the rights of private Members. It was, however, imperative that Supply should be proceeded with without delay under present circumstances.

MR. J. LOWTHER wished that it should be clearly understood that, in giving his cordial support to the Government proposal, he was influenced by their distinct assurance that they intended to devote the time yielded to them by private Members to the necessary work of winding up the Session, and not to other purposes.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he was extremely glad that his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had called attention to this subject; because Her Majesty's Government, with the support of their followers, had managed to become the monopolists, as the sole originators of legislation in that House. They had introduced a greater number of measures than even, under ordinary circumstances, there would have been any reasonable prospect of their carrying. By this means they precluded independent Members from the hope of obtaining the attention of the House. They thus drove independent Members to the end of the Session; and when the end of the Session came, having proposed a revolutionary measure, which had not received "elsewhere" the blind acceptance which they hoped, they now pursued the arbitrary system of acquiring a monopoly of the time of the House. They not only proposed to appropriate the time allotted to hon. Members, who were not Members of the Government, for the remainder of the Session; but they proposed to summon Parliament to a special Session, with the understanding that the time of this special Session should be exclusively their own. He had never known any Administration pursue this system of monopolizing the time of the House to the extent that Her Majesty's present Ministers had done. Early in the Session they obtained leave to have Morning Sittings on Tuesdays and on Fridays; the inevitable effect of the House sitting from 2 o'clock until 7 o'clock in the evening, for the consideration of Government Business, was that the House was tired and exhausted, and

was not prepared to assemble for the consideration of the Business proposed by independent Members on the evenings of Tuesdays and Fridays. He was glad to find that his hon. Friend below him and other hon. Members supported that opinion. It must be obvious that, if the Morning Sittings were appropriated by the Government on Tuesdays and Fridays, the Evening Sittings would fail the independent Members; and therefore, practically, the independent Members would be deprived of the Tuesdays and Fridays appropriated to them by the Standing Orders, because the mornings of those days were required by the Government for their Business. He could not believe that unofficial Members opposite did not admit how sterile the Session had been for their own proposals of legislation. After what had fallen from an hon. Member on the Conservative side (Mr. Mac Iver) with respect to the Merchant Shipping Bill, which remained on the Books for next day, and in view of the other Notices, it was obvious that the House was not quite unconscious of the discredit and the danger of having all its time monopolized by the Government.

MR. RYLANDS said, he hoped that next Session the intentions of the Government might be carried out, and that there would be an effective dealing with Supply before the House was exhausted —perhaps by strong Committees investigating important branches of expenditure. In view of an Autumn Session, however, he should support the Government proposal as an exceptional one.

MR. DILLWYN thought that the assurance of the Home Secretary should be emphasized by a record in the Journals of the House. He was, however, afraid that this unusual proposal of the Government would be converted into a precedent in future Sessions; and, therefore, he moved to amend the Motion by inserting after the word "That," the words, "in view of an Autumn Session," which would show that the occasion was exceptional, and that the Motion was not to be regarded as a precedent.

Amendment proposed, after the word "That," to insert the words "in view of an Autumn Session."—(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. Newdegate

MR. GLADSTONE said, he hoped that his hon. Friend would withdraw his Amendment. There would be great inconvenience caused by the insertion of these words; and he thought the position was perfectly safe without them. He would repeat the declaration of the Home Secretary. There was no doubt that it was on the ground of special circumstances that the Government proposed to give precedence to Supply on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. He would submit that as a matter of formal procedure it would be open to just objection that at the present moment, when they did not know what might happen, they should speak of an Autumn Session, which, after all, might not take place.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT thought that the House should decline to grant the extraordinary facilities. The Government had taken from private Members Morning Sittings in May and June in order to pass certain measures; and now, at the close of the Session, they abandoned those measures for no other purpose except to raise a cry against the House of Lords. If they had asked for the facilities now demanded in order to go on with these measures they might have had a good case; but, in his opinion, the fact that they had made a clean sweep of about a score of Bills was a just ground for refusing the extraordinary privileges now asked. He thought that the financial proposals made to the Great Powers with regard to Egypt should be laid before the House. He wished to know from the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in case the labours of the Conference were not brought to a conclusion by the time Parliament was prorogued, the promise of the Government that the proposals laid before the Conference were not to bind this country unless they received the sanction of Parliament would hold good next Session or in the next Parliament?

MR. DILLWYN intimated that, after the declaration of the Prime Minister, he would withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR regretted that no one had the courage to oppose the Motion of the Prime Minister. If no one else would do so, he would divide against the Motion. He protested against the habit of the present Government in

putting off Supply to the end of the Session. The only consequence of the appropriation of the whole time of the House by the Government had simply been a theatrical abandonment of all their measures with a view to a General Election.

Main Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 185 ; Noes 46 : Majority 139.—(Div. List, No. 162.)

Ordered, That, for the remainder of the Session, the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply, on Monday or Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) £1,573,600, Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad.

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, he desired upon this Vote to draw the attention of the Committee to the case of the second class assistant constructors ; and perhaps it would be right in regard to them to explain to those hon. Members who were not acquainted with the *personnel* of the Dockyards that they formed an exceedingly important class of men, that they were entrusted with the building of ships, and that to a very great extent they were entrusted with the expenditure of many hundreds and thousands of pounds. They had to pass a very strict examination, and they formed a class of men who ought not to be allowed to labour under the impression that they had a grievance. If they had a real grievance it ought to be removed as soon as possible. The grievance under which they at present suffered was this. Up to a recent date they were the only persons eligible for promotion to the rank of constructor ; but under the re-organization scheme introduced by the Admiralty, although it was true that they had received a certain amount of promotion, they complained that really they were only promoted from foremen of Dockyards to that of second-class constructors. There were three classes of constructors—the second class, the first class, and, finally, the constructors themselves. What these men complained of was that while, before they were eligible for promotion to the rank of constructors, they had now to pass from the grade of second class assistant constructors to the grade of first class assistant constructors before they were eligible for an appointment to the grade of constructor. They contrasted their position with that of the Admiralty draftsmen who designed ships, and who were also a valuable class of men. He had nothing whatever to say against them ; but, without any explanation being afforded, he failed to see why they should be placed in a better position than the foremen of yards. The Admiralty had now placed them in a position which gave them a priority over the foremen of yards for appointment to the rank of constructor ; and the system, he was given to understand, was working to the detriment of the Public Service. These gentlemen knew a great deal about the designing of ships, and they had been employed during the greater part of their lives at the Admiralty ; but they had naturally no experience of the management of men, whereas the foremen of yards were brought into contact with the men of the Dockyards from the moment they became foremen of yards. The latter were, he believed, better competent to undertake the management of men than these highly-educated Admiralty draftsmen who went straight from Whitehall to the Dockyards. There was another grievance they complained of, and it was this—that when the Admiralty proceeded to inquire into the question of re-organization they had before them representatives of the Admiralty draftsmen ; but they did not examine any foremen of yards, who, therefore, had no opportunity of putting their case before the Admiralty. Their complaint was that the Admiralty draftsmen had been given practically a priority over them, and that when promotion was made to the rank of constructor they had to pass through an intermediate class before they became constructors, however competent they might be. What they asked was that they should be at once promoted to vacancies which occurred in the list of first class assistant constructors, so that they might be put on a level with the Admiralty draftsmen. If the Civil Lord of the Admiralty would kindly take into consi-

deration the case of the foremen of yards, or give some explanation from an Admiralty point of view, with respect to the position of Admiralty draftsmen and the rank of constructor, he thought it would give satisfaction to the very valuable class of men whose claims he was advocating.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, that as this was the first naval debate in Parliament since the publication of the Report of the Committee on Constructors he was greatly indebted to the hon. Gentleman opposite for giving him the opportunity of making a short explanation of the scheme recommended by the Committee. The changes which had been introduced, and which affected the foremen of the yards, formed part of a plan which he believed was originally brought before the Admiralty by Sir Houston Stewart. That officer had been Controller of the Navy for a period of 10 years, and by his great experience both in the Admiralty and as a Superintendent of Dockyards he had exceptional opportunity of becoming acquainted with the shipbuilding staff of the Navy. It was understood that the recommendations of Sir Houston Stewart were viewed with favour by the late Board; but further inquiry was considered necessary, and in 1882 the present Board appointed a Departmental Committee. That Committee included Sir Geoffrey Hornby, Mr. Rendel, Mr. Barnaby, and himself (Sir Thomas Brassey), and it was clearly shown to the Committee that the educational results of the training which had been given to the students of naval architecture at the Royal Naval College had not been altogether satisfactory, and the failure was attributed to the insufficient prospects of promotion held out to successful students. On returning to the Dockyards, after a three years' course at the College, the only appointments for which the students were eligible were those of established draftsmen with pay of 6*s*. a-day. The necessity of doing something to meet the reasonable demands of scientific men was clearly shown to the Committee on Constructors. Of the 28 students who had obtained professional certificates at College, no fewer than 12 had left the Public Service for private employment, and among these 12 who had left the Public Service after an elaborate training at the public expense were included a large proportion of our ablest men. Of the six students who had obtained first class certificates, four had left. With a view to remedy this state of things, which he had endeavoured to present very briefly to the Committee, the Committee on Constructors recommended that a Corps should be created with the honourable title of Royal Corps of Constructors, which should comprise the shipbuilding officers of every grade above the rank of foremen, and with substantial additions of pay, especially in the junior ranks. It was further recommended that salaries in London and the Dockyards should be on the same scale, thus facilitating the interchange of duties and appointments, and the combination of practical experience with scientific and theoretical knowledge among the members of the Corps of Constructors. The regulations affecting the appointment of that valuable class of public servants, the foremen of the yards, to whose case the hon. Gentleman opposite had directed special attention, were left unchanged by the Committee. But all foremen under 50 years of age who could pass a qualifying examination in the rudiments of ship design, and who were recommended for promotion by their superior officers, were considered eligible for admission into the Corps. Once admitted, promotion would be by merit alone, by selection, and not by competitive examination. He ventured to submit that these changes which had been recommended by the Committee on Construction, and had been approved by the Admiralty, were distinctly designed in the interests of the practical shipbuilding officers in the Dockyards. The Controller's Department specially directed the attention of the Committee to the position of the leading men of the Dockyards. The leading men had important duties to discharge, more especially in the supervision of the workmen. To those not acquainted with the details of Dockyard administration the title of leading man would convey quite an imperfect notion of the responsibilities of these men. With a view to increase their authority, it was recommended that the leading men should be styled Inspectors, a revival of a former rating, and that they should receive increased remuneration, but that it should take the form of salary instead of daily wages. He was glad to be able to an-

nounce to the Committee that these various recommendations had been approved by the Treasury, and were now in the course of adoption. And now, having briefly given an outline of the scheme for the creation of a Corps of Constructors, he would proceed to deal with the objections which had been urged, more especially on behalf of the senior foremen. The Admiralty fully recognized the valuable services rendered by the foremen, whether trained at the College or in the Dockyards; and they sincerely regretted that none of the five foremen who had been lately recommended for admission were able to pass in the recent qualifying examination for the Corps of Constructors. But it was intended that the members of the Corps of Constructors should combine considerable professional and scientific attainments with practical ability in construction. And they were assured by the Controller and the professional officers that the qualifying examination which had lately been held was of a simpler character than that held under the former system of competition. He ventured to point out that, representing the controlling authority of the House of Commons in relation to finances, they could not take upon themselves the responsibility which belonged to their professional advisers of conducting examinations and selecting competent men for technical duties. He was glad to know that all those who failed to pass would have another chance; and it was confidently expected that the result on the next occasion would most likely be of a more satisfactory character. With regard to the position of those foremen who had lately been appointed as second class assistant constructors, it was true that they were nominally one step further from the rank of constructor than they were under the old system. But they were eligible for promotion by selection, without again being called on to submit themselves to the ordeal of an examination. He might also point out that the number of superior appointments in the Dockyards had not been diminished by the recent changes in the Home Yards; while, on the other hand, two superior appointments—one at Hong Kong and the other in Bermuda—had been created. On the whole, he ventured confidently to say that the prospects opened to men of ability were distinctly improved by the recent changes; and promotions from the grade of second class assistant constructor would, he trusted, be given to the Dockyard officers at an early date. He could not pass from this subject without expressing, on behalf of the Admiralty, their sense of the zeal and eminent ability which the constructors of the Navy, the foremen, and the leading men had brought to the discharge of their difficult duties. He hoped this explanation would not be unsatisfactory to the Committee.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, that after the very interesting statement made by his hon. Friend, he would like to ask one or two questions upon matters relating to the constructors, which were of much importance to the foremen in the different Dockyards. He understood that those foremen who were selected as qualified to be admitted to the rank of constructor of the Royal Navy had really been placed in a grade further removed from that of constructor; while, at the same time, the whole of the Admiralty draftsmen had been made eligible for that rank, and had been placed one grade in advance by being ranked with the first class assistant constructors. He would like to ask whether the Admiralty draftsmen who had been placed in this advantageous position had passed competitive examinations; because he was informed that they had not invariably done so, and that there had only been one competitive examination in which these draftsmen had taken part. He would next ask his hon. Friend whether it was not possible, now that the foremen of yards had to a certain extent been placed in an unfavourable position, to allow them to retire with the pensions generally given for abolition of office? In that way these foremen, who were thus set aside and very much injured by the recent arrangements, would properly be provided for. He also wished to know whether the foremen of yards had received any reply to their application for increase of salary and improvement of their position, which had now been under the consideration of the Admiralty for the last three years, especially as the Dockyard officers had repeatedly strongly recommended that this increase should take place? He knew that his hon. Friend took the greatest interest in the Service, and he ventured

to submit these suggestions to him with a view of remedying, as much as possible, the discontent which had been created.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER: I desire, in discussing this Vote for the Dockyards, to call attention to the various classes of men for whom it provides, in order that the condition of the Navy, as viewed from the Dockyards, may be fully understood. Discontent should be avoided as far as possible in the Public Service; yet I must say that discontent has been for years the normal condition of those connected with our Dockyards. The Admiralty know it by the numerous Memorials they are constantly receiving; and especially since they undertook to visit the yards and hear from the men themselves the extent and nature of their grievances. I am aware that it is the old question of money. The Admiralty may be willing, but the Treasury is always economical, and the result is a state of things in the Dockyards which is not creditable to our rulers. I do not forget that a Committee has been sitting to devise remedies and apply them. I hope to hear something to-night of its labours. The shipwrights have long complained; so have the joiners and riggers. The hired men are seeking to know when the proposed new rule for giving a fixed sum, according to service after 10 years, is to take effect. All of them, of course, are anxious on the subject of promotion, seeking to regulate it according to the years they have served. There are anomalies of pay which should be adjusted. Why should a chaplain, for instance, receive nearly as much as a chief constructor at a leading Dockyard? And why should Dockyard men be compulsorily retired at 60, instead of 65, which was, I believe, the provision made by the Civil Service Pension Act of 1859? Then, as to the case of the hired joiners. There is the improbability of their ever getting established under the present circumstances, it being the rule for apprentices to be first on the list, and the annual number of them exceeds the annual number of vacancies. There should be an increase of the Establishment, so that these men may be included after a reasonable time, or receive some compensation equivalent to it. I may add, that the engineers are looking for the modification of the 11 years' clause, which they are entitled to. Engine-room artificers, now 800 in number, seek to rank as warrant officers. They require separate mess and bath rooms, and that the pensions should be regulated by the pay, as is the case with the other classes in the Navy. I have made these remarks because I think it should be an object above all else to make the Navy a willing Service; so that, in time of danger and difficulty, our men may be found full of ardour and energy, as they have always been found full of loyalty and patriotism.

MR. GORST said, he agreed with the hon. Gentleman that the great object of Dockyard management should be to produce contentment among every class in the Dockyards; but he was not quite sure how far the scheme, which had been so admirably explained to the Committee by the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, would produce that effect. He granted that a great boon was given to the foremen of yards by admitting them to the Royal Corps of Ship Constructors; but that boon was only one in name, because, if he had caught the observations of the hon. Gentleman aright, of the five foremen who were recommended to form a portion of the Royal Corps of Constructors, not one was able to pass a qualifying examination. Now, if the Committee supposed that these men were, therefore, not competent shipwrights and competent constructors, he would venture to say that the Committee were very much mistaken. He did not think that the Civil Lord of the Admiralty would say anything of the kind. The fact was that when they invited men of the mature age of 40 or 50 years to pass an examination at all, it was found very often that they were utterly unable to do so. He confessed that he would be extremely sorry to have his future position determined by his ability to answer successfully questions which might be put to him in a competitive examination, and which he might readily have answered 12 or 15 years ago. If they had qualifying examinations for Bishops or Judges, or even Members of Her Majesty's Government, he thought very few would come out of them with very great credit. As to the system of examinations which had now been carried on for some years, it was downright cruelty to ask a man, who had been employed for years in practical

work, to come into a room and subject himself to an examination, when he had no experience of answering any questions of the kind. Sheer nervousness, or even timidity, would often render him unable to do so. He remembered very well, some years ago, the case of a man who was a foreman in Chatham Dockyard. He was reported by all the officers of the yard as being a man of extraordinary ability in his craft. He was so good that persons came to Chatham from other yards in order to see and inspect his workmanship. Yet that man was unable to pass an examination, and actually had persons whom he had himself instructed and taught the trade put over his head as his superior officers. He had forgotten the name, but he remembered the circumstances of the case; and probably the hon. Member for Wigan (Mr. A. Egerton), who was at the Admiralty at the time, would remember that he (Mr. Gorst) had brought this particular case under his notice. What he wanted to know from the Civil Lord or the Secretary to the Admiralty was, whether they or their advisers intended to persist in compelling the foremen of yards, who were competent and fit to be members of the Royal Corps of Constructors, to pass an examination as a condition of their appointment? Even the Admiralty themselves, to some extent, seemed to condemn the value of such a test, because when a man was once in the Corps further promotion was to take place without any examination at all. By taking that course they appeared to admit that examination was not a fair test for men in that position; and he would like them to consider that if examination was not necessary as a test of fitness for promotion in the Corps, they really thought that examination was necessary as a test for admission. He wished to know whether the establishment of the new Corps of Constructors would stop promotion and the prospects of promotion which the shipwrights and leading men had hitherto enjoyed? It was all very well to make leading men Inspectors, and to give them a salary instead of daily pay, and, probably, a better position; but formerly a leading man might become a foreman, and, being a foreman, he could become a constructor. In Her Majesty's Service many men had risen right up through all the grades to the high and eminent positions they now enjoyed. He thought it was most important for the Public Service that they should not put a bar against any man's promotion, but that everybody should have the hope and opportunity of rising to the highest positions. In fact, it should be, as it was in the Army of the Great Napoleon—where every drummer-boy felt that he might carry a Marshal's bâton in his knapsack. He hoped the Secretary to the Admiralty would say something about the Petition, which had now been under the consideration of the Admiralty for years, from the whole body of shipwrights, asking for an amelioration of their present position. No doubt, it was satisfactory that the *élite* of the Service should have their position improved; but it had often been urged in Committee of Supply on the Admiralty Votes that the whole body, rank and file, of shipwrights had a strong claim for consideration at the hands of the Admiralty. Their Petition was presented two years ago, at a time when shipbuilding in private yards was very active, and the wages of the established shipwrights in the Dockyards were very much lower than the wages of ordinary shipwrights on the Clyde. Probably the Secretary to the Admiralty would say now that there was a depression in the shipbuilding trade, and that the established men were well off, because they enjoyed constant work at fair prices, and that they were better off than the shipwrights in private yards. That might be so at this moment; but it was not the case at the time the Petition was presented, and it was a little hard on men who had presented a Petition, at a time they were entitled by the circumstances of the trade to high consideration, to be told that because their case had been so long delayed the time had now come when the Admiralty could turn round on them and say—"You are better off than persons in private yards, and, therefore, you have no claim to consideration." The officials of the Admiralty knew very well that they were greatly indebted to the shipwrights in the Dockyards, who had converted themselves into workmen of iron and steel. They were asked to do it at a time when there was a strike in the trade; and these men, in the most patriotic manner,

learned a new trade, and were now competent workers in iron and steel. No doubt there was a strong feeling against them on the part of some of the Trades Unions, and that feeling had been given utterance to by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), who had asserted that the shipwrights in the Navy were trespassing on the province of other branches of the trade. But even the hon. Member for Stoke would admit that the men who did the work ought to be entitled to the pay; and the hon. Member would not desire that men who were employed to do work in iron and steel should only get the same wages as if they were employed in the construction of wooden ships. He had no doubt that the case of these men had long deserved the consideration of the Board of Admiralty. That consideration the Admiralty were slow to give, not from a desire, perhaps, to undervalue the services of the men, but because they were under the control of the Treasury, who resisted, in a most decided manner, any proposal to make an addition to the Estimates. Another question he would like to say a word upon was the question of superannuation. Last year he had said something about superannuation being treated as deferred pay, and he had pointed out that the men were entitled to have the pay so deferred in the form most acceptable to them. The Admiralty said that pensions were calculated upon the principle only that a certain number of men were to receive them. He did not think the pension given to a superannuated shipwright at all accurately represented the amount of deferred pay he had foregone. If, instead of receiving a pension from the Government, a shipwright was paid so much a week, and an amount, representing the difference between the pay of their class and the pay they received, were put into an insurance office upon the understanding that when they arrived at the age of 60 or 65 they would receive an annuity for the rest of their lives, they would be entitled to a much larger sum than that which they actually received at present. They would get more from an insurance office than they did from the Government in the way of deferred pay. The commercial value of the deferred pay received by men employed in the Dockyards amounted to a very much larger sum than the value of all the annuities the Government gave; and he was sure that if a proper calculation were made, and a fair amount were given by the Government to persons who, on attaining the age of 60 or 65, were superannuated—if a fair calculation were made, he was quite sure the men would receive a very great deal more than they received at present. The Admiralty, in fact, stinted immensely the amount of deferred pay the men were really entitled to receive. He knew, of course, that this was a very large subject, and that it was impossible to get the Admiralty to take it up all at once. The matter would have to be ventilated for a long time before the Admiralty would be induced to see that there was anything in it; but he knew there was, on the part of the workmen in the Dockyards, a strong desire that there should be no appearance of charity on the part of the Government. They did not want more than they were entitled to; but what they did want was to have the difference between the pay they received as established men and the pay they would receive if they were only hired men and able to leave at any moment they desired—they wanted to have that difference taken into account and reckoned up, so that when they left the Service they would receive what they were really entitled to—no more and no less. He thought they ought to be entitled to receive this in the form of an annuity, because a commutation upon a few years' purchase would be of very little value to them, or in the shape of a sum of money applied to the benefit of their widows and children, and those dependent upon them. He was quite certain that if the Admiralty were induced to take up the organization of the work of the yards upon a fair and equitable principle they would find no difficulty in establishing a system which would give universal satisfaction. He knew the Secretary to the Admiralty had been struck with the reasonableness of the Dockyard workmen, with whom he had himself been brought into contact. All they wanted was a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. They wanted what they were fairly entitled to, and they had no desire to take less. He hoped the Admiralty would persevere in the work they had so well begun in the case of the leading men and the foremen of yards, and that they would endeavour

to put the whole body of shipwrights, on whom the strength of the Navy so much depended, in a satisfactory condition.

MR. PULESTON said, he had always contended that the re-organization of the Dockyards was a very much easier matter than it appeared to be, provided that it was not done piecemeal. Hitherto it had been the practice to do a little now and again; and in the case of constructors and leading men the misfortune was, that, however good things done were in themselves, whenever they acted on that principle, either in regard to the men or the officers, and placed anyone in a better position, exception was at once taken on the part of others, because the difference between the various classes was made still greater than it was before. If they removed the grievance of one class only the effect was very often to make that of another class appear harder. He had often pointed this out, and had tried to make it clear. He did not agree with the hon. Member for Plymouth (Mr. Macliver) that discontent was the normal condition of the Dockyards, although, no doubt, there had been many questions raised. He had shown pretty clearly some time ago, having gone fairly into the subject in connection with his own Dockyard at Devonport, that to complete the organization of the Dockyards, and to give satisfaction in a general way to all the people in them—officers and men of all classes—it would not be necessary to trench very materially upon the Treasury in the shape of increased expenditure. To say that a normal condition of discontent prevailed was taking a somewhat exaggerated view of the matter. Personally, he did not think that such discontent was at all general; and he had gone into the matter, class by class, constituting himself in a small way a Committee of one, and devoting a great deal of time to a careful examination. He, therefore, did not at all concur with his hon. Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. Macliver); but he hardly thought his hon. Friend intended to convey an erroneous impression when he attributed discontent as the normal condition of the Dockyards. There was not a similar body of men engaged in any other work, either in any other Dockyard or upon the railways or other public works, among whom there would not at times be found a far greater spirit of discontent than in Her Majesty's Dockyards. He had certainly listened with some surprise to the remarks of his hon. Friend, and he regarded it as an unfortunate slur on the character of the men employed in the Dockyards. He agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) that the Secretary to the Admiralty, when he was good enough to listen to the grievances of the men related to him in their own way, had found that they were not unreasonable. He thought the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) would be willing to repeat what he had said before—that he had found the men very approachable and perfectly ready to listen to reason; that they had no desire to promote agitation or to use political influence more than anybody else. They were only like other people; they wanted as much as they thought they ought to get; and it was quite natural that they should go to their Representatives with their grievances. It was quite natural that the engineers, for instance, should wish to have their complaints attended to, because they had now been talked about for a good many years. Their grievance had been, and still was, that the Board of Admiralty—not only the present Board, but every Board of Admiralty—insisted on forgetting that these were days of iron and steam and not of wooden ships. The facts had been constantly brought before the Admiralty; but in their dealings with the men they acted by piecemeal, and in the end they would find they had done more in some respects than the engineers had originally asked for, whilst omitting the most important. When a Committee was first appointed to examine the question of the engineers, he believed that a matter of £14,000 was all that was needed to meet the requirements of the Royal Naval Engineers at that time; but the Treasury and the Admiralty together—for one Department invariably put the blame on the other—refused to advance so large a sum as £14,000 a-year, and appointed another Committee to inquire into the matter. When that Committee was appointed, with the present Sea Lord at its head, they made recommendations which involved an expenditure of £40,000 or £50,000 a-year. The engineers asked the Admiralty to ameliorate their posi-

tion, as they thought, in a moderate and modest way; but the Admiralty declined to do so, and preferred a Committee. The engineers waited patiently for the Report of the Committee, and when it was published the Admiralty refused to do anything. Efforts had been made from that time to the present to induce the Admiralty to act up to the spirit of that Report; but it had not as yet been done. He knew that many difficult questions had been raised in connection with the engineers, and the artificers, and the arrangements on board ship, and other questions. No doubt, a good deal had been done; but he mentioned these facts now to show, in answer to the remarks of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), that it would be very easy for the Government to deal with the whole question finally; and it would save a great deal of trouble if they were to take it up at once, and deal with it as a whole rather than by bits, and in that way they would satisfy everybody, and smooth everything over, instead of raising a new difficulty, as soon as they had settled an old one. Many of the difficulties in connection with the Dockyards arose, not wholly from questions of extra pay, but because one man did so many hours extra work; and he found that another man who did less work got the same pay, although the duties were of a similar character, or probably even less onerous and important. These were some of the amomalies which existed, and the Dockyards had never been re-organized since the old days of wooden ships. He knew that the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), when the Navy Estimates were under discussion last year, had urged the propriety of doing away with the Dockyards altogether, and of getting all the work done in private yards. Now, that was an intelligible policy; and if the Government desired to advocate such a policy as that, they were at liberty to do so, although he should regret it very much; because, in his opinion, it was a most dangerous policy, and fraught with great danger to the State, seeing that we should then have nothing to rely upon in a time of emergency, but would be at the mercy of the private yards for all our shipbuilding work. Nevertheless, it was a perfectly intelligible policy; but as long as the Government did not adopt that policy, and did not advocate it, and the Dockyards existed, and so large an amount of capital was invested in them, they ought not to get their work done in private yards which they could do much better at home. On the contrary, he should like to see even more work done in the Royal Dockyards; and when they had the means and appliances for doing it cheaper and better, the work ought to be done in the Dockyards. If the men serving in the Dockyards were only kept half employed, the same outlay was going on so far as the established charges were concerned; and, of course, what they then did in the Dockyards cost relatively more than if a full complement of work was done in the Dockyards. They required the same Managing Superintendent, the same General Admiralty Superintendent, the same Naval Constructors, the same workmen, and the cost in those respects was the same. It therefore stood to reason that, instead of giving, as the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) strongly advocated when the subject was last before the House, the bulk of the work to private yards, they should get as much as possible done in the Royal Dockyards. As he had said before, they had the plant and capital and the men ready, and they ought to be able to do the work cheaper than in the private yards. The hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), on the same occasion, strongly emphasized the character of the work done in the Royal Dockyards, asserting that it was of a very inferior quality. He altogether denied that; and the Report of a Committee of Inquiry, appointed by the Admiralty upon the shipbuilding and repairs done in the Dockyards, showed very conclusively that the work done had been excellent in every way. The Inspectors who passed the ships were supposed to understand what they were about, and would certainly not pass work that was not deserving of approval. There had been a Committee appointed, and he hoped the Secretary to the Admiralty, when he rose to address the Committee, would tell them something about it. He believed the Committee had reported, or, at any rate, had closed their Sittings. He had taken exception at the time to the appointment of this Committee. No doubt, most excellent men were appointed upon it—hon. Gentlemen who were Members of that House, and

thoroughly up to the work of shipbuilding; Lord Ravensworth, who was at the head of it, was certainly a very competent man, and so were the other Members of the Committee; but he (Mr. Puleston) maintained that the terms of Reference ought to have been enlarged. The terms of Reference were so narrow that he did not expect to derive much satisfaction or advantage from the Report; and he was sorry that in this case also the Admiralty had acted in their usual spirit. When they had an opportunity of making full inquiry into all the important questions which affected the yards, the Admiralty, instead of appointing a Committee composed as this one was, ought to have enlarged the terms of Reference so as to make the inquiry sufficiently wide to include the case of the shipwrights, and every other class of workmen, in order that in investigating the expenditure upon the building and repairs of ships they might have shown to the country, not only the way in which the expenditure was arrived at, but the way in which the work was done, the cost of doing it, and the actual material employed. A few meetings of an Admiralty Committee, called together for the purpose of examining receipts, and so forth, was a very small way of inquiring into so large a subject; and he thought it would have saved the friends of the Admiralty a great deal of trouble if the Committee had been instructed to take up other questions—such as the position of the shipwrights, the carpenters, and other questions, which might arise collaterally, but which did not come within the terms of the Reference. The Civil Lord of the Admiralty had given the Committee an interesting statement in regard to the work of the Committee on construction. He (Mr. Puleston) had urged very strongly, two years ago, and last year again, that an independent inquiry should be made, once for all, and that it should cover the whole subject, instead of taking portions of it only. He was glad, however, that something had been done. The Secretary to the Admiralty and the Civil Lord had gone, to a certain extent, into the subject of inquiry, and, probably, with some satisfactory results, although, perhaps, they were more sentimental than real. A great many things had been left undone which ought to be done; and there were a good many little cases—for example, the grievances of the naval schoolmasters—which needed inquiry. Why should not the position of the schoolmasters, who must necessarily be persons of considerable attainments, be improved? Why should they be placed in an inferior position to persons of the same Profession everywhere else? He understood that something was being done in the direction of increasing the bonus to hired men. [Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: No!] He was sorry to hear that that was not the case. He had been under the impression that something was to be done in that respect. He hoped his hon. Friends would give him credit for not mentioning these things for the mere sake of "bullyragging;" but for more than a dozen years his attention had been directed to these questions, and he could assure the Committee that there was no harder case than the case of these hired men. Suppose a hired man worked for 20 years in the Dockyard. He had to do precisely the same work as the men on the Establishment, and at the end of 20 years he was told he might go; and he got a bonus of £30, or £35, or £36, as against a bonus received by an established man equivalent to £400 or £500. It was all very well to say that these hired men could go at any moment. That was perfectly true, and they did not expect to be put upon the same footing as established men; but they were a large body of men upon whom the Admiralty were compelled to rely, and they ought to be treated in a more liberal spirit. Then, again, there was the case of the clerks, which was discussed the other day. They had nothing to do with the Dockyard work; but they were writers in the Public Service. There was a very large number of them who got 10*d.* per hour as copyists; but only 200 of them actually did that work, the rest doing the same work as the clerks who got a much higher rate of pay. They were very much in the same position as the hired men; and he hoped, in making an appeal to the Government in their behalf, it would not be necessary to mention the subject again. He was satisfied that it was to the interests of the Service that the question of these hired men and copyists, whose demands were very modest and moderate, should be complied

with. For his own part, he would like to see the number of men on the Establishment increased very largely all round. He believed the efficiency of the Dockyards would be largely promoted by putting everybody in the Dockyards on the Establishment. It was said that this would involve a heavy extra charge upon the Treasury Chest; but he thought that that was a great mistake. They would be able to get men for less money, provided the men could look forward to pensions. He knew, however, that it was quite hopeless to expect to receive a concession of that kind from the Government; and, therefore, it was not worth while to go into it. He knew that hon. Members who represented Dockyard constituencies always got credit for wanting to spend more money. The Civil Lord of the Admiralty smiled at that remark; but it was so. When Gentlemen went down to oppose him (Mr. Puleston) at Devonport, they invariably declared that they were altogether in favour of economy, except in naval matters. This was because they saw its importance to the country. He trusted a day would come when the Admiralty would cease to display a niggardly feeling in putting the Navy in the position it ought to be in, and when a little more interest would be manifested by the House in the discussion of naval questions.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY said, it was necessary he should rise at this stage, in order to answer one or two questions which had been addressed to him in regard to the constructive staff of the Navy. But, before he did so, he wished first to express his satisfaction at the manner in which the scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the constructive officers of the Navy had been received. With reference to the question put to him by the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) as to how many gentlemen had been admitted on the staff without examination, he had to say that two gentlemen had been so admitted; but they were admitted on the Establishment of the Admiralty in 1864, several years before the test of examination was imposed. The hon. Member for Portsmouth asked for the abolition of office terms of retirement. He was unable to admit that they had been in any way affected by the changes which had been introduced; and, therefore, they could not have altered the terms of admission. He had also been asked why an answer had not been given on the part of the Admiralty to the application of foremen for an increase of pay. This question must depend upon a general adjustment of the entire constructive staff for the Admiralty and Dockyards, and hence the delay that had occurred in making a reply; but in answer to a Question he had lately stated that, while appreciating the services of the foremen of the Dockyards, the Government did not feel themselves justified in sanctioning an increase of their pay. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) spoke critically on the subject of examinations. No doubt the test was not an altogether satisfactory one; but having been at the Admiralty, and not being without experience of private administration in connection with large industrial works, he found it very difficult to suggest a better. He would only remind the Committee that the conditions under which they had to deal with any branch of public administration, and the conditions under which they dealt with the administration of private affairs, were very different; in the former case the numbers concerned were so vast. Then, again, political events involved frequent changes in the heads of the administration, and hence it was that they were driven to have recourse to some fixed rules of promotion, and some fixed means of testing a man's ability, which would in some degree compensate for want of knowledge of the personal fitness of the individual. For these reasons he was bound to admit that he did not see how they could abolish the system of a test examination. Some questions might be raised as to the character of the examination they imposed. He had already pointed out to the Committee that they felt bound on such a matter to defer to the opinion of their professional advisers; and he would point out that in desiring that the constructive staff should possess high professional and scientific qualifications, in combination with practical ability as constructors, they were taking a step towards the decentralization of Dockyard administration. They wished that the work of designing should in future be carried on at the Dockyards to a

larger degree than it was at present; and for that purpose it was necessary that they should have those scientific qualifications not only at the Admiralty, but also on the Dockyard staff. The hon. Member for Plymouth (Mr. Macliver) had spoken of the pay of the workmen in the Dockyards. He would remind him that in fulfilment of a promise given to the Committee last year, an inquiry was instituted by the Secretary to the Admiralty and himself at the Dockyards; and he was glad to be able to say that their interviews with the deputations, whom they had the privilege of receiving, entirely confirmed the observations which had fallen from his hon. Friend opposite. Nothing like a general feeling of discontent was expressed, and the interviews with the Dockyard workmen were of a satisfactory character, and reflected the greatest credit on the men themselves. But while speaking highly of the way in which the case was put before them by the Dockyard workmen, and while acknowledging most fully the skill and the reasonable degree of diligence they displayed, the Admiralty did not feel justified in proposing a rise of wages on a wholesale scale. His hon. Friend had himself referred to one circumstance in favour of the Dockyard workmen as compared with the men employed in private industries. The permanency of the employment afforded by the Government to the Dockyard men was a most important consideration in comparing their position with that of men employed in private establishments; and in cheapness of living, and in certain other practical respects, the former were placed in more favourable circumstances than those employed in some of the great seats of private industry in the country. Moreover, no difficulty was experienced in obtaining any number of competent men to fill up vacancies in the Dockyard. But while they could not promise any advance of wages on a wholesale scale, there were several isolated cases which had been favourably considered. For example, those of the masters and mates of Dockyard tugs, and those of the men engaged in the arduous labour of diving, and the advance of wages which had been recommended to the Treasury, he was glad to say had been approved. The rules which now existed had been long in force. With regard to superannuation, the rules applicable to the Dockyard workmen were the same as those which applied to the highest class of Civil servants of the Crown. The Government wished to deal liberally with those who were employed in the Dockyards, who, he believed, deserved well of the country. But they were also bound to look at these matters in a commercial spirit, and to make the best terms they could for the taxpayers of the Kingdom.

MR. RYLANDS said, the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), in the very important speech he had delivered on a former occasion, when the Navy Estimates were under discussion, stated a fact of which he thought the Committee had received full confirmation—namely, his belief that the Dockyard work was more expensive, although the right hon. Gentleman had qualified his remarks by saying that it was not necessarily so, than the work done in private yards—the shipbuilding yards of the country. He (Mr. Rylands) had no doubt whatever as to the fact, and it was one of those facts which he thought the Committee should seriously consider. His hon. Friend the Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) seemed to think, as a business man, that if iron vessels cost 15 or 25 per cent more than they could be bought at, it would relieve the loss if they bought fewer, and made more, of these costly vessels. Why was it that the Dockyard work was more expensive than the work done in the shipbuilding yards? They had had an illustration of it that night. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), his hon. Friend the Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston), and his hon. Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. Macliver) were Gentlemen of influence, all representing important bodies of Dockyard labourers and shipwrights engaged in the respective Dockyards. He had had a great deal to do with large manufacturing concerns, such as iron works, where an enormous number of men were employed, and he had been engaged in large transactions; but he did not hesitate to say that if it were possible that questions as to what he should pay his workmen could be discussed in the House of Commons, and if it were possible also that certain Representatives of the workmen could get up, and constantly press upon

him that the workmen wanted one advantage or another, he might just as well close his works at once; because if he were to carry on any manufacture under such conditions, he would inevitably find himself in *The Gazette*, and all his shares, and the capital which he had engaged in business, would be thrown away. In regard to superannuation, all of his hon. Friends seemed to think that the question of superannuation was one which might be more liberally dealt with. [Mr. GORST: I said more justly dealt with.] At all events, his hon. Friends were not satisfied with the amount of superannuation now paid. Nevertheless, the actual pensions and allowances the Committee would be called upon to vote in the course of that evening amounted this year to £330,000, and they had gradually gone on increasing year by year. In connection with the Military Services, they amounted to £868,000. The Civil allowances were, to a great extent, allowances that were paid to established men. He had made a calculation, and he found that for every 20*s.* paid in wages to established artificers in the Dockyard, they paid superannuation allowances to retired artificers which amounted to from 22½ to 25 per cent on the gross wages paid. There again, he contended, it would be impossible for any large manufacturing establishment to carry on a business, if the wages paid had to be supplemented by an annual charge, amounting to 25 per cent upon such wages, for superannuation allowances. It would take a very great deal of argument to induce the manufacturer, under such circumstances, to believe that he was not paying for labour a great deal more than he ought. He knew that it would be said that the Government got from these men labour at a price that was very advantageous to the Government, although it was accompanied by deferred pay. Now, in regard to the amount of wages they paid, he entirely disputed the contention of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he asserted that they did not get a return equivalent to the amount they were paying for pensions upon the wages paid. He did not believe it for a moment, and he had had the very highest opinion on the subject from shipbuilders who knew perfectly well what the Dockyards did, and what was done in their own yards. A Gentleman who used to be a Member of that House, and who invariably supported the Government when he (Mr. Rylands) criticized their action in regard to the Dockyards — that eminent shipbuilder, who used to come to the assistance of the Government when they were attacked in reference to the Dockyard system, always privately acknowledged to him that if he did not get more work out of his men for the wages he paid than the Government got out of their men he would be absolutely ruined. And he (Mr. Rylands) knew that it was so. Of course, he did not pretend to be an authority upon naval matters, and when he intervened in the discussion he intervened only upon a subject on which, he ventured to say, he knew as much as many Members of that House—that was to say, that he, as a Member of that House, criticized the operations of the Government where, in a great many instances, they were of a similar character to those establishments with which he was not unfamiliar, where a large number of workpeople were employed under conditions requiring them to turn out a large amount of work. His hon. Friend the Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) said that if they were to close two or three of these Dockyards they would gain nothing, nor would they reduce the cost of manufacture of ships. He said they would gain nothing, because they would still have their staff, and their Admiral Superintendent. Now, he trusted the first man they would get rid of would be the Admiral Superintendent. Did the Admiral Superintendent know anything about the construction of ships? Had he had any training in regard to the administration of Government manufacturing establishments? Nothing of the kind. He knew no more about it than any man they could pick up in the streets. He was sent down to the Dockyard quite ignorant of the nature of the work; but, by fussing around, he gradually picked up some information, and, in the end, made it appear that he was managing the establishment. But in three years he was sent away, and some other gentleman went down who was required to go through the same process again. Thus, in that way, a very nice picking was got out of the position of Admiral Superintendent of a Dockyard. He was glad to see that the Prime Minister was present. He thought it was very good

of the right hon. Gentleman to come in when they were discussing the Estimates. They could not expect him to attend Committee of Supply; but he wished to say, in the presence of the right hon. Gentleman, that he thought a strong Committee of investigation should be appointed in regard to the expenditure upon the Dockyards, and in regard to the way in which the operations there were carried on, with a view of ascertaining how it was that the cost of our vessels was admittedly higher than the cost of vessels built in the shipbuilding yards of the country. An exhaustive inquiry, conducted by the right class of men, would bring out facts in regard to these establishments which might possibly lead to considerable improvement and very great economy. He wished it to be borne in mind that, while he did not wish entirely to close the Dockyards, his argument had always been that if they went into the market and bought ships of the kind they decided upon as being of the best construction, they would have them delivered in a very much shorter time than they could make them themselves, and there would be no necessity for going on for five, six, or seven years dilly-dallying over the same ship until they got it ready to be launched, when they found that they had spent £750,000 over a vessel, which, when she was ready for sea, was admittedly behind the requirements of the times. He went entirely on the principle of buying as many of the vessels as they required, and not doing the work themselves in a slow Dockyard, but going into the market when they wanted these vessels, and getting them delivered within a comparatively short period, when they would find they really got their money's worth for their money. In that way a good many of the objections which were now made against the administration of the Navy would be removed. He had no wish to detain the Committee longer; but he strongly protested against the present system of Dockyard management; and he regretted extremely that the country was placed under the great disadvantage of finding the Admiralty, while they were themselves struggling to carry on the business of the Navy in an economical manner, driven into constantly-increasing expenditure by the House of Commons.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he desired to say a few words on one or two practical questions connected with the Vote. In regard to the case of foremen of yards, it had been so ably dealt with by his hon. Friend the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. A. Egerton) that he would only say that he cordially concurred with what had fallen from his hon. Friend. He thought the secret of the case, as between the foremen of yards and the draftsmen of the Admiralty, who had stepped into their places and cut the ground from under their feet, was this—that at the Admiralty there existed what might be called a nice little Admiralty party, of which the unfortunate foremen, who had borne the heat of the day, were not members, and, consequently, they were left out in the cold. That was the whole secret of the matter as regarded the foremen. He was glad to hear from his hon. Friend the Civil Lord to the Admiralty that some advantage was to be given to the leading men — a very important branch of the Dockyard Service—but, as far as he had been able to gather, that advantage, in the shape of extra pay, was confined to the leading men of the shipwrights. He thought he was correct, or nearly correct, in saying that. At all events, he understood that the leading men among the artificers did not participate in that advantage. He hoped he might be wrong in his impression; but he fancied that was the state of the case. There were also other trades connected with the Dockyards which had equally important duties to perform, but which would not share in the proposed advantages. That was all he had to say that night on personal questions connected with the Vote. He was sorry that the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had just left the House, because he wished to comment upon the long dissertation the Committee had been listening to from the hon. Member, although, no doubt, it was one they had heard before in that House, upon the economy of building ships in private yards. The hon. Gentleman commenced his argument with the hypothesis, or, rather, he laid down the dogma, that iron-clad ships or men-of-war built in the Royal Dockyards were 15 or 20 per cent dearer than vessels built in private yards. Where did the hon. Member get his information from?

He (Captain Price) denied it altogether, and, at all events, the hon. Member might have waited until the Report of the Committee, now sitting on this very question, had been presented. As regarded that Committee, he thought it was a great pity that no Gentleman had been put upon it who directly represented the Dockyard interest, and that there was no Gentleman upon it who had any direct knowledge of the building of ships in the Royal Dockyards. It was true that there was upon the Committee one of the best officers in the Service; but he had no special knowledge of the building of ships in the Royal Dockyards. Several Members of the Committee had considerable knowledge of shipbuilding in private yards; but none whatever of shipbuilding in the Royal Dockyards. The fact was that when they compared the cost of building in the Royal Dockyards with the cost in private yards they were too apt to take the cost as the money spent on a ships in material and wages. They were the only items which came into the calculation in regard to private yards, due allowance being made for the interest of capital laid out in the construction of Dockyards, plant, and so on. But when they came to a ship built in the Royal Dockyards they had to consider something beyond the cost of the material which was needed, and which could not be more than the cost of material in regard to a ship built in a private dockyard. The wages were not greater, but absolutely less than those paid in private yards; but it was necessary to add to those items the expenses which were called Establishment charges. What were those Establishment charges? The Royal Dockyards existed for entirely different purposes, and were put to a different use, from private yards. As soon as an iron-clad was built in a private yard it sailed away, and the place of its birth knew it no more; whereas a ship built in a Royal Dockyard was constantly coming back for repairs and to be refitted. There were thousands of items which went down as the cost of shipbuilding in the Royal Dockyards, which might be divided among ships which had been built, and which were accounted for as Establishment charges. That was what swelled the cost in the Dockyards, not the actual cost of building a ship, but the incidental charges connected with the Dockyards, and for which the Dockyards must exist, even if no ship was ever built in them. The hon. Member for Burnley had spoken about the gentlemen at the head of the Naval Establishments, and said he was desirous of doing away with those objectionable Admirals. He (Captain Price) wanted to show why they were put there. He was sorry that the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed) was not present, because he had sometimes a word to say on that subject. Who were they to put in charge of a Royal Dockyard? Was it to be an engineer? If so, he would know nothing about shipbuilding. Was it to be a constructor? If so, he knew nothing about engineering. Both of these matters had to be provided for, because duties connected with both were constantly being discharged in a Royal Dockyard. They were now on the great Shipbuilding Vote of the Navy Estimates, and he asked the leave of the Committee for a few moments while he made one or two allusions to the shipbuilding programme. The subject had been brought forward in "another place," and two remarkable speeches had been made upon it by the First Lord of the Admiralty. The First Lord had gone down to the House of Lords, and had made what he (Captain Price) could not help characterizing as a violent Party speech. Indeed, he might almost say that it was an electioneering speech. It was a speech entirely uncalled for and gratuitously given. The noble Lord had proceeded, without any challenge whatever, to tell the country that the Liberal Government were building ships at a far greater rate than their Predecessors—the Conservative Government—and he said the way in which it could be proved was this—that they had expended so much more upon iron shipbuilding than the Conservative Government had. And what would the Committee suppose the noble Lord did? He took the smallest sum spent in any year by the Conservative Government—the year immediately following that in which they had bought four iron-clads, and then he took the largest sum spent in any one year by the Liberal Government, telling the country that, as a matter of fact, the Liberal Government had spent twice as much as the Conservative Government in building iron-clad ships,

Now, he (Captain Price) had some statistics which he thought would throw another light upon that matter, and he thought the country ought to know the whole circumstances of the case. It was not merely the money actually spent in building iron-clad ships; but there was something more to do than build ships—namely, to repair and maintain them. He had taken from Parliamentary Papers presented to the House a comparison of the actual expenditure upon the Navy. It was divided into Effective Service and Non-Effective Service, and he found that the Conservative Government had spent in their six years of Office £54,293,800 in Effective Services, or £9,049,000 per annum. The Liberal Government during their four years of Office—from 1880 to 1884—had spent £33,694,000, or an average per year of £8,423,500, so that according to these Parliamentary Papers the Conservative Government had spent considerably more upon the Effective Service of the Navy per annum than the Liberal Government had. But that, perhaps, was not the only test they should go by. That was lumping the whole of the Effective Services of the Navy into one sum. Let them take the totals of the great Shipbuilding Votes they were considering—namely, Vote 6 and Vote 10. They were the Votes which gave the actual money they were expending in building the Fleet, and in repairing the Fleet; and, of course, they included all the stores and material by which the Fleet was maintained. He proposed to give the details of Votes 6 and 10. The average sum spent in each year of the three years referred to by the Conservative Party on repairs to the Fleet was £3,949,000, and the average sum spent on the same Votes during each year by the Liberal Government was £3,350,000; so that from whichever point of view hon. Members looked at the question they would find, taking Lord Northbrook's test of expenditure, that the Conservative Government had spent annually upon building, repairing, and maintaining the Fleet a larger sum than the Liberal Government had expended, which excess was very well accounted for. The fact was that the Committee must, as he had said before, bear in mind that it was not alone the shipbuilding that had to be considered—there were the repairs to be provided for. When the Conservative Government came into Office—that was to say, in the year 1874, Mr. Ward Hunt, then First Lord of the Admiralty, informed the House that there were at that time no more than 14 sea-going iron-clads fit for the service of the year. Mr. Ward Hunt made that statement deliberately and after complete investigation, and it had never been contradicted. Mr. Ward Hunt accordingly set about the work of repairing, which was carried out so effectively that when in 1880 the present Government came into Office the position of the Navy was this—there were more than double the number of iron-clads fit for the service of the year than were found when the Conservative Government took Office. The money spent by the Conservative Government, therefore, was represented by the repairs which had been effected. How, then, was it possible, if the former Liberal Government handed over the Navy to its Successors in such a state that they were obliged to spend money upon it year after year in repairs, that their Successors could spend more money than they had spent on shipbuilding? Now, in the course of his preceding observations, he had made some Party allusions, a thing which he might say he had never done before in discussing the Navy Estimates, or, indeed, any question relating to the Navy; but, as a matter of fact, the Conservative Party had been directly challenged to do so in self-defence by the course which Lord Northbrook had thought fit to take in "another place." The noble Lord had gone down to the House of Lords and made a Party attack upon the Predecessors of the present Government without any previous Notice being given—indeed, without anyone knowing anything about it, under circumstances, and at a time, when he knew that no answer to the attack could be made. In his humble way, he (Captain Price) had endeavoured, as far as he was able, to counteract the statement which the noble Lord made; and he was quite certain that his noble Friend on the Bench below him (Lord Henry Lennox) would be able to do more in the same direction. The speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty was certainly of a misleading character. The noble Lord, in the speech to which he was referring, had instituted a comparison between the Fleets of England and France. He

(Captain Price) had listened to so many comparisons of the kind that he did not intend to make any himself upon that occasion. He wished, however, to notice, and to ask the attention of the Committee to one remark made by the First Lord of the Admiralty in answer to Lord Sidmouth. That noble Lord had been making a comparison between the two Fleets of England and France, especially with regard to the iron-clads that were in process of construction and those actually built; and the First Lord of the Admiralty stated, in reply, that he could assure the noble Viscount that, so far from the two Fleets being on an equality in respect of first class iron-clads, England had 10 ships of the first class as against three vessels of the French. That appeared to many to be a startling announcement, and he should be glad if the Secretary to the Admiralty would state to the Committee what were the ships to which the noble Lord referred.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out to the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport that for some time past his observations had been entirely out of Order, so far as the discussion of this Vote was concerned. The hon. and gallant Member was perfectly in Order in discussing the Shipbuilding Vote; but not in replying to the speech of Lord Northbrook in "another place."

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he was referring to the noble Lord's speech in illustration of his argument, and had no wish otherwise to allude to what had occurred in "another place."

THE CHAIRMAN said, he hoped the hon. and gallant Member would not continue these observations. The hon. and gallant Member was replying in his own words to a speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty in the other House of Parliament, a proceeding which was against the Rules of the House.

CAPTAIN PRICE said, he should bow to the ruling of the Chair in abstaining from further comment upon the speech of Lord Northbrook, and would proceed to illustrate his argument that the shipbuilding operations of the Government ought to be considerably extended. He thought it might be said with perfect truth that England had 10 first class iron-clads. He himself had no difficulty in believing that statement, which appeared to him perfectly accurate, and, moreover, exactly in accordance with the list he himself had alluded to, and which was submitted to the House last year. But when he turned to France, and considered the Navy of that country, he asked himself how many first class iron-clads she had either built or building. It was stated that France had only three first class iron-clads; but he found, after careful inquiry and observation, that France had built or was building 15 first class iron-clads. It was, of course, a very difficult thing to say what constituted a first class ship. [Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Hear, hear!] The hon. Gentleman cheered that remark; but he was taking for the purpose of his argument French ships of exactly the same kind as those to which, in England, the term first class was applied, and, in doing so, he had regard to their armour and the guns with which they were furnished. He had regard also to their speed and size. It was also desirable to take ships of the same date, having all modern improvements, and to have regard also to the thickness of the armour. On that principle, he said there were 15 ships built or building for the French Navy of the same class as the 10 best ships of the English Navy. That was the point. He had the names, which he would read to the Committee if necessary. The 10 first class English iron-clads were these—*Inflexible*, *Rodney*, *Howe*, *Edinburgh*, *Colossus*, *Conqueror*, *Collingwood*, *Benbow*, *Anson*, and *Camperdown*. As against these there were 15 vessels of the French, as he had pointed out, either built or in process of construction; and he had no doubt the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty would be able to tell the Committee whether any of the ships which he was about to refer to ought not to be classed for the purpose of comparison with the 10 English ships he had just mentioned. Their names were—*Formidable*, *Amiral Baudin*, *Terrible*, *Caïman*, *Requin*, *Indomptable*, *Magenta*, *Amiral Duperré*, *Neptune*, *Marceau*, *Hoche*, *Tonnant*, *Vengeur*, *Foudroyant*, and *Dévastation*. Having given the names of the first class vessels of both Fleets, he should not detain the Committee further than to express a hope that the Admiralty would be guided in their action not only by the consideration of what the actual number and size of the ships of the British Navy were as compared with those of the Navies of France and other

Powers, but that they would also take into consideration the very much more extended and important duties which the ships of that Navy had to perform.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he could imagine nothing more melancholy and pernicious than the ordeal gone through by that House annually on the discussion of these Estimates. It seemed to him that instead of proceeding in a businesslike manner they were of necessity always to have before them the consideration of what the French nation were doing in the matter of their Fleet, and that they were always to be ready at a moment's notice to follow in their wake. That appeared to him to be a most objectionable state of things, and he would ask in what a policy of that kind could end? Supposing that the case was established that the French nation had at one period or another a few more ships than we possessed, and that they showed a little more activity in their Dockyards, what followed? They were immediately called upon either to overtake the French or go beyond them; what passed in that House very soon became known all the world over. The jealousy of the French people was easily moved, and the French Government were at once obliged to endeavour to approach us in the strength of our naval resources. He confessed that he could see no end to a policy of this kind, except that at some day or other it would end in some act of folly and disaster. But he wished to say a few words in confirmation of the remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) with reference to the administration of the Dockyards. It had often struck him that the result would be most inconvenient if half-a-dozen Members of that House were to take upon themselves to speak on behalf of the *employés* of one of the great Railway Companies of the country in order to be on good terms with the staff. The result could be no other than that the whole staff would be in a state of fermentation owing to the course pursued by hon. Members in that House. The case was precisely the same with the Dockyards. The hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) said, with regard to Members representing Dockyard constituencies, that they stood in a peculiar position, inasmuch as they advocated the Dockyard interests from a not altogether disinterested point of view. The hon. Member went further, and said that in case of an election at any one of those Dockyard constituencies, no matter what party went down they were always ready to depart from their previously expressed views of economy on matters relating to the Dockyards. Every year when these Estimates came forward they had hon. Gentlemen representing Dockyard constituencies producing grievances, real or imaginary, of every class of *employés* in the several departments. No doubt it might be said that there was no other means by which the artizans in the Dockyards could approach the Admiralty and lay their grievances before them except through the medium of Members of that House; but, on the other hand, he believed it would be to the interest of the nation, and to the comfort of the *employés* of the Dockyards themselves, if a rule were established forbidding any Members representing Dockyard constituencies to come down to that House and dwell upon these matters unless it was manifest that they were specially qualified for representing such grievances to the House. Injury to the Public Service in every direction could but result from this continual agitation about the pay of Dockyard servants. He held it to be a duty of the Government, both in this and every Department of the State in which large numbers of persons were employed, to proceed as nearly as possible on the lines followed by other large employers of labour throughout the country. They were told that there were applications almost innumerable for employment in the Dockyards, and evidence was given that the rates of pay and pension were ample in order to induce a sufficient supply of labour. This, however, in the case of a public Department, was held to be no reason for dealing with the question of increasing the pay of the *employés*, according to the laws of supply and demand, as would be the case in every private business. He held there was no need to pay more money than was being paid at the present time for labour in our Dockyards; and he would go further, and say that, when the trade of the country was oppressed, when large sums of money were being spent on the Army and Navy, and when, from both sides of the House, there were innumerable

complaints of the burden of taxation, it was no time to put forward these demands. It was barely decent, when labour in every other direction had been reduced materially in value, that it should be urged on the Admiralty by half-a-dozen Dockyard Representatives that they should increase, in one form or another, the pay of the *employés* in the Dockyards. Like the hon. Member for Burnley, he admitted that he was not an expert in shipbuilding; but there were a few general principles which governed undertakings of this kind, of the truth of which those engaged in large mercantile operations were perfectly satisfied. Now, many Members of that House connected with large industrial establishments had found out that the safest and wisest plan was to do as much by contract, and as little by private labour, as possible. There was a widespread conviction in the country in connection with the Navy that the public money was not worth more than 10*s.* in the pound. It was impossible for the Dockyard officials or the Board of Admiralty so to supervise the work done in the Dockyards as to be in any degree able to place themselves in competition with the private dockyards; and his opinion was that the proper course would be to keep up the Dockyards for the purpose only of carrying out repairs to the Fleet, and not for building new ships. In these days contracts could be entered into with private firms, and the business could be carried out under Inspectors appointed by the Admiralty; in short, nothing was easier than to enter into contracts for the construction of ships for the Navy with the greatest security. It seemed to him that the Dockyards should be maintained only for the purpose of effecting repairs, and where it was difficult to enter into contracts with private dockyards. He would not detain the Committee further than to say that in view of the discussions to which they were every year subject in that House with regard to the pay of Dockyard *employés*, he thought they had the strongest possible evidence of the necessity of appointing a financial Committee to undertake this work upstairs in a businesslike manner, which would prevent these whining appeals, put forward by interested and special Representatives, getting into the public Press, and would, at the same time, prevent their infliction upon the House of Commons.

SIR JOHN HAY said, the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) seemed to forget that the reason why we had fortified our Dockyards was in order to protect our Fleet in time of war. Where would ships go to when they retired from a naval engagement for repairs? If the Dockyards were to be unprotected, and maintained only for the purpose of refitting the Fleet after it came from action, we should lose our naval supremacy, because we should require more ships than could be built in private yards.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he had expressly advocated that the Dockyards should be maintained, in so far as they were necessary, for the purpose of repairing the ships of the Navy.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he was coming to that very point. The case was that we must maintain a certain staff in our Docks and Yards, ready for effecting repairs on extraordinary occasions, so that when an emergency arose we might have our Docks and a sufficient number of trained men available, as well as all the necessary stores ready, for the purpose of shipbuilding. He agreed that the extra ships required by the Navy should be built by private contract. It was that we might have a sufficient number of trained and skilled men to refit a disabled Fleet that the Docks were maintained at all; and he would point out that the men necessary for this purpose must be kept together by the work of shipbuilding. With regard to the Superintendents of the Dockyards, it must be remembered that they had not only to look after the detail work of the shipbuilding, but also to maintain discipline among the men who were employed in the rigging and refitting of ships; and that it had been considered over and over again by Committees appointed by that House that naval officers were the persons most suitable to be at the head of our Dockyards and to be responsible for them. He believed it had been ascertained by the responsible heads of the Admiralty Department of both political Parties—the question having been discussed for the last 30 years—that the duties to be discharged in our Dockyards were best performed when there was a naval officer presiding there. With regard to what had been said by his hon. and gallant

Friend the Member for Devonport (Captain Price), he was not going to follow him in that very clear and forcible statement, with which he entirely agreed; but he was bound to say that he had read with some astonishment language which he could hardly believe would have been uttered by the First Lord of the Admiralty—namely, that one of the reasons why the number of our ships was not so great as had been thought necessary — the number of iron-clad ships under construction—was that there existed some doubt as to whether the character of naval warfare in the future would not be such as to require a less number of iron-clads, and that torpedoes and other less offensive means of warfare would take the place of the iron-clads and ships hitherto considered to be necessary. What was the reason we had iron-clads at all? It must be borne in mind that during the Crimean War experience showed that shell fire made it impossible to carry on war in wooden ships. The *Albion*, in attacking the batteries at Sebastopol, was on fire in three places; the crew were panic-stricken; and it was only by the gallant conduct of the captain of the fire brigade, who led his crew back to extinguish the fire, that the panic was stayed and the ship saved. Further, on one occasion an experiment was made which resulted in the destruction of a frigate after 12 shells had been fired. But protection from fire was not the only advantage derived from building iron-clad ships; by that system not only had they vessels which could not be penetrated by shot or shell, but they obtained a steady and permanent platform for the guns, which could continue to be worked with greater effect. Where would be the base of naval warfare unless there were ships which could not be destroyed suddenly, and in which could be mounted the heaviest ordnance necessary for naval warfare? It was for these reasons that it was absolutely necessary we should still continue to build iron-clads. The base of operations must always be an iron-clad Fleet, protected against the missiles of modern warfare. The hon. Member who had just addressed the Committee spoke of the propriety of contrasting the number of ships possessed by different Powers. Now, the hon. Member was mistaken in thinking that the great increase of the French Navy was due merely to an attempt to build two ships for our one. The French Navy, after the disasters of the German War, had been reduced to a low standard; but, a Commission having laid down the number of ships considered to be necessary for the Fleet, they had been working with great determination and at great expense to bring up their Fleet to the number laid down, which he had no reason to suppose would be exceeded. They had before them the decision of that Commission. There was no rivalry between the two nations. It was simply that France, extending her power at sea, was working out her programme, and that when she had completed it she would have more and larger iron-clads, and much more powerful guns, than we now possessed. He said it was the duty of every Member of that House to study the subject, and to urge upon the Government the necessity of maintaining that naval supremacy, without which our commerce would be entirely overthrown.

MR. W. H. SMITH: We have had an illustration this evening of the inconvenience I have more than once referred to, of the absence from this House of the First Lord of the Admiralty. Although the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) discharges the duties of Secretary to the Admiralty as well as it is possible to discharge them, yet there is undoubtedly an inconvenience in the fact that the exposition of the policy of the Government is made in "another place," and cannot be referred to in this House. I regret that the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) has not been allowed to proceed with his statement, which I believe would have been of great service to the Committee. I shall not follow the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth), or the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), in their observations with reference to the cost of labour in the Government Dockyards. I hold the opinion that under a strong Government and with a strong Administration the cost of shipbuilding in our Dockyards might be made as economical in all respects, and the work most certainly superior to the work done in private yards. Although I honestly believe that the supervision given in Her Majesty's Dockyards is of a character which insures excellence of work, and that it ought to be accom-

panied with corresponding economy, I am far from saying that the amount of work done is as large as it ought to be. But a good deal of work is done twice over owing to the changes made by those who give the officers their orders. The hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) has complained that Members bring forward the claims of their constituents. I recognize to the full the inconvenience of the practice; but it must be remembered that if there are 10,000 or 12,000 labourers employed in the Dockyards, most of whom have votes, there are 150,000 or 200,000 Civil servants who find expression for their grievances and their wants in the mouths and by the speeches of Members on both sides of this House. It is a matter of undoubtedly great importance to the country at large. It is a matter which a strong Government alone can deal with, and it is one which certainly will recur sooner or later to be very carefully considered by those who are responsible for the economical and efficient administration of the great Services of this country. It would be a great mistake and a great wrong to attribute to the Representatives of the Dockyards charges which extend to almost every Member of this House, with regard to the Civil servants and other servants of the Crown, on whose behalf they not unfrequently urge claims for the recognition of services which are undoubtedly valuable, and which I hold should be paid for at their true value, but not in excess of their value. I wish now to refer to the programme of the Admiralty, for, after all, that is the most important question we have to consider this evening. In doing so I think I may be permitted also to refer to some observations made outside this House. I will not say where and I will not say when, but observations have been made with regard to our force of iron-clad ships; and it has been stated that it depends not on the Admiralty of the day, but on the foresight of their Predecessors, for an armour-plated ship is hardly ever completed in less than five years. I wish an armour-plated ship was completed in five years. I think it would be very much to the advantage of the Service if an armour-plated ship was completed in less than five years, and we have the high authority of the present Board of Admiralty for saying that even that might be accomplished. But we have also the assurance that the present Board of Admiralty have very considerably increased the rate of construction of these ships. I think I have given evidence to my hon. Friends opposite that, at all events, I seek by all means in my power to avoid importing anything like Party feeling or charges into observations upon this most important subject. If it were possible to do so, I should like to remove all considerations affecting the Army and the Navy out of the arena of Party politics, for nothing is more injurious to the interests of the nation than that we should endeavour to get *Kudos* on one side or the other for one Party or the other. Therefore, in the observations I am about to make, I shall direct my efforts entirely to the matter, as it seems to me, of the principles upon which the administration and construction of the Navy are pursued. I find fault with that which has been done, not with any desire to complain of individuals in the present Board of Admiralty, or to contrast their conduct unfavourably with that of their Predecessors; but I must refer to some of the principles which were laid down by the Representatives of the present Board in this House; and, as I am speaking of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen who have sat in this House, and who sit here now, I shall be in Order in my references. In the first place, my right hon. Friend the Chief Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), speaking on June 7, 1880, said—

> "Looking to the state of the iron-clads which were likely to come into the Dockyards for repairs in the course of the next two or three years, and looking also to the large amount of work which, he freely acknowledged, had been done by the late Board in the way of repairing iron-clads and other vessels, he hoped that there would not be so much pressure on the Dockyards for repairs during the next two or three years as there had been in the past; and he trusted, therefore, that they would be able to devote a larger portion of labour to the completion of such vessels as were in hand."—(3 *Hansard*, [252] 1389.)

That is what I always expect to find from hon. or right hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House, and who have the responsibility of Government. That is a full, and fair, and frank acknowledgment of the actual condition of the ships and the Service when he became responsible for them. He said, looking at the

large amount of work which he freely acknowledged had been done by the late Board, he hoped there would not be so much pressure on the Dockyards for repairs during the next two or three years as there had been in the past; and he trusted, therefore, that they would be able to devote a larger portion of labour to the completion of such vessels as were in hand, that, therefore, their hands would be set free to go on more rapidly, and to complete more rapidly, the vessels in hand. On the same day the right hon. Gentleman said—

"The object which they had in view would be to complete the vesssels already in hand as soon as they possibly could. . . . It was impossible to apply to a large iron-clad such as the *Colossus* more than a certain amount of labour, having regard to economy, and the very shortest time in which a vessel of that class could be completed would be four years from the date of its commencement."—(*Ibid.* 1387.)

So that we have an indication of the policy of the present Board—of its resolve; and an explanation of why it would carry out that policy, because repairs had been effectually maintained and ships were in good order; and then we have the declaration that a large ship like the *Colossus* could not be completed in less than four years from its commencement. That was followed up by a statement by the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant next year. He said—

"The present Board may have notions of their own as to the man-of-war of the future; but they find plenty of work left them by their Predecessors, in the shape of carefully and ably-designed iron-clads, which only want to be completed in order to render them fit then to dispute the seas against any comer. The best way of getting to a new design is to finish the old one out of hand; whereas, if ships are laid down freely, and finished off slowly, the nation had never the advantage of a new design at all."—(3 *Hansard*, [259] 1388.)

I think that is an admirable principle. It is a principle to which I attach the highest importance, and which I support most cordially. He goes on to say—

"But, besides the building of new ships, there is another service which can just as little be neglected—the maintenance of our existing Fleet in a condition of efficiency. Now, here we owe much to our Predecessors. The attention which, of late years, has been paid to the repair of our iron-clads has enabled the present Board to throw a greater strength into shipbuilding."—(*Ibid.* 1392.)

So the right hon. Gentleman removed from his Predecessor, from himself, and from his Board any reason or excuse for not throwing that greater strength into shipbuilding, and throwing their energies into shipbuilding, which he declared to be necessary, in order that the nation should have large and newly-designed and quickly-built ships. We are told that after all the great thing to be done is to lay down ships, and that is a departure, as it seems to me, from the principle which my right hon. Friends insist upon so strongly. Laying down ships is one thing; building ships is a very different thing; and that is the point upon which I am most anxious to offer some observations. First, we have it laid down here that large iron-clads cannot be completed in less than four years; and that it is the wisest policy in the interests of the country that iron-clads should be completed rapidly. Now, I should like to ask whether that has been done? I will give the Committee the dates of the ships now building. It is hardly necessary for me to say that during the late Administration there were 12 ships taken in hand and advanced very considerably, nine of which are now complete and afloat—namely, the *Inflexible*, the *Nelson*, the *Northampton*, the *Superb*, the *Orion*, the *Belle Isle*, the *Neptune*, the *Ajax*, and the *Agamemnon*. And there are three ships which were laid down—namely, the *Edinburgh*, on March 29, 1879; the *Conqueror*, on April 28, 1879; and the *Colossus*, on June 6, 1879. They were laid down by the late Government. Then there follow the *Collingwood*, July 12, 1880; the *Impérieuse*, August 10, 1881; the *Warspite*, October 25, 1881; the *Rodney*, February 6, 1882; the *Howe*, June 7, 1882; the *Benbow*, November 1, 1882; the *Camperdown*, December 18, 1882; the *Anson*, April 24, 1883; and subsequently, I think, the *Hero* has been laid down. I should like to ask if that is so?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; at Chatham.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: To give an idea of the extent to which work has been done on these ships I may mention that the first—the *Edinburgh*—has been five years and four months in building—say five years, because I am only giving the figures returned in the Estimates laid on the Table, and which show the

amount of progress made up to April, 1884. Assuming these figures to be correct—of which, however, I confess I entertain considerable doubt, looking at the variation which takes place in them from time to time—of 6,150 tons weight of hull in the *Edinburgh* 4,225 are shown to have been built into her by the Returns up to April 1, 1884; so that there remains one-third of the whole amount of work to be done in the *Edinburgh* after a period of five years. As to the *Conqueror*, she is returned as complete; and I venture to call the attention of my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty to the fact that she is not complete, and could not go to sea, in all probability, for some months, as the breech-pieces for her guns are not yet decided upon, and it is admitted that she requires hydraulic gear for loading, the designs for which are not even approved, and alterations of magazines will have to be made—those unfortunate alterations to which must be attributed not only delay, but a very large portion of the excessive cost of our ships. Then we come to the *Colossus*, which is promised in the course of the present year. She is shown to have had built into her 5,692 tons, out of a gross total of 6,150. I shall be exceedingly glad to hear from my hon. Friend that the *Colossus* will be completed in the course of the present year. I will only remark about the *Edinburgh* that she was returned last year as having had 4,600 tons built into her, and it is stated 504 tons have been built into her last year; but she comes out of the ordeal worse than she was at the commencement; in point of fact, the gross tonnage built into her is 4,225 tons, as against 4,600 that were returned last year. I only mention these figures to give the Committee and the country an idea of the extraordinary delay and difficulties which seem to impede the completion of Her Majesty's ships, with the best intentions and resolutions on the part of the Admiralty. Now I come to the *Collingwood*, which has been four years in completing. 4,557 tons have been built into her, as against a total of 6,005 tons; and the *Impérieuse* 3,617, as against 4,900. I should weary the Committee by going through these figures; but in the eight ships laid down by the present Board between July, 1880, and April, 1884, representing a gross weight in tons of hull to be built into the ships of 47,620 tons, only 19,000 tons were completed by the 1st of April, 1884; and the result is that only one-third to two-fifths is the average of what has been done in the ships; and if you say they have, on the whole, taken from two to three years in building, there appears to be a probability not of completion in four years, but in seven or eight years. Now, I wish again to say this—if you had laid down half the number of ships and completed them off-hand you would have added greatly to the strength of the Navy. If, instead of 11 or 12 ships, you had laid down and completed six, and then laid down another three, five, or six, as you had opportunity, you would have had that which the Chief Secretary said it was so desirable—you would have had shipping laid down freely, finished off quickly, and the advantage of new designs. Now, I dare say we shall be told that I am asking for that which is almost an impossibility. I know the difficulties, and I know the effort that is required from any Board and from any First Lord who insists on the policy I so strongly advocate. I know it is almost beyond the strength of any human being to do so; but still the effort is worth making, and some of us had an opportunity of seeing a ship the other day built under circumstances of this kind. She was built on a design furnished to the Constructor. She is named the *Riachuelo*; she was laid down in September, 1881, and we saw her ready to go to sea a month ago, so that she was built and completed for sea in two years and six months. I will read to the Committee, if I may, a paper with regard to this ship by one of the highest and most experienced authorities, Mr. White, late Constructor at the Admiralty, which was read before the Institute of Naval Architects on the 21st of April last. He said—

"I think she deserves all the praise that has been bestowed upon her. No doubt she will be one of the most powerful, swift, best armoured second-class armour-clads afloat—perhaps the best. She is a triumph, it seems to me—a combination of many qualities difficult of attainment; and how that has been brought about it is easy to see, in face of these figures."

Mr. White says more; but I will only trouble the Committee with the remarks which seem to me to be of importance. He says further—

"The ship is, in fact, up to date in every particular. There is not a single feature in the ship

in which she can be said, so far as my knowledge goes, to be behind the present time; and that, if I may be allowed to add the remark, is largely due to her rapid construction. . . . . I can only say that the fact of this ship being up to date is due to her rapid construction, and her rapid construction is largely due to the fact that she has been built as she was designed, and not made the subject of extensive and repeated alterations during her construction."

Now, this is the account given by an able officer of the Admiralty, whom some of us, I think, would be glad to see back again at the Admiralty, if an opportunity were afforded to him. Here is a statement of the simple facts of the case, not intended as matter of controversy, but coming from the bottom of his heart, as a simple statement of facts, not as an excuse for the delay which he is conscious occurred within the walls of the Admiralty and the Dockyards, but as an explanation of the fact, which none of us doubt, that the Admiralty Constructors and the Dockyards can produce a ship as rapidly, and turn out work as good, and make the ship as altogether efficient an instrument of warfare as any Constructor in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions. But why is this not done? Is it the policy of the Admiralty not to do that? I am sure it is not. Their policy is to construct a ship as perfectly and completely as possible. But what is it that causes the delay? What is it that enables them to claim that they have 11 or 12 ships laid down, not one of which, in all probability, will be available for the defence of the country this year; not more than one of them available during next year; and others of them delayed for three, four, or five, and, possibly, even six years from the present time? To quote these ships as additions to the strength of the Navy is simply a delusion. They can no more be made use of than a little cockle-shell in the River Thames could be called a man-of-war. They are utterly useless at the present time, and they must be so for two, or three, or four years to come, unless there is a distinct and complete alteration in the policy of those who have to direct the operations of the Constructors for the Admiralty. There was a statement made the other day—I will not say where—by a great authority—

"Supposing a naval war to break out between two countries, in all probability the first-class ships would soon be placed *hors de combat*, and the nation that had the greatest number of vessels would be able to sweep the seas."

I believe that statement to be correct. I believe our ships would, many of them, be placed *hors de combat*, and we should find ourselves, if unfortunately engaged in war, in this position—that we had 12 ships, in different stages of advancement, in the Dockyards, none of which would be available while the war lasted; 12 iron-clads; half-a-dozen or more cruisers in a like condition, and a number of other vessels not taken in hand, because of the difficulty in deciding what should be done—in other words, we should have a strength capable of turning the issue of a great struggle lying idle and incapable of being used; while a policy which insisted upon completing every ship we could, and maintaining them in a state of efficiency for war, would probably save the country. Now, I should like to know what is the cause of this? Is it that you cannot obtain guns? Is it that you have not settled what guns you are going to have? Is it that you do not know precisely how to mount these guns? What is the cause of delay? Is it that you cannot make up your minds whether you will have heavy guns or light guns? or whether you will have torpedoes or not? What is the cause of this unfortunate system of alteration and delay which prevails at the Admiralty? Now, I will ask my hon. Friend as to certain statements made in this House. I have no doubt they are accurate; but if he says that they are, he will, at all events, remove one of the elements of doubt which have prevailed, and will set at rest assertions which have been not unfrequently repeated as to the causes of delay. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War is credited with having stated that the War Department has supplied, or in a few days will have supplied, to the Navy 10 guns of 43 tons and 12-inch bore; 18 of 18-tons and 10-inch bore; 18 of 18-tons and 9-inch bore, and 170 of 4 tons and 6-inch bore. In addition, he says there are in hand in course of construction for the Navy 3 of 110-tons, four of 63-tons, and 3 of 43-tons. I should like to know whether these guns have been actually delivered to the Navy, or whether they are incomplete, or in some degree of incompleteness like the *Conqueror* gun or the *Colossus* gun, which for all practical purposes is

a mere tube, and incapable of being used on board a ship. Upon that I do not wish to bring any charge against Woolwich, for I believe it has done its work as well as any Department; but it needs direction; and it needs distinct and positive orders as to completion, and it also needs money. Whether these orders had been given or the money has been found, it remains for my hon. Friend to say. Then we are told that there are in hand three guns of 110-tons, four of 63-tons, and three of 43-tons. I understood that the *Anson*, the *Collingwood*, the *Howe*, the *Rodney*, and the *Benbow*, were all to have 63-ton guns. All we hear of at present is that four are in course of completion. Now, Sir, there must be delays, there must be expense, when the Admiralty have determined that a ship shall be built, and have ordered her to be built, that requires a particular gun. The guns are not begun until long after the ship is commenced. Then a delay occurs which suggests an alteration in the fitting and magazines; the whole thing is pulled to pieces again, and six, or 12, or 18 months' delay occurs. I want to know if the 63-ton guns that are required for the ships will be ready when the ships are ready, looking at the energy which my hon. Friend opposite and the Secretary to the Admiralty said would be used to push the ships forward. I want to know, in other words, whether the ship will be kept waiting for the gun, or the gun will be kept waiting for the ship? I hold that the gun ought always to be waiting for the ship—that it ought always to be ready for the ship. The present Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Brand) said that never had the War Department kept a ship waiting for a gun, but that the gun was always waiting for the ship. I have no doubt that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevelyan) will entirely confirm that view; but if it be so it only adds mystery to the difficulty. If the guns are ready or ordered before the ship is ready, I want to know whether the hydraulic fittings will be ready likewise? I have reason to believe that it takes two years from the date of order, or probably will take two years, to complete the hydraulic fittings of the 43-ton gun. It may take no more to complete the fittings of the 63-ton gun; but it certainly will take no less. Has the order been given, has the contract been taken up? Is it decided that one of these ships shall be ready in due course of time to receive these guns and gun-carriages? Then I want to know whether there really is or is not any delay with regard to the mountings for the small guns? I have heard—I do not know whether it is true—that there is some difficulty in furnishing the mountings for the 6-inch and the 8 and 9-inch guns which have been delivered, and which are required for the Service. Why is that delay occurring? What is the cause of it? Is it due to any difficulty in the supply of these mountings at Woolwich? I understand that the Admiralty take the whole of the mountings into their own hands. They can go where they please, either to Woolwich or to Elswick, to get what they want, or, if they do not get it there, they can go to any other gun-carriage shop or mechanical shop in the country. They have the whole resources of the country at their disposal, and, having settled the pattern, it does not seem to me that it would be a very difficult thing for them to acquire within a reasonable time such mountings as are required for these ships. I am afraid I am occupying the time of the Committee unduly with these matters; but my excuse must be that they are of a very serious and grave character. We may say what we like about foreign Navies and the English Navy; but there is one thing which we ought to insist on, and that is that the English Navy should be equal to any duty which may be required of it. We are at one on that point. Our resources should be so handled, and our mechanical appliances so used, our existing machinery should be so applied, that at any moment the whole strength which the country possesses should be capable of being brought into use for the defence of the country. No doubt, my hon. Friend will agree with me in that; and my complaint is that the system under which we are proceeding, and under which we have proceeded for many years, fails to give that assurance to the country. Speaking of new ships, there is one thing I would remark on as to the policy of the Admiralty. I refer to the steel steam cruisers of the *Leander* class. In one part of the Return they are spoken of as complete so far as the contractor is concerned. In the

abstract of ships building and completing in Her Majesty's Dockyards, we are told that the *Amphion* is to advance to 1,443 tons after her arrival at Devonport, and the *Arethusa* is to be completed. These, with the *Leander*, are, no doubt, valuable ships, and I think they could all be completed in three months, if the Admiralty gave the order for it. If they are left incomplete they will infallibly be attended with expense, because there will be a disposition to alter them, and make changes in them—probably to re-arrange their armaments in some way. It has been decided what the ships shall be by giving the orders to build them, and it is simply a waste of money to delay and make alterations after they are complete so far as their hulls, or gun-ports, or fittings generally are concerned. These ships, I venture to say, ought to be completed and made ready for that service to which the authority I have already quoted referred when he said that the nation which had the greatest number of vessels would, in the time of war, be able to sweep the seas. We should be able to sweep the seas, no doubt, if we made use of the resources which ought to be at our command. With regard to the repairs, I wish to ask a question or two of my hon. Friend. There are two or three important ships in the Dockyard. There are the *Black Prince*, the *Warrior*, and the *Resistance* awaiting repairs, without any decision whatever having been come to by the Admiralty with regard to what those repairs shall be. Then there are the *Agincourt*, the *Achilles*, and the *Minotaur*, and there is a fourth ship of the same class of which I have forgotten the name. These ships are ships of a certain type, with regard to which it is absolutely necessary that the Admiralty should come to some decision. Are they going to repair them, or are they going to deprive the country of the strength which, in time of emergency, these ships would supply? I readily acknowledge that they are no longer first-class fighting ships; but then their hulls are indestructible. They are very fast ships, capable of being used as cruisers in time of emergency; and I conceive that they could be made most efficient cruisers at half the cost of the *Mersey* or the *Severn*—at half the cost of a ship that is altogether unprotected so far as her sides are concerned. It is not my duty to indicate the policy that the Admiralty should pursue; but it is my duty to insist on the value of these ships in time of emergency if they were only placed in a position to do good work for the country. Sir, I will not go at greater length into this question, which appears to me to be so important that it is to be regretted that so few hon. Members feel it to be to their interest, or their duty to their country, to take part in the discussion. I may be forgiven, perhaps, if I say that I believe there is no subject which can be discussed in this House which is of more importance, and there is no subject on which the Government would more welcome increased support. Nor is there any subject on which they would be more glad, so to speak, to be assisted by the House of Commons in the course they pursue. I give them full credit for the desire to do their best under the circumstances in which they are placed; but it is unfortunate that they should have to contend with what appears to be an indifference on the part of the House of Commons to the welfare of the Service which, in time of emergency, would prove the safeguard and protection of the country. I am most anxious that we should have answers to the questions which I have ventured to address to the Secretary to the Admiralty. I think I have shown that laying down ships is a different thing to completing them, and that we may have a great many vessels in the Dockyards without having anything to rely on in time of emergency. It is that time of emergency from which I cannot avert my eyes. If we are not to contemplate war as possible, we have no excuse whatever for maintaining a costly Navy and a costly Army. If we are to contemplate the possibility of war, everyone who, being in a position of command and responsibility, fails to develop to the full the resources under his control, is, I think, a traitor to his country.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: This is not the first time that, on rising, to reply on behalf of the Government to observations made in the course of the discussion on the Navy Estimates, it has been my duty, as well as my pleasure, to recognize the most candid and cordial support, and the generally satisfactory tone of the observations that have been made, and the freedom from

anything like a Party spirit which has characterized the discussion. My right hon. Friend opposite, the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith), has made a speech to which I shall probably best reply if I say that I agree with the greater part of it. He impressed upon us the necessity of avoiding those delays which every one of us must admit are not only costly, but also, to a large extent, injurious to efficiency; and he quoted several instances in which ships had been commenced and considerable promises had been made with regard to their completion without being fulfilled. He said that, in spite of these promises, the ships were still in an incomplete condition. Well, the first remark I would make upon that line of argument of my right hon. Friend is, that it is a condition of things which has always existed. I believe that even when my right hon. Friend himself was First Lord of the Admiralty the same state of things existed; and there are one or two instances —notably that of the *Inflexible*—which occurred during that period, and which are often quoted as exemplifying the evils of delay in the construction of the Navy. But, as I said in introducing the Estimates this year, the alternative for delay in manufacture, in order that modern improvements may be taken advantage of as they arise, is to shut our eyes to all improvements that are suggested during the construction of great ships. I am not here to plead in favour of delay. I have nothing to say in contradiction of the line of argument which my right hon. Friend adopted; but what I do say is, that there is, to some extent at least, another side to the picture, and that it is most undesirable that we should consider ourselves absolutely required, the moment we have laid down a ship, to adhere with pedantic accuracy to the original design. More especially is this true in regard to the years through which we have just passed. Since 1880, and until this year, we have been engaged in one of the most important duties which it ever became the task of a Government in reference to naval matters to perform—I mean the total transformation of the armament of the Navy — an alteration not only from muzzle-loading to breech-loading guns, but from guns that were suited to one kind of powder to guns suited to another kind; in fact, from one theory of guns and gunnery to another. It is said that there has been great delay on that ground, and I admit it; but if it is alleged that we are to blame for this delay, then I say that we should have been much more to blame if, instead of proceeding cautiously and deliberately, we had rushed to the conclusion that a certain type of gun was the best, and had provided the Navy with a large and costly armament, which a very few years would have proved to be obsolete, and inferior to that possessed by other Navies. The truth is, that up to 1880 nothing whatever had been done, or very little, in this country in the direction of altering our armament; whereas other countries have been going ahead in the matter. When the present Government came into Office, they found that little or nothing had been done; and therefore it became their duty to undertake, almost from the beginning, this gigantic task. What they did was to appoint an Ordnance Committee, not trusting to their own opinion, or to the counsel of their immediate Advisers. They appointed this Special Committee, and it was intrusted with the responsibility of laying down the principles upon which this great change in our armaments should take place. Well, this was a subject which could not be lightly treated—the alteration was a thing which could not be decided upon or carried out in a day; and, of course, the Ordnance Committee, like all such Bodies, was not very rapid in coming to its decision. It has not, however, been so dilatory as one might have feared; and we are now in this position—that with regard to the greater questions involved in the problem, particularly the general design of the guns, they have settled the type which is to be adopted. I was glad and very much interested to hear—as I know several hon. and gallant Members who were present on that occasion also were—the lecture given by Colonel Maitland, the officer at the head of the Gun Factory, the other day, at the Royal United Service Institution. I was glad to hear that, in his opinion, the gun which is now being adopted in our Service is really the most modern in Europe—ahead of that adopted in the Service of any other country. The Committee will observe that the question of

guns directly affects the construction of ships. It is not only the size and weight of the gun that you have to consider, but you must also have in your mind the weight of the projectile, and the magazine accommodation which would be required. The power of the gun, also, is an element to be considered in the construction of a ship; and, therefore, so long as the *data* upon which to proceed in these respects are absent, it is quite necessary that the building should be retarded. Sometimes, of course, delays occur which were not expected when the building of the ship was first commenced; and if any explanation is required as to unusual delays which have occurred in particular of late years, it is to be found in that—that is the real secret of the matter. I do not admit, however, that the general delay has been excessive compared with that of other years. My right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) asked me whether I could say, or confirm the statement made the other night by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, that no ship had been kept waiting for its guns.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Surveyor General of the Ordnance.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Well, the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, who is more directly responsible than the noble Lord. I understand, from the best inquiries I have been able to make, that that can be said to be strictly true—that is to say, that the process of manufacture of the gun has never been prolonged to such an extent as to keep the ship waiting. That ships have been kept waiting until the design of the gun was settled, or until some alteration was finally adopted with regard to its charge and other particulars, there can be no doubt; but as to manufacture, what has been said from this place on the subject is, I believe, exactly true. The statement made also by my hon. Friend with regard to the number of guns which are ready is, as far as I can follow the figures quoted by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, in correspondence with the facts as known to us. The right hon. Gentleman asked whether these guns had been actually delivered. They have not all been actually delivered; but we know that they are lying ready for delivery; and I think, when they are in that condition, it is better for them to remain at Woolwich than for them to be handed over to us, because we have not the same facility for keeping them in good condition, probably, as exists at Woolwich. But the guns, according to the statement made the other day and quoted by my right hon. Friend opposite are, I believe, actually at the disposal of the Admiralty, and available for naval service. Perhaps it would satisfy my right hon. Friend if I went over some of the points affecting the guns in succession, in order that I may tell him precisely how the matter stands. I will begin with the 6-inch gun. As to this gun, there has been no change of pattern causing the delay, and there has been no retarding of any ship in consequence of its manufacture; but I am sorry to say that in respect of the mounting there is at present a hitch. Patterns showing the precise form and details, so as to allow of preparations being made for putting the mountings down, have never been wanting; but when the carriage came to be actually constructed, it was found that there was great difficulty in getting the steel castings necessary for the particular form of carriage adopted.

SIR JOHN HAY: Provided from Elswick?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; from Elswick. The difficulty was one which had not been anticipated. It came upon us suddenly. I am glad to say, however, that it is in a fair way to be remedied. The delay was owing to the peculiar form of the mountings—to the difficulty of getting steel cast in the necessary form. As to the 7-inch gun, it is only an experimental gun at this moment, and it is somewhat doubtful whether it will be used, even for the *Mersey* and *Severn* class of ship, for which it was intended. Of the 8-inch and 9-inch guns, a considerable supply is now ready at Woolwich, waiting for the mountings. Experimental mountings are not yet supplied by the makers; and, of course, until they have been tested in one or two instances, the other guns must wait. This circumstance, I may say, affects the *Bellerophon*, and the re-armament of the *Hercules* and the *Sultan*, and possibly of some other ships. It was intended to fit out the *Bellerophon* as a sea-going gunnery ship; but that proposal has been abandoned.

SIR JOHN HAY: Will the change in the case of the 7-inch gun cause any alteration of the *Mersey* and *Severn?*

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Not at all. The 7-inch gun is not a naval gun at all, but is merely manufactured for land service. Going up to the 12-inch, or 43-ton, gun, that is the gun which is on board the *Conqueror*, and, as my right hon. Friend opposite knows, a difficulty has, unfortunately, arisen with regard to the hydraulic loading apparatus. The gun is ready, the breech-piece is all right, and there is no reason to suppose that any alteration in it will be required; but it is found that in the turret there is not room enough to develop sufficient force in the apparatus which moves the breech-piece after the gun has been fired a few times. It is not a very large question, but it is one of some intricacy; and experiments are being made on board the *Handy*, which it is fully expected will soon succeed, and lead to the difficulty being overcome. But the Committee will observe that that is not a matter strictly affecting the gun itself. We cannot say that the *Conqueror* is not ready on account of the delay of the gun by the War Department, because it is the hydraulic mode of closing the gun which is at fault rather than the gun itself.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to ask a question as to whether the pattern for the breech-piece itself is finally settled? I may say that I have myself seen it, and have noticed that the obturator is not approved. It is in connection with that that the difficulty has arisen, I believe. The difficulty had not been overcome a few days ago.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I will not go into details just now upon this matter. No doubt, the obturator has something to do with the delay; but my advisers say that it is not necessary to alter the present obturator. The difficulty will be got over in some other way. As to the 63-ton gun, as I stated some time ago in answer to the right hon. Gentleman, there are four of these guns ordered and in process of construction, and one of them is so far advanced that it will probably be finished for trial in four or five months. We do not anticipate any delay, therefore, on account of that gun; and as to its affecting the construction of the ship, its actual weight and dimensions have been known for some time, and the maximum, or the largest, charge and the projectile have been stated, so that on that account there will be no necessity for retarding the ships which are to carry it.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. Gentleman has not alluded to the other guns.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have gone over all of them.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Have four of the 63-ton guns been ordered?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes, Sir; four.

MR. W. H. SMITH: That is the armament of one ship?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; I find there are eight ordered. Money is provided in the Estimate for completing four, and commencing four more.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Committee will feel that information obtained in this way is, perhaps, more complete. Is there any fact which can be stated as to the time within which the 63-ton guns will be completed from the date of the order? How long does it take to make a 63-ton gun; because, if only four are in course of construction, and four more are to be ordered this year, and there are four ships building which require to have them, two ships would be left without guns until next year. I think my hon. Friend will see that there is some uncertainty as to whether the guns will be ready for the ships.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know exactly how long it will take to manufacture the guns. My hon. Friend (Mr. Brand) says it will take 18 months or two years. The right hon. Gentleman put a question to me as to the *Leander*. The *Leander* herself, we expect, will be completed in December in the Dockyards; but the others of her class will not be completed until she has been tried. Directly we are satisfied with her capabilities the others will be completed. They can be completed in about three months. Then the right hon. Gentleman asked me an important question as to the repair of certain vessels of the older type. He referred to the *Black Prince*, the *Warrior*, the *Defence*, the *Resistance*, the *Hector*, &c. There is a class to be separated from that class—namely, the *Minotaur*, the *Agincourt*, the *Northumberland*, and the *Achilles*. In the case of the first class,

they are single-screw ships, with their steering gear unprotected. That is an important point. With regard to the others, they have their steering gear protected. The *Warrior*, *Black Prince*, and *Resistance* have been for some time awaiting repairs. The *Black Prince* was, I believe, put in hand for repair in 1878, and, in fact, a considerable advance was made in the work of repairing her; but when it was found that she would cost a great deal more than had been expected, the Admiralty, not unreasonably, stopped the work upon her, because in her present condition she was, for one thing, a somewhat extravagant ship. That was one reason, and I have no doubt there were many others, to account for the postponement of her repair. She has remained in her present condition ever since. The other class, the *Minotaur*, *Agincourt*, and *Achilles*, have not yet come to want repair; but they will very soon be out of order—the *Minotaur*, probably, within about nine months. It has, therefore, become urgent, seeing that these are valuable and important vessels, that the Admiralty should consider what should be done with them. I cannot say that any final and positive decision has been arrived at on the subject; but I believe that the impression on the minds of the Board of Admiralty is that it would be well worth while to spend the requisite money upon the *Minotaur* when she comes out of commission—that is to say, to put her into thorough repair, and to place in her compound engines, with a slightly improved armament. I understand my right hon. Friend to say, and I must correct him in this, that this ship could be repaired and made a most useful vessel, both as a cruiser, and as, above all, an exercise ship, for half the cost of a vessel of the *Mersey* class. Well, a vessel of the *Mersey* class costs £154,000—namely, £100,000 for the hull, and £54,000 for the machinery. The cost of doing what I have indicated to the *Minotaur*—that is to say, giving her compound engines, and slightly improving her armament, and repairing her in other respects—would be, according to the best estimate we can make, somewhere between £140,000 and £200,000. If the old-fashioned engines were left in her the cost would be £100,000. But in the case of this vessel, important and useful as she would be, my impression is—and I think my Colleagues share the opinion, though the course has not been definitely adopted—that she is well worth being supplied with compound engines. Then, as to the other class, it is not at all unlikely—though in this matter also no decision has been arrived at—that the *Black Prince* may be repaired in such a way as to be able to take the place of the *Minotaur* without putting new boilers in her. Her boilers are good for two years, so that they will not be replaced for that period by new ones; and by that time we shall see how we succeed with the *Minotaur*, and be able to tell the best course to adopt. It is a matter to be considered whether these ships are worth the expenditure of the money which would be necessary in order to put them into good condition. Some of them, undoubtedly, are. The armour of most of them is only 4½ inches; but it is quite enough to make them perfectly secure against shell fire and machine-gun fire. They are, indeed, extremely good and useful ships for a variety of purposes. They can accommodate large crews, and will be most useful for Channel service, and for the purpose of exercising seamen; so that the right hon. Gentleman will understand that we perfectly appreciate the importance, in fact the necessity, of dealing with these ships; but the indication I have given him of the views and plans recommended to us at this moment is all that I can say at present. Now, I have already alluded to the question of delay in the construction of ships, and I have said what I have to say on that subject; but, perhaps, it may be desirable at this stage, and in connection with that point, to mention that we have found it possible to go on somewhat more rapidly both with the *Collingwood* and the *Edinburgh* than was expected when I had the pleasure of introducing the Estimates. It was supposed that the *Collingwood* would have to be delayed somewhat, in consequence of her trials; but I am glad to say that they have been exceedingly successful, and altogether it is found consistent with the arrangements at the Dockyards to push her on a little more rapidly. The hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Captain Price) appeared to assume that someone on the part of the Admiralty propounded it as a principle

that our naval strength is to be measured by the number of ships we lay down. I am not aware that anyone connected with the Admiralty has said anything even encouraging that idea. The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord Northbrook), upon an occasion which has been alluded to, spoke of the ships that had been laid down; but the way in which he introduced that point was this. He said that if you are making a comparison of the progress of two nations with regard to ships, there is a great difference of opinion as to how you are to class them—which are first-class, and which are second-class — besides which it often happens that you have very uncertain information regarding their progress, so that the only tangible fact which cannot be disputed by anyone is the number laid down. I must say I do not think we in this country have fallen into the error, or laid ourselves open to the accusation, of laying down too many ships without any prospect of proceeding with them. If that accusation were made by a Member of the French Assembly with reference to his own country, I could understand it better, because, if I were to make any observations at all upon the recent policy of that nation, I should say they would probably have done better had they devoted a little more of the labour and money they have spent on their Navy to completing their ships, rather than in laying new ships down. But it is a relief to me to find that the view taken by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) is shared by other hon. Members near him, for we have had constantly thrown at our heads ships which were nominally laid down in the French Estimates, but which we knew had not been brought into existence at all, or, at all events, advanced to so small a degree that they were out of the reckoning. I have always avoided making comparisons, and I am not going to make them now; but there are two French ships—namely, the *Brennus* and *Charles Martel*—which are constantly quoted, but which are not yet laid down, and I should not be very much surprised if they were never laid down at all, although they have been on the Estimates for years.

CAPTAIN PRICE: I did not quote them.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I was not alluding to the hon. and gallant Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) asked me about the *Colossus*. We expect that ship will be finished at the end of this year. It is quite true that the old question of tons enters into the discussion, and that in very many instances, although the Admiralty claim to have built a good many tons, certain ships are, at the end of the year, quoted as being more backward than they were at the beginning of the year. We are all agreed upon the subject. The circumstance is solely due to the fact being discovered that in previous years less real progress towards the completion of ships had been made than was thought at the time. Now, Sir, some observations have been made with regard to a speech by the First Lord of the Admiralty to which I cannot but allude. While my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) was out of the House, I said a few words with respect to the absence of Party spirit from our debates, and I expressed my satisfaction that there had not been any trace of it in the House to-night. I entirely reciprocate what my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) said on that subject, and I think I may without conceit say that I have been now for 10 years or more connected with one or other of the two great fighting Departments of the State, and I am not aware that either in this House or out of it I have ever said anything of a Party nature in relation to that Department. I deprecate, in the strongest way, the infusion of any Party spirit into the consideration of either the Army or the Navy Estimates. But I am bound to say that when the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Captain Price) accused the First Lord of the Admiralty of making a violent Party speech—I think he also called it an electioneering speech—I think he must have forgotten what occurred at the luncheon or banquet at which he himself was present at Devonport some time ago. The reason why my noble Friend, who was the very last man to infuse, of his own accord, Party spirit into a matter of this kind, made the speech in question, was that certain observations were made at Devonport by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) at the head of the Conservative Party when he was down there on a mission, the object of which

was nothing that I know of, if it were not electioneering. The observations of the noble Marquess were to the effect that the Government had shown themselves indifferent to the naval supremacy of the country, and he founded those observations upon the terrible account that my hon. and gallant Friend (Captain Price), the Conservative Member for the borough, had given in a previous speech, of which I have not seen a report, in replying to the toast of the Navy. If we are to look about for electioneering speeches, and for the introduction of Party spirit, I should be disposed to look for it at Devonport. I certainly do not think my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty is open to the charge which has been made against him. But the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Captain Price) did not quite accurately quote what my noble Friend said. All that he did was to point out that we were not neglecting the interests of the nation, and to quote figures, which were perfectly accurate, to show that the present Government were spending twice as much upon iron-clad ships as was spent the year before we came into Office. My hon. and gallant Friend says the noble Lord selected a small year under the late Government, and compared it with a great year. Why, he selected the most natural year —namely, the year before we came into Office.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must call the hon. Gentleman's attention to the Rules and Orders of the House. To review a discussion in "another place" is out of Order.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I know that is so; but I was under the impression that I had not made it clear where the speech had been delivered. I can only say that the conception which the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Captain Price) formed of the speech, both as regards tone and intention, was altogether erroneous. It has also been said that somewhere or other the First Lord of the Admiralty expressed doubts as to the future of naval warfare; that, in fact, he contended that iron-clads are now obsolete and unnecessary. It would be very unfortunate if that interpretation were put on what my noble Friend said. My noble Friend said that if, by the extraordinary liberality of the British taxpayer, and owing to the good-will of the Treasury, a large sum of money—someone has suggested £3,000,000 or £4,000,000—were placed at the disposal of the Admiralty, he would, at this moment, have some difficulty in knowing how most advantageously to spend it, because of the changes which are going on in naval warfare. He never said that iron-clads would be unnecessary in the future; all he meant to imply was that it would be ridiculous, and I think it would be, to expend such a large sum on iron-clads alone, when there are so many other partly developed or undeveloped modes of attack and defence to which a great portion of the money might be applied; and, in the face of the difficulty, he expressed the hope that he would not be placed in so embarrassing a position as to have to expend the money. Generally speaking, I am not disposed to take up any challenge that is thrown down to us on the ground of comparison with other countries. I have always deprecated such a line of argument. It is our belief, based on the fullest information we possess, that the proposals we make in the way of shipbuilding, if we are able to carry them out, are sufficient for our purposes. We, in this country, are sometimes alarmed by statements of what is done in other countries; but we do not find that the actual facts come up to the expectations which those statements convey. I believe I am right in saying that, at the present time, there is not the same activity across the Channel in the construction of new vessels as there was formerly; while we, on the other hand, without any unpleasant rivalry or any desire to create a bitter feeling between ourselves and our neighbours, are quietly adding to our power such increases as we believe to be sufficient for the duties the Navy has to perform. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) said, and I entirely share the sentiments he expressed, that the power of our Navy must be beyond dispute, and that, moreover, it was a matter with regard to which the country was determined, and with regard to which there would be no opposition from any patriotic Englishman. I entirely agree with him. The Government are responsible for their policy; they are responsible to the House for the strength and efficiency of the Navy; and I can assure the right hon. Gentle-

man that it is not from any niggardly spirit, or any fear of opposition in this House or out of it, that we have contented ourselves with the proposals we have made. Well, I think I have alluded to every point which it is necessary for me to speak of. [Mr. W. H. SMITH: Gun mounting.] I think, in what I said about guns, I spoke of gun mountings. No doubt, that is part of the general system. A great length of time is occupied in completing a gun and its mounting; but I can assure the right hon. Gentleman of one thing, and that is, that now we have got the supply of gun mountings practically in our own hands, we are disposed—at least, I am personally—to make more allowance than we have sometimes done for the War Department, and not to put so much pressure upon them, because I find, even when we have the matter entirely in our own hands, how difficult it is to secure that the work shall be ready in time. I can only repeat that we are aware of the waste attending delay, and that we will do our best to prevent it. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Devonport (Captain Price) made some remarks early in the evening with regard to the Dockyard workmen, and I have had no opportunity until now of noticing what they said. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gorst) asked what conclusion we had come to with respect to shipwrights? Now, I have said more than once, in answer to questions on this subject, that we have come to the conclusion that there is no case for a general increase of wages of any large class of *employés* in the Dockyards, but that there are several smaller cases to which we have turned our attention, and in which we have seen our way to do something. We have not taken advantage, as the hon. and learned Gentleman implied, of the present slackness of trade in the shipbuilding world; but, before that occurred, we satisfied ourselves, by going into the figures, that there was no case; and, of course, the existing condition of things made it more impossible than it was before to give any substantial increase. With regard to the question of superannuation, the hon. and learned Gentleman speaks of it as a matter which was very much in the hands of the Admiralty; but superannuation of Dockyard *employés* is based on the general principles which apply to the Civil Service. I have said in this House that I am not very enamoured of the present system of superannuation, but I am not in a position to promise any change. The Committee that we appointed on the subject of the building and repairing of ships is on the point of concluding its labours; but I am unable to say anything as to the evidence it has taken or the Report it is going to make. I anticipate, however, the greatest benefit from its investigation of the matters submitted to it. I do not think it would have been an advantage, as one hon. Gentleman said he thought it would have been, to have submitted to it the whole question of Dockyard Administration, and the distribution of work and wages amongst the different men employed. To have done that would have delayed the issue of the Report for a considerable time. We expect, as I have said, great advantage from the advice which will be given to us by this Committee, which is entirely separate and distinct from the Admiralty. The Committee includes not only one or two eminent shipbuilders, but one or two eminent shipowners, who have no interest in private shipbuilding; and, from all I have heard, I feel satisfied the Committee will make suggestions not only with regard to the distribution of work between contract and the Dockyards, but also with regard to those delays which we have been speaking of, and which we all deplore. My hon. and learned Friend said a good deal about Dockyard labour; but, after what has been said, I will not further refer to it. I believe that, as a matter of fact, we must build in our Dockyards to a certain extent, in order to keep them efficient. As my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) suggested, Dockyards ought to be maintained primarily for repairs, but a certain amount of shipbuilding is necessary for the purpose of keeping judiciously and economically a certain number of men employed. The principle I have indicated requires, of course, to be applied in a way which experience shows to be most effective. I hope that, on the one hand, we shall be able to take full advantage of the enormous resources of the private trade of the country; and that, on the

other hand, we shall do nothing to diminish the well-known excellence and efficiency of the work which is turned out of our Dockyards. I do not think I ought to sit down without saying that, with regard to the Constructors' Department, the public is greatly indebted to my hon. Friend and Colleague (Sir Thomas Brassey) for the pains he has taken in the reconstruction of this great Service. I am almost an outsider in the matter; but it appears to me that there are connected with it two main features from the point of view of the public. I am not speaking of the interest of the workmen engaged in the Service—that is another matter altogether, although I hope there is no real reason for discontent amongst the workmen. The first point is that in future, instead of obliging everyone who wishes to serve the Crown as a constructor to serve first of all as a shipwright apprentice, boys from all classes of the community, with a mechanical turn of mind, and whose parents are willing to enter them in the Service, will have now an opportunity of entering the Service. Cadet-ships, practically, are established, the cost of education being defrayed by the parents. In future, the constructors will not be necessarily recruited from the shipwright class, though every precaution has been taken not to injure the chances of those now in the Service. The second great advantage of the new system will be a gradual process of decentralization, so that we shall spread gradually throughout the Dockyards the constructive talent at our disposal as distinguished from the shipbuilding knowledge and skill which exists there to so large a degree. These two points are very fully secured by the new scheme; and I hope that when these advantages are obtained by the country it will involve no sacrifice on the part of the individuals affected.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, that when he came done to the House to-night he had no intention of addressing any observations to the Committee; but, owing to certain remarks which had been made by the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) and other hon. Gentlemen, he felt compelled to put himself for a few minutes between the Committee and the disposal of this Vote. His right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) spoke of the extreme indifference which the House of Commons showed towards the Army and Navy Estimates, and he (Lord Henry Lennox) could bear his testimony to that fact, because the last time the Navy Estimates were under consideration he rose to make a speech, and there were only five Members in the House. To-night, when the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) rose to make one of the most clear and lucid and useful speeches that had ever been delivered in the House of Commons, there were only eight Members on the Government side and only three on the Opposition Benches to listen to the hon. Gentleman. The fact was that those who knew the intricacies of Party life, knew that when the Army and Navy Estimates were coming on, hon. Members received what was familiarly termed a Whip, informing them that the Army or the Navy Estimates would be considered. There was no lines, however, under the Whip, so that it really amounted to a hint to hon. Members to stay away if they chose to do so. But if there was some wretched squabble as to how or under what conditions people were to be buried, hon. Members received four or five line Whips, and the House of Commons was crowded, even in the daytime, to listen to this wretched Party or personal squabble. He hoped that now his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) had drawn attention to the fact that the Representatives of the country did not give their attendance to see after the welfare of the Army or the strength of the Navy, a different state of things would be found to prevail in future Sessions of Parliament. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) said there were people outside the House who were alarmed as to the state of the Navy compared with that of other Navies, and he added that there was not the same activity in respect to shipbuilding on the other side of the Channel as there had been for the last few years. Now, when he (Lord Henry Lennox) first drew attention to that activity on the other side of the Channel, he was pooh-poohed by every one of three successive Secretaries to the Admiralty as being a mere dreamer and an alarmist. French ships were said to be paper ships. The right hon.

Gentleman who had since distinguished himself as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland told him in 1880—the very year that the present Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had told them to-night that they found nothing done with the guns—the then Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Trevelyan) told him and the country that our ships were armed with better guns than were to be found in the ships of any other nation in the world. He only pointed these things out to show that, however satisfactory it was to hear the optimist and rose-coloured speeches which were made on occasions of this kind, they were bound to look back and see what had become of the promises and prophecies of previous Secretaries to the Admiralty. His right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) had spoken—he (Lord Henry Lennox) had dwelt on the same subject frequently for many years past—of the absolute necessity of a rapid completion of the ships we had in hand. His efforts had been of no avail; but he hoped that, inasmuch as his right hon. Friend had taken the matter up, they would see, in the near future, some change of policy. The *Inflexible*, which was being built during the administration of his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith), was eight or nine years in completion, and he (Lord Henry Lennox) felt it his duty to originate a discussion on the subject which lasted two nights. On that occasion he pointed out the fabulous amount of money that ship cost, owing to her being dawdled over, and by the constant changes which were made in her construction. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman's dictum about laying down ships, and he must say this. It was about only three years ago that they had an iron-clad pressed into the list, in order to compare with a French iron-clad building, and they had been told that she had been laid down as part of the British Iron-clad Fleet. He was speaking of the *Benbow*. That vessel disappeared altogether for a time, but afterwards the same *Benbow* was reintroduced and furbished up as part of the Fleet of the country by the Secretary to the Admiralty of the day. Now, with regard to the ship proposed to be laid down in the Estimates of this year the sum asked for her was so small as scarcely to be sufficient to cover the cost of the drawings and the necessary preliminaries to laying down. Therefore, he agreed with his hon. Friend that there was no greater mistake, and nothing more calculated to mislead the public as to the strength of the British Navy, than the laying down of ships on which it was not intended to spend any money at all that would advance them in any way towards completion. He felt that the eyes of the Chairman were upon him, and that he must not allude to what had taken place in the House of Lords; but he might say that he had been surprised by reading the speech of a very distinguished man, in which he claimed that an immense amount had been spent by the Government of the day on the construction of ships as compared with what had been expended by the late Government. That distinguished individual, however, had altogether forgotten to state what were the circumstances of the case. The circumstances were these. When the late Government came into Office they found that a large majority of the ships of the Navy required repairs—they found that they were worth repairing, that they required repairing, and, accordingly, they set to work to repair them; and, besides that, the late Government found that the condition of the armour plates which were being served out was such that exhaustive inquiries were necessary into the whole subject. Those inquiries—and he was sure his hon. Friend opposite would endorse what he said—were of a most exhaustive nature, and it would have been worse than madness to have gone on ordering iron plates for the Navy and to continue to build ships with those iron plates, until the Admiralty had satisfied themselves what was the best and most useful armour that could be produced. After the inquiries were completed, the Admiralty of the day came to the conclusion that composite iron and steel plates were the best, a verdict which had been concurred in by Foreign Governments, after similar inquiries of an equally exhaustive nature. The documents at the Admiralty would show how the money was expended, and what was the nature of the repairs effected. When the late Government was charged with not spending so much on shipbuilding as was spent by the present Government, it should have been stated at the same time that the late Government had spent the money in repairs

and refits, which had enabled many ships to appear in that Return of our Fleet which his hon. Friend opposite laid on the Table of the House at the commencement of the Session. Had the money not been spent on those repairs and refits, the Return which the Admiralty laid on the Table of the House at the commencement of the Session would have been greatly attenuated and diminished in respect of the strength of the Navy. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman opposite that a comparison of the Navies of England and France was one of those subjects which could not be dealt with superficially, for everyone acquainted with the gravity of the position knew that it was too serious and intricate a subject to be dealt with in that way. But the reason why he alluded to it now was because the Secretary to the Admiralty said there was less activity across the Channel at the present moment than there was two years ago. When, however, at that time, he (Lord Henry Lennox) called attention to this subject, he was told that there was no activity at all, that he was a dreamer and an alarmist. But now the Secretary to the Admiralty admitted that activity did then exist, because he said there was less activity now. Would the Secretary to the Admiralty have the kindness to tell the Committee, or the House, or the country, whether he knew that the sum of money annually voted by the French Chambers had been the same for years or not, and whether the sum of money which had been voted this year was not the same as in previous years, or, at all events, within a few pounds? What activity they were showing in other Departments he knew not, but he knew of the eight vessels in their programme, some were completed, and some could be rapidly completed. He said that money was the test as to whether a country was anxious to strengthen its defences. It was a curious thing that, in the speech to which he had referred, allusion was only made to one Power across the water. The days were gone by when we could presume to call ourselves the only, or one of the few, great Naval Powers of the world. As a matter of fact, they never had—and that was his grave objection—any sound system for adding to the strength of the Navy. They had to arrange according to circumstances, and he was prepared to give credit to the present Board of Admiralty for doing their best with the wretched pittance which they received from the Treasury for the purposes of the Navy. His contention was that in France, Italy, and other countries, they first laid down their naval programme—they determined what was necessary for the naval strength of the country, and the money was then forthcoming from the Treasury. Now, he could not help fearing that, in our case, it was a question of what money the Treasury would give; and if that were true, as he believed it to be, it was altogether a fallacious foundation on which to maintain the greatness of the country and its supremacy at sea. But while we were going on in our little humdrum way with regard to our Navy, other countries were by no means acting in the same way. Italy had a well-recognized programme, by which she has established herself already as the third Naval Power in the world; and it was only the other day that he read in the Press that Russia, the Black Sea Treaty having been torn up, was laying down five iron-clads, two of which were being built in the Baltic, and three in the Black Sea. Before he resumed his seat, he desired to call the attention of the Committee to another point on which he very much wished to have some information from the Government. He referred to the subject of torpedoes. If he were not misinformed, we were a long way behind France and even Germany in the number of our torpedoes. He had been told, and he asked his hon. Friend the Civil Lord of the Admiralty whether or not it was true, that the French Government had at that moment ten times the number of torpedoes which we possessed? If his hon. Friend could tell him that that was not the case, he should be very glad. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty, he admitted, had made out the best case he could with regard to the guns; but he said that the guns were delayed for the want of mountings. He (Lord Henry Lennox) could not conceive what distinction there was between a gun being delayed by the slowness of manufacture at Woolwich, which was the last thing he wished to impute, and its being delayed by hitches in connection with mountings, and other similar matters. So far as the ships not getting the guns

was concerned, it amounted to precisely the same thing. He did not wish to detain the Committee further than to say, with regard to this question of guns, that it was one which ought to be cleared up before the public. The Government said that the guns which were lying at Woolwich were not ready to be mounted in the ships for which they were designed, which was equivalent to saying that the ships were delayed for the guns. He did not intend when he came down to the House that evening to say one word on that subject; but the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty, which showed that owing to the want of mountings the ships were really delayed, compelled him to address a few words of warning to the Admiralty, and to appeal to them to do all that lay in their power to press these things forward, so that our large ships might not be delayed owing to the slowness of the manufacture of the guns, or, what was practically its equivalent, the want of the necessary mountings.

Mr. BIRKBECK said, he rose to ask whether any portion of this Vote would be devoted to increasing the number of cruisers, for the purpose of protecting our sea fisheries? His reason for making this inquiry was because every year he was obliged to communicate with the Admiralty in the months of September, October, and November, asking for cruisers to be sent to the North Sea fisheries, to put a stop to the depredations which foreign fishermen committed on those stations. There was always a considerable difficulty with the Admiralty in connection with this subject. As a rule, the answer received was that no vessels were available; and it was only after frequent communications had taken place that one vessel was sent. At the present time, our fisheries in the North Sea were of the greatest possible importance, although, as a matter of fact, they were the worst looked after by cruisers than any other foreign Maritime Power. He trusted that a satisfactory answer would be given on this important question, and that an increased number of cruisers would, for the future, be stationed for the protection of our fisheries.

Captain PRICE asked whether the Secretary to the Admiralty would give the names of the three French ships which they were told, on high authority, were the only first class ships that the French had under construction?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite asked him to tread upon delicate ground. He did not think that anyone, on the part of the Admiralty, had said that the French Government had only three first class ships under construction. The statement was that there were only three such ships completed. He was not in a position to give the names of those vessels. The Committee would be aware that everyone formed his own impression as to what constituted a first class ship; and that was a matter of so much difficulty, that, after every sort of contrivance which the ingenuity and technical skill of their Advisers could suggest for framing a standard of class for an iron-clad ship had been tried, the tendency at the Admiralty at last was to give up any idea of framing a test of that sort, except in one way—namely, by basing it upon the number of tons of displacement of ships of the same period. If they contrasted ships of different periods and of different amounts of displacement, no reliable test was furnished; but if they took ships of the same period, the result would generally be a just idea of the class in which a ship should be placed. With regard to the question put by the hon. Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Birkbeck) on the subject of the protection of the North Sea fisheries, he was rather surprised that he had received the reply which he had stated. There was no intention, he believed, to build any special class of vessels for the service referred to by the hon. Member; but he was bound to say there were vessels suitable for the service; and he repeated that he was surprised that the hon. Member should have received a reply of the kind indicated. But as the hon. Member stated that he had been refused a ship, he would make inquiries, and communicate to him the result. There was one point which he had neglected to mention, and which he thought it right now to refer to. According to the programme as stated by him when introducing the Navy Estimates, the Committee would remember that it was proposed to build in all five vessels of the *Mersey* class, one of which was to be built at Devonport. Since that time the Admiralty had resolved not to build more

than four vessels of that type, and in place of the fifth it had been decided to build at Devonport two protected torpedo vessels. The Committee would also remember that he described at the time referred to vessels of the *Scout* class. The vessels to which he had just referred to would be small ships of that type, and he thought that in proposing to construct them the Admiralty had made a judicious alteration of their programme, and one which it was desirable that he should mention.

SIR JOHN HAY asked for an explanation of what he understood to be a fact—namely, that certain vessels, not named, but which it was announced would be built, had not been proceeded with?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN admitted that no progress had been made with the new iron-clad. As long as a ship remained un-named in the Estimate, there was always a certain amount of doubt in the matter; but it might be taken that when a vessel was named, there was a positive intention of going on with it.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER said, he desired, in discussing this Vote, to call attention to various classes of men for whom it provided, in order that the condition of the Navy, as viewed from the Dockyards, might be fully understood. Discontent, he thought, should be avoided as far as possible in the Public Service, yet discontent had for years been the normal condition of those connected with our Dockyards. The Admiralty knew it by the numerous Memorials they were constantly receiving, and especially since they undertook to visit the Yards, and hear from the men the extent and nature of their grievances. He was aware that it was the old question of money; that the Admiralty might be willing, but that the Treasury were always economical, the result being a state of things in the Dockyards which was not creditable to our Rulers. He did not forget that a Committee had been sitting to devise remedies and apply them, and to-night he hoped to hear something of its labours. He knew that the shipwrights had long complained, as, also, had the joiners and riggers; and the hired men were seeking to know when the proposed new rule for giving a fixed sum according to service after 10 years was to take effect. All of them were anxious on the subject of promotion, seeking to regulate it according to the years they had served. There were anomalies of pay which, he thought, should be adjusted. Why, he asked, should a chaplain receive nearly as much as a Chief Constructor at a leading Dockyard; and why should Dockyardmen be compulsorily retired at 60 years of age, instead of 65, which was, he believed, the provision made by the Civil Service Pensions Act of 1854? The engineers, again, were looking for the modification of the Eleven Years' Clause to which they were entitled; and the engine-room artificers, now 800 in number, were seeking, in the first place, to rank as warrant officers; secondly, to obtain a separate mess and bath-room; and, thirdly, that pensions should be regulated by their pay, as was the case with other classes in the Navy. He would not detain the Committee further than to say that he made these remarks, as he made those which preceded them on another Vote, because he thought it should be an object, above all else, to make the Navy a willing Service, so that in danger and difficulty, our men might be found full of ardour and energy, as they had always been found full of loyalty and patriotism.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, in reply to the hon. Member for Plymouth (Mr. Stewart Macliver), there was no intention on the part of the Admiralty to make any change in regard to the regulations which now existed with reference to the men employed in the Dockyards, nor had any change been decided upon with reference to the leading men in the factories. With reference to the retirement of Dockyard servants at the age of 60, he pointed out that, although that was the general rule, and one which was considered best to insure efficiency in the Service and to admit of due promotion amongst the staff, yet there were exceptional cases in which, on account of the especial fitness for duties which they discharged, and in which there were no objections on the ground of health and capacity, the rule was not enforced.

MR. JENKINS remarked, that there was a slight increase in the Estimates of this year of £10,000 in connection with works at Malta. He regarded Malta as one of the most valuable Dockyards we possessed, and he would be

glad to know whether the works there were being extended?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the item referred to was for wages and matters unconnected with the proposed works. The Government were quite alive to the importance of Malta. It was a Dockyard which it was the policy of the Admiralty to develop considerably. In the first place, labour was very cheap, and in consequence work could be economically done there; moreover, the work was well done. Malta also afforded the great advantage of enabling ships to be repaired there, instead of their being sent home. He was bound to say, speaking generally, that the Admiralty found it every year more feasible to re-commission ships at Malta, instead of bringing them home, which was a very great advantage to the Service. As a Mediterrannean station, Malta was of very great importance.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he entirely concurred with the view with regard to Malta taken by the hon. Gentleman opposite. He believed Malta to be the most valuable Dockyard we had out of England, and he fully confirmed the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty, that the work done there was both good and cheap. He had no doubt that economy as well as the efficiency of the Service would be greatly promoted by making the Docks at Malta in every way suitable for the work to be done there. They had been enabled to repair ships at Malta, which must have come home and gone out again a distance of 4,000 miles, were it not that they were able to do the work at Malta. He believed, also, now that the ships' boilers lasted longer, there was no doubt that ships could be re-commissioned and refitted at Malta at a less cost than would be incurred in this country. Still, he hoped that nothing would be allowed to interfere with the efficiency of the ships in any way.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY remarked, that they had laid down a composite gun vessel at Malta, the object of which new feature in the programme was to remedy an inconvenience experienced there in the summer. During the winter special stress was thrown upon the resources of the Dockyard for the repair of ships brought together in that season; but it would seem that in the summer there was a difficulty of keeping together a nucleus of skilled workmen in the Dockyard. This difficulty, the building of the vessel he had referred to, was intended to remedy.

LORD HENRY LENNOX asked if the Secretary to the Admiralty could give any information to the Committee with regard to Her Majesty's ship *Orion*, which vessel, after being only six months in commission, had been taken into Malta, where, as far as he knew, she still remained, without being brought forward, as he understood, for survey? He wanted to know, seeing that the vessel had only been six months in commission, what had been done to her, and whether she was there still?

MR. C. H. WILSON said, that everyone connected with the shipping interest of the country would know that, at the present time, there were hundreds and thousands of our own workmen out of employment. In view of that fact, and considering the distress that would arise during the coming winter owing to the want of employment for these workmen, he could not understand the policy of Her Majesty's Government in employing what, to a great extent, was foreign, and he should imagine inferior, labour for the building of ships out of this country. He thought it would be infinitely cheaper to bring ships from Malta, which was only a run of seven or eight days, pay off the crews, and have the ships repaired here, instead of having a large and increasing Dockyard at Malta, to repair Her Majesty's ships there. It was self evident that the efficiency of the Navy must depend as much as possible upon iron ships; and he could not but think it was an ill-judged act on the part of the Admiralty to commence building a man-of-war at Malta, or any other place out of the United Kingdom. He protested against this mistaken policy.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, the amount spent at Malta was only £2,000, and that would be scarcely an appreciable amount to be relieved of.

MR. PULESTON asked when the Report of the Committe on Expenditure on Repairs would be presented? He complained that there was no Dockyard Representative on that Committee, and that there was no access for persons concerned in all these matters to the

presence of the First Lord of the Admiralty.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he did not think his noble Friend was difficult of access, or that there would be any difficulty in the hon. Member seeing his Lordship, if he desired. They had put upon this Committee Gentlemen who had some experience, and he could not discern any reason for putting Representatives of Dockyard constituencies upon it.

MR. PULESTON said, he did not mean necessarily Dockyard Representatives in this House, but someone who was connected with and concerned in shipbuilding in the Dockyards.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied, that the object was to have an independent inquiry and independent advice offered to the Admiralty. The Report of the Committee might be made public, but it would depend on what was decided by the Admiralty. He had no doubt the interests of the Navy would be fully represented by the Members of the Committee; especially by the Captain Superintendent of Sheerness Dockyard, who was not put on the Committee because he was Captain Superintendent of that Yard, but because he was an officer of great experience, and was eminently suited to keep the Committee right upon all naval matters.

MR. GOURLEY could not see what use the Committee would be unless their Report was given to this House and to the country; and he hoped the Admiralty would see that it was made public.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN explained that the Committee was not appointed to advise the House at all, but to assist and advise the Admiralty; and in the case of Departmental Committees of that sort there was no obligation or necessity in the nature of the case for the publication of their Report. They confidentially advised the Admiralty, and gave full information to the Admiralty. If the Admiralty thought it would be for the public interest that their Report should be published, it would be published; and he did not say that the presumption was against its being published, but he did not mean to commit himself upon that point.

MR. RYLANDS said, he viewed with some jealousy the increasing disposition of the Government to appoint what they called Departmental Committees. The tendency of those Committees was always, more or less, to give in to the servants of the Crown, and to enable their influence to be exercised in a way which did not secure full investigation of the questions referred to the Committee, or that full information which he thought was very desirable. The custom, formerly, was that Committees of this House dealt with these questions; and he should very much regret it if the result of this inquiry was not made public for the information of the country. The Secretary to the Admiralty seemed to suggest that it was quite sufficient if the Admiralty were informed, because they could then exercise their discretion as to how far they would act on the recommendations of the Committee; but he thought there was great advantage in the Members of this House being informed on these matters; for it might happen that the conclusions of the Members of the House differed from the opinion of the Admiralty, and it might well be that some considerable administrative reform recommended by the Committee would commend itself to inpendent Members of the House. At all events, a better opportunity of understanding the way in which the business of the Dockyards was conducted would be given than was now given. He therefore hoped the Admiralty would consider the advisability of laying the results of this investigation before the House.

MR. GORST said, that among the Dockyards there appeared the Island of Ascension. Some years ago, that Island was kept up as an English possession; but now he found that it appeared as a Dockyard, and also as a victualling station. It would be seen from the Estimate that the expenses of this Island were increasing. They were £400 more this year than last, and they included not only officers and seamen and marines, but a number of civilians—farm bailiffs, storekeepers, and matrons employed on the Island. They were all provided for under a Vote which was for the Pay and Allowances of Officers and Seamen of the Navy.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, there was a considerable reduction of the Establishment on this Island a year or two ago; but it was found in one or two respects to go too far, and

there had, in consequence, been a slight increase in the Vote.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he thought the hospital on the Island of Ascension was of the greatest possible value to ships in that latitude, and he hoped it would not be given up. He had been there often, and he knew the value of the hospital. If the Island were deserted by us, it would be occupied by someone else; but it was in a position of great value to ships serving on the Coast of Africa or coming from Brazil. It seemed to him that the items in this Vote were very necessary, and he hoped they would not be reduced.

MR. RYLANDS wished to point out that in this Vote there were allowances for stationery under various heads for officers. These allowances amounted to £6,000 a-year, or something like that. Such allowances used to be made for the Army, but they had been done away with, and, instead of officers having allowances for stationery, the stationery was provided by the Department. He had heard of cases in which officers had been able to get as much as £15 or £20, and even £40, as allowances for stationery, when, in point of fact, they were unable to use stationery to that amount. He wished to call the attention of the Civil Lord of the Admiralty to this matter, because he thought an economy of some thousands a-year might be effected by the stationery being provided by the Department.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, his opinion was rather in favour of the hon. Gentleman's suggestion, and he would see if it could be carried out.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £70,900, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(3.) £66,400, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

CAPTAIN PRICE inquired whether the Secretary to the Admiralty had looked into a matter he had called attention to some time ago—namely, the question whether deductions were made from the pay of men while they were in hospital?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he had inquired into this matter, and he would bear it in mind and see what alterations could be made.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £21,700, Marine Divisions.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he had the best authority for saying that the condensing apparatus of the men serving in Suakin was defective, and that there was great difficulty in obtaining fresh water for the men. He wished to know whether the hon. Gentleman had any information upon that point?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN replied, that he had not heard anything on the subject.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,124,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Naval Stores for Building, Repairing, and Outfitting the Fleet and Coast Guard, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

SIR JOHN HAY said, he wished to ask a question with reference to the *Benbow*, which he thought came under this Vote. He wished to know what progress was being made with that ship, and when she was likely to be ready for sea? She was a contract ship under this Vote; but no information was given showing the amount of expenditure upon her, or as to when she would be fit for service. The *Benbow* was laid down in 1881 or 1882; but he was informed that she was not likely to be of service even under the contract until 1888. He could not understand why, while a vessel like the *Riachuelo*, contracted for by the Brazilian Government, could be completed in three years, a vessel contracted for by the British Government required seven or eight years for completion. As he understood, there were no changes being made in her; but she was being built under contract as originally designed. Surely, when a contract ship could be built for a Foreign Government in three years, a contract ship for the British Government ought to be completed in three or four years. At this moment we were very short of ships; that was recognized by everyone; and he thought money would be well spent in laying down armour-clads in the Yards which were created in Lord Palmerston's time on the ground that they would be kept well employed—namely, on the Tyne, the Medway, the Humber, and the Thames. They were entirely silent, and

yet a contract ship for the British Government required six years to build. The information in this Vote was very imperfect, and there was no information as to the progress being made with the *Benbow*.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, there was some information on that subject on page 213 of the Estimates. There was considerable delay in regard to the *Benbow* last year, partly because of the question of the armament she was to receive, and partly through the failure of the contractors to supply the armour-plates; but that was now at an end, and he understood that she would be finished in two years.

SIR JOHN HAY hoped the hon. Gentleman would give more explicit information next year.

LORD HENRY LENNOX asked whether the hon. Gentleman said the delay was due to the question of armament?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied that it was mainly owing to certain armour-plates not being received.

MR. GOURLEY said, he quite concurred in the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith), as to the necessity of completing our ships with greater rapidity. They were all aware of the enormous cost of the building of the *Inflexible*. It all arose from the much larger time occupied in the completion of ships in the Dockyards than that occupied in private yards. At this moment, as was admitted on both sides of the House, we were very short of ships. There was, to his mind, very good reason why they should not allow themselves to be altogether dependent on the Admiralty for the construction of ships. Seeing that it took six or seven years to construct a first class iron-clad in the Royal Dockyards, he thought this was a favourable time for employing the private yards in the development of our Navy. It seemed to him to be very opportune just now, when vessels could be built comparatively cheaply, for employing the private yards in the work. The time was additionally opportune also from the circumstance that shipbuilders were short of employment. The Admiralty ought to turn their attention to the advantages to be gained at the present moment of building ships at a much cheaper rate than they could be built in the Dockyards. It was said that we were about to build four vessels of the *Mersey* class. Well, he did not object to these vessels being built, although, to his mind, one would be quite sufficient. It seemed to him that it would be much better, and much more business-like, to refrain from building a number of vessels of a certain type until they had some experience of one. As far as he could make out, these ships would be of about 6,000 tons each; they would steam at 17 knots, and carry 700 tons of coal, which was only sufficient to enable them to steam something like four days. To his mind, to speak of such vessels as fit to be employed as cruisers to protect our shipping in time of war was about as absurd a thing as the Department could have been guilty of. The idea of sending out a ship to protect our mercantile commerce which could only steam four days was one of the most ridiculous things he had ever heard. How could one of these vessels leave the Channel in search of a vessel belonging to an enemy which was supposed to be cruising about preying on our ships? Why, at the end of a few days' cruise she would become *hors de combat*, and would be entirely useless. He would press upon the Admiralty the desirability of laying down only one of these vessels. If the Admiralty would assure him that they did not intend to build more of them until they had had experience of the type he should be content; but if they did not he should be under the necessity of moving the reduction of the Dockyard Vote.

MR. GOURLEY asked whether it was not possible to move a reduction as to the building of a vessel on this Vote, seeing that it included many items of stores required for ships of all classes?

THE CHAIRMAN: It would be difficult to say that the hon. Member is not in Order in referring to shipbuilding under this Vote, inasmuch as there are items in it applying to these ships; but I must say it would be very inconvenient to make a Motion of the kind suggested when the Committee has been a whole evening discussing Vote 6, to which the observations and Motion of the hon. Member would more properly have applied. This is a Vote for naval stores, for the building, repair, and outfit of the

Fleet and the Coastguards, machinery, and ships built by contract.

MR. GOURLEY maintained that the present Vote involved the materials without which it would be impossible to send ships to sea.

THE CHAIRMAN: What I say is this. I do not think the hon. Gentleman should be precluded from proceeding with the Motion for reduction; but I must point out we have been discussing the building of ships on Vote 6, and the Vote we are upon now has reference to naval stores, machinery, and shipbuilding by contract. The hon. Member seeks to raise a question involving the policy of the Government as to the building of a certain class of ships.

MR. C. H. WILSON said, there were items for fuel and machinery; and the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Gourley) had referred to the matter as to the consumption of fuel as a question of great importance in regard to the efficiency of a vessel of war. The hon. Member contended that a vessel of a large consumption of fuel, which could not carry more coal than sufficient to last for three or four days, could not be looked upon as an efficient vessel. He (Mr. Wilson) wished to inquire of the Secretary to the Admiralty whether Her Majesty's Government were making any improvement in machinery? Perhaps it might not be unknown to Her Majesty's Government that great improvements had been taking place of late. He (Mr. Wilson) was able to speak from his own knowledge on this point, because he was thoroughly acquainted with the advance which had been made in the development of steam machinery in the Merchant Navy. If these improvements were important in the Merchant Navy, it was, if possible, more important that they should be developed in a fighting Navy. He was referring specially to a new type of engine which, within the last year or two, had been introduced, and which, within a year or two, would be almost universally used in the Merchant Navy. This engine expanded the steam in more cylinders than two, using the steam at a considerably higher pressure, and by that means securing a very considerable economy in fuel. From his own practical knowledge, having lately built several of these engines, he knew the effect was to bring about a saving of 20 per cent of fuel. Seeing that the annual Vote was £150,000 for coal, a saving of 20 per cent, by the adoption of that type of engine he was referring to, would effect a saving of £30,000 a-year. It was of the greatest possible importance that our vessels, particularly cruisers, should be built for speed, and capable of keeping at sea for a long period; it was, therefore, highly necessary that the consumption of coal should be as much as possible reduced consistently with the maintenance of speed. That vessel which in the future would be the most valuable would be the one that could keep the sea for the longest period, and steam at the most rapid rate. So far as he was aware, he did not know that this question had been gone into by the naval authorities; but if not, he thought it was not very creditable to the engineering staff of the Admiralty. He wished to call the attention of the Admiralty to what appeared to him to be an especially important point and one deserving their immediate attention. The fact was that these vessels were too long building; that by the time they were built they were almost obsolete; and if that occurred in the case of the ships, of course it occurred still more so in the case of the machinery. During the seven or eight years it took to build a line-of-battle ship, between the commencement and the completion of the vessel, engineering made enormous strides. From his own knowledge he was able to give an instance of that. Within the past four or five years the engineering world, which had been naturally very timid of making these enormous strides, and had been somewhat tentative in their operations, had got over a great deal of their timidity, and were using steel for boilers, and hydraulic machinery which enabled them to make boilers work at a pressure which four or five years ago they dared not contemplate. His own experience extended over a considerable period of time, and he remembered when ships' boilers did not work beyond 10 lbs. or 12 lbs. pressure. From that they went up to 20 lbs.; from that they got up to 50 lbs. or 60 lbs., which at one time was believed to be an enormous pressure; then they made another forward advance and got to 80 lbs., and now they had made another tremendous step forward and got up to 150 lbs. and

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180 lbs. pressure. He believed Her Majesty's Government were doing nothing of this kind, but were building machinery of an antiquated character which took them some years to complete, and which then would be altogether obsolete and worthless and only fit to be taken out of the ship and replaced by modern machinery. With regard to the length of time that was occupied in building ships of the Navy, it seemed to him altogether absurd for the Admiralty to occupy eight or nine years in doing that which could be very well performed in two, or, at the outside, three years. That appeared to him to be an important point, and he begged to call the attention of the Committee to it.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he did not know whether the hon. Gentleman had any definite information as to the condition of the machinery of Her Majesty's ships, and as to improvements having lately taken place.

MR. C. H. WILSON: I did not mean to say that Her Majesty's Government were neglecting to adopt modern improvements—I simply asked whether they were adopting them.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that without technical knowledge on the subject he could, at any rate, assure the hon. Gentleman that there were officers at the Admiralty who were perfectly well aware of every known improvement in machinery which could be introduced into a ship. They satisfied themselves that the machinery provided was made of the best materials and on the best principle. All boilers now manufactured were made of steel, and altogether he did not find that the boilers provided for Her Majesty's ships were in that state that the hon. Member suggested. With regard to the ships of the *Mersey* class, it had been intended to build five of them; but one of that number had been abandoned in favour of another project. Now, therefore, it was only proposed to build four of them; and, looking at the prospects there were of their being useful, he felt sure they would justify the Government in going on with them. The extreme speed of these vessels, their endurance so far as capacity for carrying fuel was concerned, would be much greater than the hon. Gentleman supposed—they would be able to steam 2,000 knots at a speed of 17 knots an hour, or 8,000 knots at a speed of 10 knots an hour, and that was considered very satisfactory.

MR. RYLANDS said, the Government could go into the market and get machinery from the best makers with all the latest modern improvements, and no doubt they had done that from time to time. No doubt the question that had been raised by the hon. and gallant Member with regard to the construction of ships in private yards as well as our Dockyards was a very important subject; and though that observation applied to this Vote, it applied much more strongly to the Vote for building the ships in our own Dockyards. One point he could not too strongly impress on the Admiralty was that, if they were a long time building these vessels, they necessarily had a large sum of money lying idle which they might spend on the Navy, which in the event of an emergency would be absolutely futile; they spent millions of money on unfinished ships, which clearly could be of no advantage to us in the event of an emergency taking place. The object and policy they should have in view, it would seem to him, should be this—namely, whether they built themselves, or whether, as he should much prefer, they went into the open market and got them built by contract, it ought to be essential, both with reference to their own shipbuilding and to the contract shipbuilding, that, having decided on the character of the vessel they required, they should insist upon the ship being finished within a certain period. It might happen that during the next year or two there might be some considerable improvements adopted in the construction of similar vessels. They could then go into the market for new ships of the newer pattern, and they would have the advantage of having had the old ship in use ready for any emergency. He did not agree with this dallying policy, with their waiting to take advantage of improvements which were invented, and which, as he understood, too often led to a total alteration of their plans, and to enormous delay. The result of the existing system was that if a war were to break out to-morrow we should find we had some millions of money absolutely sunk, and which, so far as purposes of defence were con-

cerned, might just as well be at the bottom of the sea. He could not understand what justification there could be for this policy. He trusted an entirely new system would be adopted by the Government—that there would be a certain programme prepared for a limited period, and that the Admiralty would seek to make not an absolutely perfect type, but the most perfect type they could get at the time, trusting that when they went into the market again for further vessels from year to year they would take advantage of such improvements as had arisen in the meantime. He was sorry to find that this Vote for building by contract was very much less than it used to be. He should be very glad to see the Admiralty go back to the old policy of buying more and making less. He wished to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty one or two questions in regard to a matter of much importance in the Vote. On page 115 there was an account for extra receipts which was brought to the credit of this Vote, and that included proceeds of the sale of ships (£80,000), and proceeds of the sale of stores (£60,000). He should like to ask under what plan were ships condemned and stores disposed of? He believed, at the commencement of the financial year, the Admiralty decided that they would take to the credit of the Vote a certain sum of money, say £80,000; and he should like to ask whether it had come to be a rule of thumb, or whether the Admiralty had the whole of the unserviceable ships carefully surveyed and valued, and determined how many should be broken up and how many turned into money? It must happen that now these accounts were placed at the disposal of the Admiralty they might manipulate the arrangement of breaking up ships by one year breaking up more, and another less than they calculated would be necessary to break up without reference to any preconceived plan, but having reference more to the amount of money which was to be got out of it. He should very much like to know what were the conditions on which the Admiralty decided which were the vessels to be broken up and the stores which were to be sold? He should like to know if there was a system under which sufficient care was taken that stores were not sold before they were unserviceable, because he was afraid they were sometimes sold in a manner that involved unnecessary loss to the public?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, there had been a great many worn-out hulks which had been causing constant expense to the Admiralty by requiring someone to look after them. Though not a large expense, they were a constant source of expenditure, and were absolutely useless for any purposes the Navy could require them for. It had become necessary to realize money by the sale of these ships rather than incur this unnecessary loss. A large number of these old vessels had been sold last year; they were incumbrances to the Dockyard, and of no earthly use to the Public Service. As to the stores, he was afraid he could not tell his hon. Friend exactly what system was pursued.

MR. RYLANDS said, of course it could not be expected the hon. Gentleman should be able to give information upon every small matter of detail; but he had no doubt he would give attention to the point. He (Mr. Rylands) had been supplied with information which led him to think that a little more attention might be taken, not only as to worthless stores which were ordered to be sold, but also as to the mode in which the sales should take place. He did not, for a moment, doubt as to the ships that the Admiralty were right in selling them; but the point he wished to put was, whether they would make such arrangements as to sell all the unserviceable ships at once?

MR PULESTON said, he did not wish this discussion to close leaving in the minds of any hon. Members the idea that ships could not be built as readily in the Dockyards as they could in private yards. It was not the fact that ships could be built in private yards in two or three years, whereas it took the Royal Dockyards seven or eight to build a first class iron-clad. There were as many facilities—indeed more facilities—in some of the Royal Dockyards for the building of ships than there were in the private yards. It was not a question of impossibility, but expediency—of policy. That idea of building ships by contract on the assumption that they could be built better than in the Dockyards, if it were

founded on fact, would give cause for great complaint against the Admiralty. It would be in the highest degree discreditable to the Dockyards if they could not do their work as efficiently as the private yards.

MR. GOURLEY said, he was of opinion that vessels could be built for at least 25 or 30 per cent less in private yards than in the Royal Dockyards. He had no less an authority than the statement of Mr. Samuda.

MR. PULESTON: Mr. Samuda speaks of his own private yard.

MR. GOURLEY said, that, as he had already stated, he thought that now, when there was a lack of work in connection with private shipbuilding yards, it would be a wise policy of the Admiralty to give the private shipbuilders more work than they did at present. He should like to ask, with regard to the description of machinery which it was proposed to use for vessels of the *Mersey* class, whether the triple cylinders were being used for the old form of machinery?

MR. GORST said, he must decline to accept the observations of Mr. Samuda, who was the owner of a private shipbuilding yard, as authoritative on this question of shipbuilding in Her Majesty's Dockyards. No doubt Mr. Samuda knew the cost of shipbuilding in private yards, and probably the process of shipbuilding might be more economically carried on in some respects; but generally he did not see why they should not build ships in the Dockyards quite as well as they did in the private yards; materials cost no more, and labour cost less. Men in the Dockyards did not receive such high wages as did the men in private yards in busy times. But hon. Members who were zealous for building in the private yards should remember that after all Dockyards must be maintained, if it were only for the having the means of fitting up and keeping in repair our fighting vessels; they would be essential in time of war. Suppose a war were to take place and we were to have some naval engagements, where did hon. Members think vessels could be sent to if they wanted repairing? They could not go into open port to be repaired; it was necessary they should go into a place like Chatham. [*Laughter.*] It was perfectly ridiculous that hon. Gentlemen could not hear a case stated, without the idea that it was brought forward to advance the interest of a certain place. Take the case of probable engagements in the North Sea. There was no place other than Chatham on that side of England where ships could go to be repaired. They could not repair ships in time of war except in fortified Dockyards. As it was absolutely necessary to have Government Dockyards in case of war, it was surely good policy to keep the yards employed in building a certain number of ships in time of peace —in building such a number of ships as could be built without increasing the Establishment charges. That was the policy the Admiralty had hitherto pursued; and he hoped that all the talk of hon. Members about being able to build ships in private yards 20 per cent cheaper and quicker would not induce the Admiralty to depart from what was unquestionably a sound and economical policy.

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, that when the Conservatives were in Office he went very carefully into the comparative cost of building ships in private yards and in Dockyards, and he came to the conclusion that there was very little difference indeed. He believed there was a margin in favour of the private yards; but it was very small. They were, however, perfectly certain of getting the best possible work in the Dockyards, besides which it must be remembered that it was always necessary to employ a large establishment for the purpose of repairing ships. He hoped the Admiralty would continue to employ both public and private yards.

MR. RAMSAY said, he did not conceive it possible that a system under which seven years were occupied in the construction of a ship could be a profitable one. The Admiralty ought to secure the building of a ship they required in the least possible time, consistent, of course, with the consideration that it was such as was suitable for the purposes for which it was intended. If a ship of a particular construction was required it surely was not necessary that she should be seven years on the blocks.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £1,040,000, Machinery and Ships built by Contract, &c.

MR. W. H. SMITH suggested to the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) that it would be very

useful if there was an Appendix giving a statement of the progress made in gun mounting in regard to particular ships—gun mounting of a particular class. He spoke of the costly hydraulic mounting which we now had for particular guns. At page 210 there was a statement of the propelling machinery works to be executed; and, looking to the very large sums which were being taken every year for gun mounting, and to the importance of gun mounting, an Appendix such as he suggested would give valuable information to the Committee, and would re-assure them as to the provision which was being made for the costly and necessary articles of machinery in connection with guns.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he would see whether such an Appendix could be given.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that what he was rather anxious to obtain was information which should be complete and satisfactory to the Committee as to the provision made beforehand for costly work which took a long time in their execution. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) knew perfectly well that the gun mounting took to complete at least two years from the date the order was given. It would be interesting to know, from a record in the Estimates, what orders had been given and the period within which the mountings had to be delivered.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £481,700, New Works, Buildings, Yard Machinery, and Repairs.

SIR MASSEY LOPES asked what progress had been made with the erection of the seamen's barracks at Keyham? The barracks had now been building four years; it was surely high time they were approaching completion. In all works which occupied a considerable time to execute the country lost not only the interest on the money expended; but besides doing that in this case we were delaying the opportunity of experimenting whether the barracks were desirable or not.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, that £130,000 was the total Estimate for the erection of the barracks. Two blocks for 1,000 men with officers' quarters and necessary outhouses were almost completed under a contract amounting to £54,510. The sum of £25,000 was taken in the present Estimates. With that sum they could provide fittings of an elaborate and complete character for the blocks which would shortly be finished and for the canteen and store rooms. The sum, too, would also cover the cost of water service and drainage. It was expected that barrack room for 1,000 would be completed and ready for occupation in the present financial year.

MR. PULESTON asked if it was intended to stop at accommodation for 1,000 men? He understood the plans involved accommodation for 4,000 men.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, there was ample space on the site selected to provide barrack room for 4,000 men; but he was sure that, after what they had heard of the shipbuilding requirements of the Navy, the Admiralty would not be pressed to undertake the erection of any more barracks than were actually required at present. No decision had yet been arrived at as to the time when the additional blocks would be commenced. The decision of that question must depend upon the estimate formed of the durability of the receiving ships at Plymouth. It was, of course, intended that the barracks should be occupied in succession to the receiving ships.

MR. PULESTON said, he went over the barracks the last time he was in Plymouth, and he could assure the Committee they were well worth an inspection. Two blocks, as the Civil Lord (Sir Thomas Brassey) had said, were very nearly completed; and it occurred to him (Mr. Puleston) that if, sooner or later, the barracks were to be extended more land would be needed. It seemed to him unwise policy not to secure the adjoining land, which he understood could be got now at a very reasonable price, though he confessed he did not know to whom it belonged. He could not press too strongly upon his hon. Friend (Sir Thomas Brassey) the necessity of looking into the matter, because it was patent if the barracks were extended as originally proposed that the additional land would be required if only for a recreation ground.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, the authorities were aware of the importance of the matter, and they would look into it.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, there was one question with respect to Chatham

he desired to ask. The new works there were supposed to be completed last year; but he believed the basin was not yet opened. He would like to know whether there was any difficulty with regard to the shoal at the entrance to the new works, or whether the delay merely arose from an indisposition on the part of the Admiralty to make use of works which were not pressingly needed for the service of the Navy? It would certainly be satisfactory to the Committee to be assured there was no difficulty so far as the entrance to the new works was concerned.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY assured the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) there was no difficulty on that head.

MR. W. H. SMITH inquired if all the appliances were ready in the event of the basin being required?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: Yes.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, great value was attached to the Dockyard at Malta, and some time ago it was decided to construct a new dock there. He did not see, however, that any provision was made for a new dock. There was provision made for an extension of yard and for an iron ship-repairing shop near Somerset Dock. There was also a slight provision for drainage, but there was no provision for a dock itself; and seeing that the construction of a dock was a work which would occupy a great many years, and that it would be of the utmost importance and of the greatest possible value to the Navy in the event of difficulties in the Mediterranean, he hoped the Admiralty still intended to proceed with the work and carry it through as rapidly as possible.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, the amount provided towards the commencement of a new dock at Malta was £10,000—a sum which would suffice to clear the site and provide for commencing the larger operations in a future year. £15,000 was taken for the iron ship-repairing shop; but next year that amount of money would be devoted to the construction of the dock. He might also point out to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith) that the completion of the two blocks of barracks at Keyham would also set free a certain sum of money. The Admiralty hoped to be able next year to concentrate their attention upon the works at Malta.

MR. GORST said, he also had a question to ask about the Chatham extension works, which had cost a very large sum of money. Chatham was originally intended to be a great refitting and repairing establishment. The basins were finished; but there were no very extensive factories as yet on the banks. He could not help thinking that the Admiralty were proceeding very slowly in providing the necessary machinery and factories for making the great basins available for the purposes for which they were intended. In answer to a question put to him the other day the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) said the intention of the Government now was to make Chatham a shipbuilding yard, and not so much a repairing or refitting place as Portsmouth or Devonport. He (Mr. Gorst) should like to know whether the policy of the Government was now changed with reference to the Chatham extension works; whether they intended that the whole of the money expended on the great basins there was to be wasted; and whether the original plans were to be abandoned in order that Chatham might be simply a shipbuilding yard? If so, he could not help deprecating that so much money should have been thrown away by the Government. Certainly, in the present Estimates, there was no provision for any additional machinery or additional buildings in connection with the extension works, for the purpose of carrying out repairs if repairs were necessary.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, he did not understand that there was any change of policy with regard to the administration of the Chatham Dockyard. He believed that under the administration of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. H. Smith) Chatham Dockyard was mainly used for shipbuilding, although it was extremely valuable in carrying out the repair of a certain number of ships. The same policy was pursued now. No doubt the magnificent water space was not fully utilized, or could not be fully utilized, unless the Admiralty provided the necessary shipbuilding shops and large mechanical appliances; but to provide them would involve a very large expenditure.

SIR JOHN HAY said, there was a large increase, proportionately speaking, in the expenditure on Marine Bar-

racks and Infirmaries, in regard to which no information had as yet been given to the Committee. Last year the expenditure under this head was £14,910, and this year the estimated expenditure was £21,750. In the case of the Marine Barracks and Infirmaries at Chatham, Eastney, Plymouth, and Walmer, there was an increase, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty would give some information to the Committee on the subject. He did not see any information given on page 221 in respect of the increase.

SIR EDWARD J. REED said, that a few days ago he noticed from the newspapers that the Hydraulic Dock Company at Malta was going into liquidation. He would like to know whether the possibility of acquiring the dock on moderate terms had been considered by the Government?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the point had been considered.

MR. RYLANDS said, that every year Parliament voted very large sums of money, not only for new works, buildings, and machinery, but for the maintenance of large establishments. He observed that under Sub-head A the estimate for "new works and buildings —above £10,000 each—at home" was £82,000; while last year it was £70,500, an increase of £11,500. He should like to know who were the persons who superintended the new works, and under what conditions these charges were made? With regard to military establishments abroad, there must be some requisition made by the heads of the Departments for what they considered to be necessary for the improvement or for the maintenance of their establishments. Hon. Gentlemen knew perfectly well that there was a great disposition to spend money in this way, unless a careful check was kept upon the expenditure; and he was bound to say, looking at this Vote, that the items which were set down for repairs and maintenance were very considerable. Perhaps the Secretary to the Admiralty would tell them what were the conditions under which the Admiralty sanctioned expenditure either for additional works or for maintenance or repairs, and what arrangements they make in order to secure that the requisitions which they sanctioned were carried out in an economical manner?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the whole of this Vote was under the administration of one of the most admirable and able officers in Her Majesty's Service—Colonel Smith, of the Royal Engineers. That officer had able assistants, and he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) could assure the hon. Gentleman the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) that the work was admirably done. With regard to the point raised by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Hay), he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) believed that the increases in the Estimates for Marine barracks and infirmaries were due to sanitary requirements.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked when they might expect the works at Hawlbowline to be completed? When he was there convicts were largely employed on the works; but now the convicts had been removed from Spike Island. He should like to know whether the convicts had been superseded by free labour, and whether this change would increase the expenditure?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, there had been some delay in the completion of the works at Hawlbowline in consequence of the withdrawal of the convicts. The case had been met by the employment of 450 free labourers. Last year the expenditure was increased from £30,000 to £36,000, and he was informed to-day by Colonel Smith that they might expect the completion of the work in 1888.

MR. GORST said, he desired to call attention to the item of £500 for the ordinary maintenance and repair of the Dutch House at Port Said. If he remembered rightly that house was bought under rather peculiar, he might say strange circumstances, in the time of the Egyptian War, when it was thought that it would be of use to the country for naval purposes; but although the conditions which then existed had ceased, the Dutch House still appeared upon the Estimates as requiring this year for repairs and maintenance an expenditure of £500. He wanted to hear from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury whether this house, for which apparently there was no further need, was to constitute a permanent charge of £500 a-year on the Naval Estimates; and, if so, for what reason the house was retained?

MR. PARNELL said, he presumed the house was no longer wanted for naval purposes, and, therefore, asked why the sum of £500 appeared on the Estimates for ordinary maintenance and repairs in connection with it?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the house was bought when there was a force of Marines stationed at Port Said, and it was thought necessary to retain possession of it.

MR. GORST said, that the force of Marines alluded to by the hon. Gentleman had been withdrawn from Port Said for more than a year. There was no such force at Port Said now; and if the country was to submit to a chronic expenditure of £500 in respect of it, the Committee ought to be informed why this Dutch House was retained. Under other circumstances, he should have divided the Committee on the Vote; but at that late hour he would not put the Committee to the trouble, although he should expect a more satisfactory reply to his inquiry on a future occasion.

SIR EDWARD J. REED said, he did not know whether it had struck the Committee as strange that a Colonel of Engineers would be the person selected by the Government for the purpose of presiding over that department of the Admiralty which had charge of the construction of docks and buildings in Her Majesty's Dockyards. He did not want to say one word about the employment of military men in the Dockyards, but desired to illustrate the importance of the point raised by his hon. Friend, because the system in question was sometimes productive of anomalous results which he should mention for the purpose of inviting the attention of the hon. Gentleman below him (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) to the desirability of keeping a careful control in this matter. The following incident once occurred. Large docks were about to be constructed some years ago at Chatham and Portsmouth; he found that the then Colonel of Engineers at the head of the Department of the Admiralty which had charge of such works was proceeding to carry out docks for the accommodation of Her Majesty's ships in Her Majesty's Dockyards without the least reference to himself, who was then the Chief Constructor of the Navy and of Her Majesty's ships. He was surprised, but so it was, and it occurred to him that it might be worth while to consider whether the shipbuilding department of the Admiralty should not be consulted in the construction of docks for Her Majesty's Navy. Accordingly, he suggested to the Board of Admiralty that it might be well to allow the shipbuilding department to see the designs of the docks; and surprise was expressed when it was stated that the Colonel of Engineers had not thought it desirable or necessary to consult with the Constructor of the Navy on the subject. Under these circumstances, he (Sir Edward J. Reed) pointed out what might happen in consequence. Speaking from experience, he was bound to express his opinion that nothing contributed more to the limitation of the development of the naval power of the country than the expenditure of money on Docks in Her Majesty's Dockyards under the superintendence of military officers. It was a fact that the greatest hindrance standing in the path of naval designers within and without the Admiralty, and the one thing which prevented this and other countries from receiving the full benefits of iron and steel in shipbuilding, was the construction of a number of long and narrow docks which impeded the development of ships in the matter of breadth. He believed that if the department in question had been under the influence of the constructive branch of the Admiralty they would have had a very different state of things from that which now existed. It was well known that in the case of some of the principal ships of the Royal Navy there was only a dock here and there capable of containing them, and those who were in the secret knew that the development of ships in respect of beam, where heavy armour had to be carried, would have been much greater than it had been, but for the narrowness of the docks which made further development in that direction impossible. From this he drew the conclusion to which he asked the attention of his hon. Friend below him, that the construction of docks for the Fleet ought not to be left too much in the hands of military engineers, but should be carried out with due regard to the proper development of Her Majesty's Navy—that was to say, in such a manner that the ships should determine the docks, and not the docks determine the ships, as had been the case for many years past.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, he could assure the Committee and his hon. Friend who had just spoken that, at the present time, there were no views entertained on the part of those who were responsible for the expenditure upon works in the Dockyards that were antagonistic to those held by those who had charge of the Shipbuilding Department of the Admiralty. There had, he might say, always been the most anxious desire on the part of the Works Department to consult the Naval Authorities with regard to the details of the works to be carried out. It was, no doubt, the case that to some it appeared an anomaly that a military officer should be at the head of that Department; but, having watched the matter from the beginning, he ventured to say that the appointment of military officers to the position had been attended with great advantage; it had been impossible to obtain the services of more prompt and competent advisers with regard to this branch of business. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had criticized the amount of the Estimate; but he would point out to his hon. Friend that a great amount of work had to be undertaken in connection with the buildings which came under the Vote. The buildings carried out under the Buildings and Maintenance Vote represented a capital expenditure of no less a sum than £16,000,000 sterling; and the expense in connection with the cost of superintendence had been brought down to 1 per cent upon the capital. Therefore, he thought that the Committee would agree with him in thinking that the superintendence, on the whole, was of a satisfactory character. With regard to the Vote itself, he would point out to the hon. Member for Burnley that it had been somewhat rapidly reduced within the last three or four years. The amount, which in 1881-2 was £558,000, had been brought down to the moderate sum of £490,000 for the present financial year, which he thought his hon. Friend would admit to be a considerable reduction in a short space of time. With regard to what had fallen from an hon. Member as to certain buildings, he would remark that the buildings in question, as the hon. Gentleman probably knew, were acquired under emergency; their maintenance, which did not involve a very serious expenditure, would be fully covered by their utility; and if it were considered hereafter that they were no longer necessary for the occupation of Her Majesty's Forces, there would be no difficulty in letting them for commercial purposes.

MR. O'SHEA called the attention of the Committee to an item of £4,000 in the Appendix to the Vote, page 221, for Repairs and Maintenance of the Breakwater at Alderney. It might be said that £1,500,000 sterling had been literally thrown into the sea at that place in the construction and repair of the Breakwater, which everyone knew to be nothing more than a ruin.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, the amount asked for was for the purpose of maintaining so much of the Breakwater at Alderney as would give a certain amount of smooth water for the shelter of ships. It would, no doubt, be necessary, in a case of emergency, to make special provision on its account; but the sum now asked for was sufficient for the purpose described, and he considered that a wise decision had been arrived at by the Board of Admiralty in deciding to maintain the work at that moderate cost. Looking at the past history of the works, he thought the present policy with regard to them was judicious.

MR. O'SHEA said, he should like to know the amount of shipping which took shelter at Alderney?

MR. W. H. SMITH pointed out that it was an error to describe the Breakwater at Alderney as a ruin; because, although a large portion of the works had been washed away, there still remained some 200 yards of the Breakwater which afforded complete shelter to first-class ships of Her Majesty's Navy.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, that the Breakwater at Alderney, in case of emergency, might be made of very great usefulness.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he hoped that the Government would take the same view of Portpatrick, which was going to ruin for want of a small expenditure upon it.

MR. O'SHEA said, he cordially supported the view expressed by the right hon. and gallant Admiral as to the advisability of spending the money usefully at other places instead of wasting it at Alderney. A very much larger amount of shipping took shelter, for

instance, in the mouth of the Shannon than ever went to Alderney.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported.

MR. PULESTON said, he did not know whether the Government intended to go any further, on the present occasion, with the Navy Votes. For his own part, he thought it was time to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £62,500, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expense of Medicines, Medical Stores, &c., which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, that the Vote which had just been put from the Chair contained a provision of the greatest possible importance; and he felt it his duty to ask some explanation from Her Majesty's Government, and especially from the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, as to what the country were to expect the policy of the Government would be in regard to what was commonly known as the C. D. Act. He observed that the amount in the present Estimate for the expenses of carrying out the Act in question was less than that asked for last year by the sum of £1,400. He should be glad to learn, and he was quite sure the information would be most gratefully received at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Devonport, and other places in which the provisions of the Act had hitherto been carried out, that Her Majesty's Government had reconsidered the hasty decision arrrived at by them last year on this subject, and that it was really intended to protect our soldiers and sailors from a horrible disease. Was the alteration in the Estimate due to the carrying out of that reckless Resolution by which the Act of Parliament was superseded? He repeated that an intimation would be gratefully received from the noble Marquess that the Government had reconsidered their ill-advised decision of last year, and that they intended to carry out this Act, which had been proved to be most valuable by all the Returns on the subject which had been presented to the House.

MR. PULESTON remarked that a few nights ago, on the discussion of the Army Estimates, when 12 o'clock was reached, the noble Marquess consented to report Progress, and, indeed, suggested it himself, and gave, as his reason for so doing, that a large number of hon. Members wished to take part in the discussion of the Vote before the Committee. He assumed that the noble Lord would act on the same principle on the present occasion, and agree to the Motion which he now begged to make, that the Chairman report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Puleston.*)

CAPTAIN MAXWELL-HERON said, the discussion on the next Vote would occupy some time; and he, therefore, hoped the Committee would agree to the Motion of the hon. Member for Devonport.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, it was quite true that when Progress was moved the other night on the Army Estimates, he had agreed to the Motion. It was evident that there would be a long discussion on the next Vote, and he thought it reasonable to report Progress at 12 o'clock, because whatever discussion there might have been could not have been reported. He did not know, however, that having regard to the period of the Session now reached, it was likely that they would obtain a more favourable opportunity than the present for discussing the question raised by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Henry Lennox). So far as he was concerned, however, and not knowing the exact amount of progress that had been made with the Navy Estimates that evening, he should be disposed to take the same course as on the previous occasion referred to.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that looking at the time of night, and at the fact that the Committee had been engaged on the Navy Estimates for seven hours, he thought it right that they should report Progress. The questions remaining for discussion in connection with the Estimates were of some importance, and judging from the number of hon. Members who desired to speak on them, they could not be disposed of without they had much more time at their disposal than they could devote to them that night.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he should support the Motion to report Progress.

He knew that his hon. and gallant Friend opposite (Captain Maxwell-Heron) had a subject to bring forward on Vote 13, the discussion of which would occupy a considerable time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

NEWCASTLE CHAPTER BILL [*Lords*].

[BILL 281.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that at an early hour in the morning this Bill had passed the second reading without comment, and he would not take up the time of the House now; but he was glad to see the Home Secretary in his place, for he regarded him as a safe authority on ecclesiastical matters, and he wished to ask whether there was any other means of establishing a Bishopric than a Bill in this House? It was said, in some quarters, that it was not necessary for this House to interfere in these matters; and he should be glad to hear that it was not necessary for this House to intervene with a Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that this was only a Bill to establish a Bishopric already settled by this House; and he did not think the hon. Member would find anything dangerous in it. But there was one point in which he thought he and the hon. Member would agree. The hon. Member was not a member of the Established Church; but he thought that so long as there was an Established Church the hon. Member would agree that Parliament should have control over it.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked if there was any expenditure of public money involved in this Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT replied that there was not.

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*, without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed.*

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 22.]

(*Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Mayne, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Marum.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 14th July.*]

Sir John Hay

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

PART III.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Clause 24 (Ratepayers entitled to six votes only).

Amendment proposed, to leave out Sub-section 3.—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That Sub-section 3 stand part of the Clause."

MR. GRAY suggested that the most convenient way of dealing with this matter was to leave it open until the Report stage, seeing that the Chief Secretary was not now present. Two questions still remaining open could be considered on the Report, and the Bill could then be amended. That would save time.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he hoped the Government would not accede to this suggestion. The Amendments of the Chief Secretary were of the most important description. These were points which had been described on the second reading as being of the greatest importance; and to allow these clauses to go through, and defer the consideration of these Amendments to Report, would be the greatest mistake that could be imagined. He did not suppose there was the least chance of this Bill passing this year; but some such Bill would have to be brought in next year, and he hoped the Solicitor General for Ireland would for once show that he had a little courage.

MR. SEXTON said, the Committee could understand that the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County wished the Bill to be thrown out; but he hoped the Committee would not be deterred from assenting to this very reasonable suggestion. His hon. Friend was not opposed to the Bill; but the Government had had very little time to consider the nature of the Amendments proposed.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, there were a great number of qualifications in different counties, and what he would propose was that the Committee should agree to the Amendments of the Chief Secretary, and that, before Report, the Government would consider whether they could in some other way meet the views of the hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. HEALY said, he could quite understand that the Government were at a disadvantage through the absence of the Chief Secretary; but he understood the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman to apply simply to this particular sub-section, and not to any other Amendments. It was quite immaterial whether the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman or of his hon. Friend was adopted, if the final consideration of these Amendments was left open.

MR. GRAY said, that whatever the Government proposed in this matter he must bow to it; but there were two points which were left open for consideration on the Report stage. It seemed to him that it would be a reasonable course not to amend the Bill until the Government had decided what Amendments they intended to propose. The Solicitor General proposed that certain Amendments should be inserted, which the Government would afterwards consider. Would it not be more reasonable to say they let the Bill pass, reserving to themselves the opportunity of drafting Amendments which might seem necessary? He put it to the legal mind of the Solicitor General whether that would not be the most convenient and most sensible course to adopt? They did not seek in any way to use his acquiescence in passing the Bill on this occasion as at all committing him to the adoption of the Amendments afterwards.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, the course he proposed was that which the Chief Secretary himself wished. It was all the same, so far as the Government were concerned. They could not exactly say what the Amendments were which they would accept, and it would be better to leave the matter open.

MR. GRAY said, that, in that case, he would not now oppose the Amendments.

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of Mr. TREVELYAN, Amendment made, in page 8, line 29, after "Board" by leaving out "shall forthwith," and inserting "may if they think fit and shall if applied to by the Board of Guardians among whom the vacancy exists;" and page 8, by leaving out Sub-Section 5.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (Saving existing powers of Local Government Board).

Clause 26 (Commencement of Act).

On the Motion of Mr. TREVELYAN, Amendment made in page 9, line 5, after "of," by leaving out "January" and inserting "February."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. TREVELYAN proposed in page , after Clause 3, insert the following Clause (as the first Clause of Part I. of the Bill):—

(Guardians to hold office for three years.)

"Every Poor Law Guardian elected after the commencement of this Act, unless in the case where he is elected to fill a casual vacancy resulting from death, resignation, disqualification, or otherwise, shall hold office for a term of three years to be computed from the twenty-fifth day of March in the year of his election.

"When any person is elected to fill a casual vacancy in the office of guardian, he shall continue in office only so long as the person in whose place he is elected would have continued in office if such vacancy had not occurred."

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. HEALY said, that when they had this proposal in a Bill the year before last the Tory Party objected, and on the representation of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) two years were inserted instead of three, the Tory Party believing that three years would be too long. He was not going to say whether they were right or not; but the period of two years was accepted as a compromise in the matter. He (Mr. Healy) had come to the determination, as the House had in 1882, that it would be far better to maintain the compromise arrived at between the Tory Party and the National Party than the reverse; and he, therefore, thought that two years should be inserted in the clause. He would like to ask the Government how, in their view, would the elections for officers of the Union, the annual election, be construed if this clause were carried? At present, the Chairman and the Vice Chairman were elected for one year. Under the Bill would they be appointed for three years? He had not looked at the Rules of the Local Government Board; but it was a matter of much nicety.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, that if on this question of the acceptance of two or three years the Tory Party had agreed to fixing the period at two years, they were now fully prepared to stand in the white sheet and recant.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) pointed out that the period suggested was analogous to that adopted in reference to all similar elections—elections for Town Councillors and other Local Bodies.

MR. HARRINGTON said, there was no analogy between the elections dealt with by this Bill and triennial elections. Under the triennial system there were a certain number of men who retired every year; but in this case it would be altogether different.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) promised to consider the matter before Report.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN trusted that the term of three years would be kept in the Bill, and thought the question should be agreed to at once.

MR. HEALY said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman, having read his recantation on so many points, must be asked to draw the line somewhere.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I draw it here.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *added* to the Bill.

MR. HEALY said, he had a new clause to propose, to the effect that no pensioner of any Union should be eligible to act either as an *ex officio* or an elected Guardian.

New Clause (Any union shall be eligible to act either as an ex-officio or elected guardian,)—(*Mr. Healy,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, the clause should be brought up on Report. It was mentioned now for the first time, and the Government had not an opportunity of considering it or bringing it before the Irish officials.

MR. HEALY said, there could be no objection to it; no one would object to a pensioner of a Union being under a disability—no one would suggest that a pensioner of a Union should sit on the Board of Guardians of that Union and vote away its funds. He should like to know if any Tory Member in the House would oppose such a proposal as that?

COLONEL NOLAN thought the clause ought to be accepted.

CAPTAIN AYLMER thought the clause wanted some amendment—it wanted some words to carry out the idea of the hon. Gentleman, such as the words "in this Union."

MR. HARRINGTON said, the hon. Member was merely giving effect to the practice of the Local Government Board. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Walker) thought it desirable that the question should be left over until the Report in order that they could confer with the Local Government Board of Ireland, suggesting thereby that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Local Government Board knew more about the Bill than he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) did.

MR. HEALY said, that, in spite of the modest disclaimer of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, he could not accept his statement that the head of the Local Government Board knew more about this question than he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) did. In this matter the Government ought to give in, in the interests of purity of election. The Irish Members had given in quite enough, and would have to take the opinion of the House upon this unless the Government would concede the point.

MR. WARTON said, he was astonished to see the Solicitor General for Ireland, looking to his standing in his Profession, not having sufficient nerve to act upon what he must see in his own mind was a perfectly just and fair proposition. He was astonished to see the hon. and learned Gentleman holding himself out as a kind of agent to the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Another thing he must say was that, considering how the laws of procedure in this House were altered, it became more and more important that as few questions as possible should be deferred to the Report stage of a Bill. If the principle of largely amending Bills on Report was followed, they were always apt to have alterations and Amendments made in a Bill at the last moment—alterations

which should not be made. Then, again, on Report Members could only speak once, and that was another reason why persons who were anxious to get through the Business in a hasty manner were anxious to put off questions like this to the Report stage. The proposal was obviously a proper one. It would lead to purity of election; and he (Mr. Warton) did not know how the hon. and learned Gentleman could refuse the clause for the absurd reason that the Chief Secretary was not present.

MR. COURTNEY wished to point out that the question was not such a simple one as appeared to hon. Members opposite. As he (Mr. Courtney) understood it, the whole question was this—that in some Unions in Ireland it appeared to be the case that medical officers, who had served a Union for a certain number of years, on retiring from his post, received a pension. That was a matter for the Local Government Board to consider. The Local Government Board had a voice in considering the pension that was given for services done and rendered—it was voted by the Guardians, and then sanctioned by the Local Government Board. If this clause were adopted, the effect of it would be that a medical officer of this kind, who became a magistrate, and as such *ex officio* a member of a Board of Guardians, would not be allowed to sit and give his vote on the Board, because he had been in the service of the Board at the time he was not a member of it, and, in respect of past services, had obtained a pension. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) seemed to think that this was a very simple matter, and that the clause should be accepted without hesitation. The hon. and learned Gentleman knew very well there were persons sitting even in this House and taking part in voting away the money of the country who themselves were receiving pensions out of the Revenue of the country for past services.

MR. WARTON: For past services to the State, not to a Union.

MR. COURTNEY said, the principle was the same, at any rate. He was not urging these views in opposition to the proposal of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), but merely in support of the contention of the Solicitor General for Ireland that there were grave reasons for asking the hon. Member to defer the Amendment to the Report stage in order to give the Local Government Board of Ireland time to consider the question. If the hon. Member for Monaghan would put down his Amendment as a clause to be inserted on Report, it could then be fully argued and discussed. He trusted that hon. Members would see the reasonableness of this proposal after what had been said.

COLONEL NOLAN maintained there was no parallel whatever between the case of pensions granted by Boards of Guardians, and pensions granted to Members of this House; they stood on a totally different footing. In the case of a pensioner of a Poor Law Union, if he sat on the Board of Guardians, whenever cases were brought before the Board in which applications were made for increase of salary, or for pensions, it would be very difficult indeed for him to vote against the application. If medical officers drawing pensions from Poor Law Unions were allowed to become members of those Unions, those positions would be a sort of rallying point for every man who wanted to get a salary raised, or who wanted to get a pension for anyone. It might be an inducement for a man to give up his work early in life, and to have a new one appointed in his place, perhaps his own son, to get a new man to go in and do the medical work he himself had done before, and in a short time to draw a pension.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman had forgotten that in Sub-Section 6 of Clause 24 the Committee had decided that no Justice of the Peace could be appointed a Poor Law Guardian unless he were a ratepayer; and it was obvious if, under these circumstances, one of these *ex officio* Guardians voted for these absurd increases of salary, he would be partly paying them out of his own pocket.

MR. HEALY said, these pensions were given for supposed decrepitude, and a system had grown up by which, for the sake of getting £100 a-year from the Guardians, a man would become ill and seemingly unfit for work; give up his practice, apply for a pension, and then, when he had got that safe and secure, become healthy and strong, and go round getting up a practice again on

his own account. Having given up their dispensary practice, they then became magistrates, and became *ex officio* Guardians, where they could sit to vote increase of salaries or pensions for other medical men, or possibly for their own sons. As to the comparison drawn between the pensions under discussion and pensions enjoyed by some Members of this House, he was perfectly aware that they were given for very different reasons—not for infirmity, but for past services. In Ireland these pensions were given for infirmity, and on no other ground; and it was a monstrous thing to see people becoming sick and incapacitated from doing their work, and then, after they had obtained their pensions, suddenly becoming hale and strong. It was extraordinary to see how in Ireland doctors became unable to continue their professional duties at the age of 40, and how invigorating was the circumstance of obtaining a pension. It was remarkable how soon a pension enabled an incapacitated doctor to practise again. He thought his clause of such importance that he should put the Government in the position of being obliged to vote against it if they would not agree to read it a second time.

Mr. GRAY said, that the Boards of Guardians in Ireland had dealt much more strongly with the question of pensions than they had done 10 or 12 years ago. If they took the case of a man who was pensioned at a time when Guardians were free-handed with their money, they would find that in all probability he had received two-thirds of his salary. How then could such a man, when he became an *ex officio* Guardian, agree that another medical man who came up for a pension should only receive one-half or one-third of his salary? The man would say to him—"I only want what you got, two-thirds of my salary; what was fair for you is surely fair for me." In this manner these *ex officio* Guardians would not be able to take an independent view. They must necessarily be biassed by the circumstances of their position. Such persons should not be promoted to sit on Boards of Guardians, and it had amused him to see the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland take up the position he had assumed on this matter, and declaring his inability to form an opinion of his own. It could not be necessary for the hon. and learned Gentleman to refer this question to the Chief Secretary; because there were few, if any, men in the House who understood the Irish Poor Law better than the hon. and learned Gentleman. He would suggest that the hon. and learned Gentleman should accept the clause, and allow it to be added to the Bill, and that if he discovered any extraordinary objection to it between this and the Report, that he should on that stage strike it out. If the question went to a Division, he (Mr. Gray) should certainly support the proposal of the hon. Member for Monaghan.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, that, as far as he understood the clause, it would preclude from occupying the position of *ex officio* Guardian any person who received a pension, a retired military or naval officer, or Government official.

Mr. HEALY: No, no! Only persons receiving pensions from the Guardians.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE said, that showed the disadvantage of moving clauses like this without Notice. If it had been on the Paper hon. Members would have had an opportunity to consider it.

Mr. GRAY said, that the effect of the clause was that any pensioner receiving the rates of the Union should not sit on the Board of that particular Union. He understood that words to make it perfectly clear had been adopted by the hon. Member for Monaghan. As he understood it, the clause now said that no person receiving by way of pension any part of the rates of the Union should not sit on the Board which administered those particular rates.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, that if the hon. Member for Monaghan would so word the clause as to provide that no person who should henceforth be appointed to receive a pension in any Union should sit as an *ex officio* Guardian for that Union, the proposal would be acceptable. He was not aware that there were any *ex officio* Guardians who were receiving pensions; but if there were any existing at the present time it would be very hard to alter their position by a clause of this kind.

Mr. HEALY thought that if they were going to be good in the future, it was desirable that they should be good with regard to the past. The clause he

proposed was to operate both ways, as to the future and as to the past. His desire was to prevent persons who had had official connection with a Union from being open to the solicitation of men holding the appointment they themselves had held, and who had come to them saying—"We are as sick as you were, and have as much right to a pension; you must do what you can to get it for us. You got your pension, and became strong again, and very probably when we get our pension we shall get strong again too. Why should not we have our pension as well as you?"

MR. HARRINGTON said, that practically this was only a question affecting doctors, and was not likely to arise in the case of other officers of a Union. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury seemed to have forgotten that he had such delicate views with regard to giving voting power to those who obtained anything from the poor rates, for some time ago he had denied the franchise to everyone who availed himself of the assistance of those rates. This matter stood upon a different footing altogether from the pensions the hon. Gentleman had drawn attention to. If it was for no other reason but to put an end to corrupt practices, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland should agree to the proposal.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 25; Noes 33: Majority 8.—(Div. List, No. 163.)

On the Motion of MR. TREVELYAN, Amendment made, in page 8, after Clause 21, by inserting the following Clause:—

(Rules, stamps, and costs.)

"For the purposes of this part of this Act, there shall be incorporated with this Act the following sections of "The County Officers and Courts (Ireland) Act, 1877," as the same are amended by any other Act, that is to say:—

Section seventy-nine, relative to rules and orders;

Section eighty-three, relative to fees and stamp duties;

Section eighty-four, relative to costs;

And the following sections of "The Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877," so far as they relate to the Court of Appeal in Ireland, as the same are amended by any other Act, that is to say:—

Section sixty-one, relative to rules of court;

Section eighty-four, relative to fees."

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday*, and to be *printed*. [Bill 286.]

COUNTY COURTS (IRELAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 258.]

(*Mr. Findlater, Mr. Thomas Dickson.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 7th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 5 (Execution of decrees, &c., by persons not parties to suit).

MR. HEALY said, he was aware the provision contained in this clause was now in force in England; but he considered the assimilation was not only needless, but objectionable. It was proposed by this clause to give to Clerks of the Peace, many of whom, in Ireland, had no knowledge of the law, power to decide behind the back of the parties concerned whether a decree should be issued. What objection could there be to have the matter argued and decided in open Court? It was no argument to say that the practice prevailed in England. Such matters ought not to be settled without the interference of a Judge; and, therefore, he trusted the Government would not accept the clause.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, leave out Clause 5.—(*Mr. Healy.*)

MR. FINDLATER said, this was very simple matter. Clause 5 was a passed to save the necessity and expense of instituting a new suit in case of the decease of either plaintiff or defendant, and the consequent abatement of the proceedings. It merely provided that where parties happened to die, and there was a change in the suit, a decree might issue on behalf of any person, not a party to the suit, by leave of the Clerk of the Peace on production of the Probate or Letters of Administration. Surely there was nothing unreasonable in that. It was a mere formal matter, and the practice in England was similar. Clerks of the Peace were all men of high position in their Profession, and had a competent knowledge of the law.

MR. HEALY was extremely sorry the hon. Gentleman would not consent to waive the point, because this clause was certainly a blot in the Bill, and if it was not dropped, he (Mr. Healy) should feel obliged to offer the Bill the

strongest opposition. He regarded the clause as a most mischievous one, which could do no good, but which must do a great deal of harm. Why give an official power to decide this matter behind the backs of the parties? Why should it not be argued in the open Court? There was no appeal; therefore, why give such exceptional power to a mere functionary? How were Clerks of the Peace in Ireland appointed? Were they appointed according to any system in which the people at large had confidence? He answered, "No." There was not the same reason in this country to regard the actions of Clerks of the Peace with suspicion, and he and his hon. Friends had the right to insist upon the principle that these things should be done in open Court. He was surprised that his Colleague (Mr. Findlater) in the representation of Monaghan should suggest the insertion of such a clause as this in the Bill. He (Mr. Healy) was in favour of having these decrees issued in open Court, and he should be pleased to hear the views of Irish Members generally on the point.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) pointed out to the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. (Healy) that Clause 5 was really a supplement to Clause 4. ["Oh!"] He was quite disinterested in the matter, and was only stating what occurred to him. Clause 4 provided—

"Where one or more of several plaintiffs or defendants shall die after a decree, dismiss, or order shall have been made in any suit in a civil bill court, the execution of the said decree, dismiss, or order may be carried out by or against the survivors or survivor of the plaintiffs or defendants, without any renewal of such decree, dismiss, or order."

And Clause 5 was merely consequential, for it declared—

"Execution on a decree, dismiss, or order may issue on behalf of any person not a party to the suit by leave of the clerk of the peace," &c.

And Clause 5 simply carried out the provision of Clause 4.

MR. HEALY said, he did not think it worth while to contest the point at any length; but it must be plain to the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. Findlater) that to attempt to thrust such a provision as this down their throats would only endanger the passing of the Bill. He did not regard the Bill as a very valuable one—indeed, he regarded it as a Bill which would only postpone future legislation. Certainly, to propose an Amendment of this kind, in the face of the opposition which must be offered to it, would only have the effect of overloading the Bill, and leading to its ultimate defeat and rejection. If the Government could not see their way to reject the clause, he hoped they would at least give hon. Members an opportunity of further considering it.

MR. HARRINGTON asked whether it was proposed to impose any check on the Clerks of the Peace? It seemed to him that absolute power was given by the clause, and that in case of any one desiring a decree, it could issue forthwith. There might be 10 different people opposed to the issuing of the decree, and yet no notice in regard to it need be given to them. The proposal contained in this clause was monstrous, and if it were already on the Statute Book, he should expect a Bill to be introduced for its repeal.

MR. FINDLATER said, that, as a matter of fact, the Bill was desired by Boards of Guardians and Mercantile Associations throughout Ireland. They were perfectly satisfied with its provisions, which had been extensively circulated and canvassed, and those institutions, he imagined, understood the opinion of the people of Ireland on the subject as well as hon. Gentlemen opposite. He had, however, no objection to report Progress, to admit of further consideration.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Friday*.

MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) [SALARIES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to amend the third column of Schedule (A) of the Act 37 and 38 Vic. c. 23, relating to the Salaries of Resident Magistrates in Ireland, with reference to a limited number of such Magistrates.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

MOTIONS.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Scotch Education Department, under "The Education (Scotland) Act, 1878," to enable the School Board for Ardchattan and Muckairn, in the

county of Argyll, to put in force "The Lands Clauses Consolidation (Scotland) Act, 1845," and the Acts amending the same, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MUNDELLA and The LORD ADVOCATE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 285.]

PROSECUTION OF OFFENCES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill for amending "The Prosecution of Offences Act, 1879," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 287.]

CHOLERA HOSPITALS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel NOLAN, Bill to enable sanitary authorities in Ireland to take possession of land for the erection of temporary hospitals, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel NOLAN, Mr. GRAY, Mr. BIGGAR, Colonel KING-HARMAN, Mr. O'SHEA, and Dr. CAMERON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 289.]

IRISH LAND COMMISSIONER (CONTINUANCE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. TREVELYAN, Bill to continue for a further limited period the office of the Fourth Member of the Irish Land Commission, constituted by the twenty-second section of "The Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act, 1882," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. TREVELYAN and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 290.]

TEACHERS' RESIDENCES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel COLTHURST, Bill to amend "The National School Teachers' (Ireland) Act, 1879," in so far as it relates to the Loans for Teachers' Residences, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel COLTHURST, Colonel NOLAN, Mr. MOORE, and Mr. THOMAS DICKSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 288.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 16th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS—Votes 11 to 24.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Magistrates (Ireland) (Salaries) * [292]; Prisons * [293]; Turnpike Acts Continuance * [294].

Select Committee—Church Patronage * [17], Mr. Hardcastle *disch.*; Mr. Brinton *added.*

Committee—*Report*—*Third Reading*—Benefices (Tiverton Portions) Consolidation Amendment * [272], and *passed.*

Considered as amended—*Third Reading*—Naval Discipline Act (1866) Amendment * [263], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) * [81].

QUESTIONS.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that as he did not see the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department would state whether Her Majesty's Government were in receipt of any news respecting General Gordon's position at Khartoum? Certain paragraphs had appeared in the newspapers that morning, which professed to describe the state of affairs in that town, and to give news of General Gordon down to a much later date than had been received by her Majesty's Government, and he wished to know whether the Government had any information on the subject? He also wished to know whether the Government had received any information with regard to an alleged mutiny of Turkish troops at Assiout?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he was not in a position to answer the right hon. Gentleman's Question.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that, in that case, the right hon. Gentleman would perhaps consent to take formal Notice of his intention to ask for information on the subject; because it was idle to put Notices of Questions upon the Paper in reference to paragraphs which appeared in newspapers, as the information contained in such paragraphs might be contradicted or modified before the Questions relating to them could be put and answered.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he thought that it was scarcely convenient to put Questions with regard to such paragraphs, which the right hon. Gentleman admitted might be contradicted or modified the next day. Of course, however, if the right hon. Gentleman desired an answer to such a Question, he was entitled to have it.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that he was not assuming that the newspaper paragraphs were correct, although one por-

tion of the news they contained was calculated to greatly relieve public anxiety with regard to General Gordon. He begged to give a general Notice that he should ask Her Majesty's Government to afford the House such information on the subject as they might have received.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £21,762, to complete the sum for the Civil Service Commission.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to call attention to a matter which would probably be looked upon as a very small one. He noticed upon Page 119 two items in reference to the wages of charwomen, from which it appeared that one received 14*s.* a-week, and the others only 12*s.* There was also an allowance to an office-keeper for two female servants at 14*s.* a-week. He wished to know why it was that there was this difference in the wages of the female servants employed in the offices of the Commission?

MR. COURTNEY said, the question was one which did not depend upon the Government. The allowance to the female servants rested with the man who was in charge of the premises, and he apprehended that the wages paid to the two charwomen were in the same position. It was an allowance made to the office-keeper for the services of the domestic servants employed by him.

MR. WARTON said, the hon. Gentleman did not understand the point he wished to raise. He only wanted to know why there should be a distinction in regard to the remuneration given to two women employed in the small position of charwomen?

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, that before the Vote was passed, he should like to ask one or two questions in reference to it. In the first place, he wanted to know when Sir George Dasent's book in reference to the Civil Service Commission was likely to be published? It was understood that a considerable sum of public money had been spent; and as the book had long been looked forward to by scholars, in order that they might supply themselves with information, it was difficult to understand why it had not been published. It was said that the delay rested with Sir George Dasent himself, who required certain stipulations to be complied with before the publication of the book; but there was a question whether any public servant was justified in receiving money for his literary services in connection with a Public Office. It was a matter to be regretted that the book should not have been published, owing to the obstinacy of one of the Commissioners. There was another question he also desired to ask—namely, why the examination papers had not been published with the Report of the Civil Service Commission? The publication of those papers was the only thing which made the Report of value, and enabled a check to be exercised on the Commissioners. If they were to be told that the expense of printing the examination papers induced the Department to withhold them, all he could say was that the Report itself ought to be kept back, as it was the examination papers alone which made the Report saleable; without them the Report would be utterly unsaleable. The Civil Service Commission, in his opinion, was in a most unsatisfactory state, and he hoped the time was not far distant when the Government would acquiesce in an inquiry into the manner in which the examinations were conducted.

MR. SEXTON said, it appeared from the Estimate that, under the regulations imposed by the Order in Council of March 22nd, 1879, fees were levied by means of stamps on the candidates who presented themselves for open competition. The item this year was put down at £12,500 on the sale of stamps, together with £50 in the shape of cash receipts. As the Note appended to the Vote said that the fees were levied on the candidates who presented themselves for examination, he wished to know whether they were exacted upon all candidates for employment in the Civil Service, and whether they were levied on any scale—for instance, whether a candidate for a well-paid office was charged a higher fee than a candidate for some lower employment? He also noticed an item of £14,000 for Assistant

Examiners for London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and the Provinces. He desired to know in what proportion that sum of £14,000 was spent in the Three Kingdoms—how much in England, how much in Ireland, and how much in Scotland? He thought the exaction of fees for the lower grades of the Civil Service was a practice of very doubtful policy.

MR. COURTNEY said, he would reply first to the questions which had been put to him by the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers). He thought the hon. Gentleman could not have heard the Question which was put to him a few days ago, on the subject of these examination papers, by the hon. Member for Berwick (Mr. Jerningham). In reply to that Question, he had explained that the examination papers were excluded from the Report, in order that they might be published at a lower rate. In respect of the book of Sir George Dasent, it was quite true that Sir George Dasent was a member of the Commission; but the question was one which would be more properly raised upon another Vote which would come up subsequently. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had asked a question as to the fees payable by candidates for competitive examinations in connection with the Civil Services. The fees exacted were not all upon the same scale, but varied according to the character of the office, and ranged from 1*s.* in the case of a Dockyard apprentice to £5 in the competitive examinations for Class I. The fees were framed on the principle of apportioning them with some regard to the character of the appointment, and the importance of the office for which the examination was held. The hon. Member also asked how the sum paid to the Assistant Examiners in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and the Provinces was apportioned? He was afraid that, at present, he was unable to state, in detail, how the sum of £14,000 was distributed. Assistant Examiners were employed for the purpose of conducting the examinations; and, no doubt, the amount paid in each country would correspond in ratio with the number of candidates who presented themselves in the different centres. For instance, the sums to the Assistant Examiners in London, Dublin, and Edinburgh would have due regard to the number of examinations which took place in each place.

MR. SEXTON said, he was obliged to the hon. Gentleman for having given all the information in his power, although he confessed that it was somewhat vague, especially in regard to the Assistant Examiners. When the Report of this Vote was brought up, he hoped the hon. Gentleman would be able to tell the House how many Assistant Examiners there were, how they were appointed, and the manner in which this sum of £14,000 was distributed between the three countries. He had already thrown out to the hon. Gentleman the suggestion that it was a matter of doubtful policy to exact fees at all from the lower grades of the Civil Service, when candidates presented themselves for employment in the lower and least-paid offices. Of course, the case was different in the higher class appointments. If a man presented himself for an appointment in India, his salary would probably commence at £500 and rise to £5,000, in which case it was no doubt proper to exact a fee; but when a youth presented himself as a candidate for employment as a Dockyard apprentice, it was certainly a matter of doubtful policy to exact a fee even of 1*s.* from him. He would, therefore, suggest that no monetary test should be employed as an obstacle to employment.

MR. DAWSON said, he fully concurred with his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), that it was desirable the hon. Gentleman should give some information as to the distribution of this £14,000, and that he should point out what examinations were held in Dublin, and what in London. He (Mr. Dawson) wanted to know whether Irish candidates for employment in the Civil Service were obliged to go to London for examination; or, whether they were examined for Irish appointments in Dublin as well as in London? It would certainly be hard upon the Irish candidates to compel them to come up to London.

MR. COURTNEY said, that was not the case, except with regard to the higher appointments, such as clerks in the Foreign Office and the Treasury. In competitions of the highest class, the candidates were required to be examined in London; but with respect of the lower divisions, in which a great number

of candidates were examined, they were examined indiscriminately in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and some of the Provincial towns, and they were afterwards appointed to offices as they became vacant.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) £39,338, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and Audit Department.

MR. SEXTON said, he should like to ask a question upon this Vote. He had noticed, some time ago, that a serious dispute had arisen between the Controller General and the Irish Land Commissioners. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) would remember that under the Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act the Land Commission, and some other Departments in Ireland, were authorized to advance sums of money to the tenants, under certain conditions named in the Statute. The Controller and Auditor General found that the sum of about £1,000,000 had been advanced by these Departments to tenants in Ireland; and in order to test the question whether the Irish Departments were justified in advancing so much of the public money, he inquired whether the conditions of the Statute had been satisfied—that was to say, whether the tenants who received the money had satisfied the Department that the conditions of the Statute had been complied with? The Irish Department replied that it was a matter for them to consider, and not for the Controller and Auditor General, whether the conditions had been satisfied; and, up to the present moment, the Officer appointed by Parliament to investigate the accounts had not had evidence before him to show that in these cases the tenants had satisfied the conditions of the Statute. He (Mr. Sexton) wanted to know whether any conclusion had been arrived at, or whether the Irish Department still maintained its inviolability against the Controller and Auditor General, or if they had given the necessary proof that the public funds had been administered in a proper manner? He was afraid that he should have to return again and again to this matter, because he regarded it as one of the first importance; and he wished to know whether, in regard to the Land Commission, the Controller and Auditor General met with the same facilities for inquiry into the expenditure of public money as he received from the other Departments of the State?

MR. COURTNEY said, he was unable to answer the question at that moment; but he would make inquiry as to the method employed in controlling and auditing the accounts of the Irish Departments.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £5,592, to complete the sum for the Friendly Societies Registry.

MR. W. H. JAMES said, he wished to call the attention of his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) to the extreme delay which regularly took place every year in the publication of the Report of the Registrar of Friendly Societies. The Report for 1882 was not received last year until the month of August or September. Now, these Reports affected the interests of a very large body of the working classes. Great importance was attached to them, and they were looked forward to every year with a considerable amount of interest. He would, therefore, be obliged if his hon. Friend would explain the great and extraordinary delay which annually took place in the publication of this Report.

MR. COURTNEY said, he had explained, only a day or two ago, in answer to a Question put to him, that the accounts of the Friendly Societies were made up to the 31st of December in each year; but they were not returnable until the 1st of June, and many were delayed until after that date. As a matter of fact, the local Friendly Societies did not invariably fulfil their statutory obligations. When the Reports were sent in, they had to be examined by the Registrar; and his hon. Friend would see that, from the 1st of June until the 1st of August, was not a very long time for the Registrar to put the accounts in order, to arrange them properly, and to bring out his Report.

MR. WARTON said, he believed it was the case that the Friendly Societies frequently delayed sending in the information they were bound by Act of Parliament to furnish. He was afraid that something worse than that sometimes happened, and that some of these Friendly Societies did not send in any accounts at all. He would ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Trea-

sury (Mr. Courtney) what steps were taken in such a case; and, whether anything could be done to compel these societies to send in their accounts? In the event of a breach of the obligations of the Statute, was there any penalty enforced? He thought that some better discipline should be maintained, and that the Friendly Societies should be compelled to send their reports by the date fixed by the Act of Parliament. There was another question, however, of even more importance. He desired to know whether the attention of the hon. Gentleman had been called to the complaints made some time ago, that some of the contributors to these societies were in the workhouse, owing to the failure of the societies with which they had been connected, and the impossibility of obtaining the grants to which they were entitled? Notwithstanding their providence in making what they imagined to be a provision for themselves, they had been reduced to poverty by the failure of some of these societies to meet the demands made upon them. He wished to know whether any steps had been taken to insure that sounder accounts should be furnished to the Registrar than had hitherto been the case? He would suggest that instructions ought to be given to the Registrar to lay down more distinct regulations as to the scale on which the payments were made. Nothing could be more distressing for a provident working man than to find, after he had been paying so much per week, or month, for the purpose of securing provision for himself in his old age, or something for the benefit of his wife and family at his death—nothing could be more distressing than to find, when the necessity arose for claiming the allowance he was entitled to, that the Friendly Society to which he had contributed had failed, and very likely had done so because the Registrar had not taken pains to insist upon rules and tables of charges founded upon adequate and secure basis. He found an item on Page 123 of the Vote which required explanation. It was a special grant of £2,000, which appeared year after year, and had apparently ceased to have any special character. It was certainly paid last year as well as this. Why, if this was a special grant, did it go on year after year? Surely, if it were paid for every year, the insertion of the word "special" was somewhat unnecessary. Was it a grant of £2,000 for every year, or how many of these special grants were they to have? As a matter of fact, was the word "special" properly applicable to the grant or not? For it was certainly curious that the same sum should have been asked for both last year and this. If it was a special sum, he should like to know what margin was now left?

MR. COURTNEY said, the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Warton) asked that the Registrar should have instructions given to him to enable to do this or that. Nobody was more conscious than himself (Mr. Courtney) of the importance of limiting legislation in cases of this kind, and most hon. Members would be acquainted with the fact that the Friendly Societies Act had been deliberately framed on the principle of purely voluntary action. There were no means of compelling Friendly Societies to register if they did not wish to do so. In the case of no report being sent in by a registered society, the only punishment that could be inflicted was to strike it off the Register, and make it an unregistered society. There were no means of compelling those things to be done which the hon. and learned Member, and many other people, would like to see done. It was part of the duty of the Registrar of Friendly Societies to inquire into the adequacy of the scale of the contributions which were exacted by different societies. The Registrar did look after that matter, and applied the test of inspection to all the societies that were registered; but he had no means of testing the rates of contribution in the case of unregistered societies. The hon. and learned Member had asked him if the special grant of £2,000, which appeared in the Votes this year, was the same item as that which appeared in the Votes last year. No doubt, the same sum was inserted last year; but only £700 of it had been expended. The item referred to special work, in regard to which an explanation had been given more than once. The Registrar of Friendly Societies had undertaken the tabulation, once in every five years, of the experience of all the registered societies in respect of sick pay and death compensation. By that means they would be able to ascertain, not merely from the societies, but from an analysis

of the number of members belonging to each society, at once, whether the rates were adequate or not. This special fund would have to be continued until the work was completed, which was supposed to be 18 months from the current year. The total cost of the work was estimated at £5,000.

MR. WARTON said, he was obliged to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury for the clear explanation he had given; but, at the same time, he must say that although he fully perceived that some of the money was likely to be expended, and he had no objection to the work actually being done, still the registration of Friendly Societies became almost useless if the Registrar General had no power to insist upon his regulations being observed.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he felt bound to enter his protest against making registration of Friendly Societies compulsory. The whole subject was very fully discussed in 1875, when the Friendly Societies Act was under consideration, and it was decided that it was not desirable to interfere with the free action of these societies. At the same time, he was glad to find that the number of unregistered societies was greatly diminishing; and it was satisfactory to learn that a great number of these societies were enrolling themselves as branches of the great societies of the Manchester Unity of Odd Fellows and Foresters, because these societies had paid the greatest attention to their valuation rates, and thereby greatly increased the security of members against loss.

MR. DAWSON said, he did not agree with the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland). He thought the Government did not take a sufficient amount of interest in these Friendly Societies. He believed that good might be done by legislation, and by bringing friendly influence to bear upon the societies in regard to financial matters. He would ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) what good was derived from registration, if registration gave no guarantee whatever as to the soundness of any of these Friendly Societies, or rendered them more amenable to the law in the event of defalcation? He understood that if there was any defalcation, the fact that the society was registered involved no more severe penalty than being wiped off the roll. [MR. COURTNEY said, that was so.] He failed, under those circumstances, to see what guarantee of soundness was afforded by registration.

MR. RYLANDS said, this matter had been discussed on previous occasions; and, in answer to the appeals of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) and the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Dawson), he had only to say that the proposed change of this system of registration would involve the Government in enormous responsibilities. Indeed, it was impossible to gauge the enormous responsibility that would be undertaken by the Government. If the Government were to go through the details of these very numerous and important societies, in such a manner as to throw over them a Government guarantee, he could not imagine anything more dangerous or more likely to lead to greater difficulties and responsibility, because, with the best intentions on the part of the Government, it was utterly impossible to keep such a hold over these different societies as would secure the members of them from fraud and misrepresentation. The question had already been considered, and his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) had pointed out the grave danger of leading people to imagine that, because a society was registered, and there was a certain amount of Government supervision and inspection thrown over it, that it gave a sort of guarantee. On that account, he had always been inclined to look with some doubt as to the desirableness of adopting this course of registration at all. However, he dare say that, on the whole, it was not objectionable to have a certain means of registration of this kind. He thought a discussion such as that which was now taking place, would convey to the members of these societies the fact that, while the Government had the societies under consideration, they took no responsibility with regard to their administration, and gave no guarantee to the members of the societies. What he thought they might do, and what, to a certain extent, they had done, was to furnish to the members of these societies valuable information, which would enable them to look after their own in-

terests. That was what he presumed the Government intended to do in preparing the actuarial tables, for which they were voting £2,000 in the present year, and for which, according to the statement of his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), they would have to vote £3,000 more. He believed that the expenditure of £5,000 in the preparation of actuarial tables would be of advantage to the managers of these societies themselves, and would enable them to regulate the contributions of the members and the rates of sick and death pay. In that respect they would be of great advantage. At the same time, the country was paying from £7,000 to £8,000 a-year in salaries to the gentlemen who were employed in the Registrar's Office, which struck him to be a very large sum indeed. He certainly thought that gentlemen who received large salaries from year to year, ought to have sufficient technical knowledge to enable them to deal with these actuarial questions themselves; but it would appear that when there was some real work to be done, they had to pay somebody else to do it.

MR. COURTNEY said, he must remind his hon. Friend that it was additional work.

MR. RYLANDS said, he would admit that it was additional work; but it was a serious matter if that additional work was to cost £2,000 a-year.

MR. COURTNEY said, the addition to the present Vote did not amount to £3,000 altogether.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was, nevertheless, disposed to think that they should get these actuarial tables out of the staff, without having to pay large additional sums for them. He had no doubt that this actuarial information ought to be given; but he did not think they ought to go further than give such information to the members of Friendly Societies as would enable them in the future to look after their own affairs.

MR. MACFARLANE asked if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) was able to give any idea as to the number of registered and unregistered societies; and, whether any equivalent advantage was derived by the members from the mere fact of registration? It appeared to amount to no more than this — that £7,000 or £8,000 were paid by the public for the registration of these Friendly Societies, whereas the benefit derived from that registration was very problematical. Was it worth the money? His hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) said that a registered society, from the mere fact of being registered, gave a guarantee which an unregistered society did not. But that did not appear to be the case; and the hon. Gentleman was not able to say that any additional security was afforded to the subscribers or to anyone in the world. Then what was the use of paying this large sum of money annually for the work now performed? If the Government made it compulsory, and adopted means for inquiring into the soundness of these societies, he could understand the value of registration, and why the Government should consider it wise to take that course. For his own part, he did not believe that it was wise, and he certainly failed to see what advantage was derived from a system which brought in certain societies and left out others. A working man, who was not, as an ordinary rule, good at figures, was apt to suppose that a registered society, whose name appeared on the books of a Government Office, was really a sound concern; whereas it really appeared that there was no proper evidence of the soundness of the rates and charges made to show that it was any better than an unregistered society. He was afraid that the working classes were liable to be deceived by the existing system, and that, in some cases, they might find themselves seriously injured.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, it was almost impossible to define the number of unregistered societies, or to obtain the information which would enable the Government to do so. There were a very large number of unregistered societies indeed. As a matter of fact, there was one held in almost every small public-house; but clubs of that character were hardly worthy of the name of societies at all.

MR. MACFARLANE asked if the number of unregistered societies was increasing?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, no doubt, they were; but it was impossible to give the number. Some hon. Gentleman had ascribed to his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr.

Courtney) the statement that registration afforded a guarantee. What his hon. Friend had said was that registration afforded no security at all. What he said was that if a registered society did not comply with the terms of the Registration Office, it was struck off the Register, and ceased to be a registered society. With regard to the desire of the working classes to obtain registration, he believed it was a fact, among those who understood the system, and knew exactly what it was worth, that they were most anxious to extend the system of registration. Societies were constantly coming in to be registered, and a strong pressure was exercised in that direction. There was a Bill at that moment before the House, and if it were passed into law this Session, it would enable Political Societies to obtain registration. He thought that showed there was a strong feeling in favour of registration. As a matter of fact, the number of unregistered societies was gradually diminishing with the growth of the feeling among the working classes in favour of registration.

MR. DAWSON said, he was far from asserting that there was no advantage to be derived from registration. He had asked what the advantages were; but he had never said there were none. Of course, conditions of a certain character had to be complied with by all societies that were registered; and, to that extent, there was a guarantee that a registered society had complied with such conditions. What he wished to point out was that if defalcations occurred, the societies which were in default could not have any more severe penalty inflicted upon them than expulsion from the Register, when, having passed from a registered society into an unregistered society, it would undoubtedly lose ground. He thought there ought to be something in the registration itself which should afford to the members of a Friendly Society a guarantee of soundness.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he failed to see how that could be done so long as the registration was voluntary. In regard to defalcations, they came under the ordinary provisions of the law, and if they could be brought home the persons guilty of them were punished.

MR. DAWSON said, he had raised no question about the judicial action of the law. He had only asked what guarantee the working classes had that any society of this kind, to which they were induced to subscribe, had really been established upon a sound basis. The impression was spreading that there were millions of money at the disposal of the working classes for the development of industrial pursuits which had been collected together under the fostering influence of societies of this kind; whereas the fact was, that the working classes of England and Ireland were without a penny. No doubt, that was not the case abroad; but the working classes in Italy, France, and Germany owned many millions sterling which they had gathered together by the exercise of frugality, and it was that kind of incentive he wished to see given to the working classes of this country.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, there was nothing abroad like the organizations of the Foresters and Odd Fellows Societies in this country, who were far richer than any Continental societies.

MR. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had referred to a Bill at present before the House for the purpose of enabling Political Societies to register themselves. He should like the right hon. Baronet to explain what he meant by "Political Friendly Societies?" There were some associations in Ireland which called themselves Political Societies, and also called themselves Friendly, and he should like to know whether the right hon. Baronet included them under the designation of "Political Friendly Societies" as being entitled to register themselves. For instance, there were the Freemasons Lodges in Ireland, and the Orange Societies. They were certainly political; and he believed the Members claimed to be friendly among each other, although they were very often unfriendly to other persons. He believed the Orange Society was endeavouring to obtain legal recognition in Canada, and that in some of the Provinces they had succeeded in doing so; while in others they had failed. He wanted to know if the Government had in their mind any intention of giving a legal recognition to such societies as the Freemasons and Orange Lodges?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he would refer the hon. Member to the Bill itself.

MR. WARTON said, he would point out that the question they were discussing now was how far registration was a proof of the soundness of these societies, and they had nothing to be with the question whether the society ought to be registered or not. It now appeared that they were spending a considerable sum out of the public money in connection with these societies, and a further sum of £5,000 was required in order to obtain certain actuarial information. He thought the information might be exceedingly useful; but when the money was spent, and the information obtained, he was of opinion that some practical benefit should be derived from it, and that the Government should insist upon Friendly Societies having sound rates and charges. Perhaps it was too soon to carry out that idea now; but he would suggest to the Government, when they had the information, to consider whether it was not desirable to make registration compulsory. At present, there was no indication that the rules and regulations imposed by the Government were complied with, and nothing whatever to show that the rates were sound. If it could be shown that the rules were complied with in one case and not in another, it would be useful to the working classes to know under which class any society they wished to join came. At present, the great complaint was that there was no security that a registered society was constituted upon a sound basis.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that no direct answer had been given to the question, what advantages were gained by members of a registered society, as against members of an unregistered society? And he should regret if it should be thought by the public that no answer could be given upon a point which was really very clear, and beyond all doubt. In the first place, no society could be registered under the Friendly Societies Act of 1875, unless the Society, by their rules, complied with the conditions set forth in the Second Schedule to that Act, conditions which were of great importance in securing the well-working and solvency of the society. There were also provisions binding on registered societies as to the investment of funds and making returns and statements of accounts, which added to the security of members of such societies, but which were wanting in the case of unregistered societies. In truth, irregularities could be committed by unregistered societies which could not be possible in the case of registered societies.

MR. BIGGAR said, he was disposed to agree with the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) and the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) that the position of these societies was considerably strengthened by being registered. Unfortunately, the registration was only voluntary, where it ought to be compulsory. He thought the Government were too fond of permissive legislation, and if a Conservative Government had been in power, he thought the Act would have been of a much more stringent and beneficial character. He believed that, in many respects, it was of advantage to Friendly Societies to be registered. He believed that no considerable amount of insurance business would go to a society, unless it was registered. People would not insure in an unregistered society, and it was a great temptation to evade registration if no penalty beyond the process of the law was attached to any default. He thought the question of Friendly Societies was entitled to the consideration of the Government, with a view to the amendment of the law. He agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), that it would not be a very easy matter to pass a law of that sort, because it must raise up a large number of difficult questions which would lead to a considerable amount of discussion. At the same time, he thought the question was one which it was very desirable to place upon a more satisfactory footing. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) told them that the secretaries of these Friendly Societies had something like five months allowed them in which to make up their accounts and send them to the Registrar General. That seemed to be a very long time, and yet, after all, in some cases, they were not made up in time. He thought that two months would be quite efficient, and that the Report of the Registrar General ought to be published in the newspapers before Parliament rose in each year, so that an opportunity might be given to the Members of the House of Commons to examine the question, and form an opinion upon it.

He thought also that the Registrar of Friendly Societies should be called upon to give his opinion on other questions; that he should report upon the question of average expenditure, together with the charges and rates adopted, and upon the merits of different societies generally. Otherwise, there would be very little security to the public. People naturally expected, that, because a society was registered, it received the sanction of the State; whereas, in reality, the Department did not exercise any proper supervision over the affairs of Friendly Societies at all. In many cases the unfortunate insurers were in this position—they imagined they had got a certificate from the Government guaranteeing the soundness of a particular society, when, really, that was not the case at all. The truth was, that if it was not for the fact that many persons who insured ceased to continue their subscriptions up to the time they would be chargeable upon the funds of a society, the society itself would be insolvent. If all persons continued to pay until the time of their death, or until they became entitled to relief on account of sickness, the societies would be unable to discharge their liabilities, and the result would be a complete state of bankruptcy among them. He believed that, in many cases, the directors avoided calling upon subscribers for their subscriptions as soon as they imagined they were approaching such a state of health as to necessitate their being placed in a position to entitle them to an allowance from the society.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £15,936, to complete the sum for the Land Commissioners for England.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he wished to call attention to the want of progress shown by the Land Commission with regard to the work they were specially appointed to perform—namely, the enfranchisement of copyholds. They had now been appointed for 43 years, and after they had been in existence for a period of five years, the Minister of the day said he entertained a hope that all copyholds throughout the country would be enfranchised at an early date. But, so far from that having been the case, the work had been allowed to fall into arrear, and instead of the enfranchisement of copyholds being carried on at the rate of 600 a-year, they had fallen to less than 200. He did not wish to blame the Commission, because the fault rather rested with Her Majesty's Government, who had failed to encourage legislation for the enfranchisement of copyholds; and, in the absence of further legislation for the enfranchisement of copyholds, there had been a very serious diminution in the number of enfranchisements, and he was afraid the tendency in future would be to decrease rather than increase in number. He thought he was justified, under these circumstances, desiring, as he did, to see the work of the Commission expedited, in calling attention to the fact that upon the Order Book there was, at the present moment, a Bill which had been read a second time, not without some opposition, but a Bill which had a very important bearing upon the work of the Commission. That Bill had been introduced in order to prevent the continuous failure of the work of the Commission; and it had not only been read a second time, but it had passed through a large and important Select Committee of the House. He thought it would be discreditable to Her Majesty's Government to allow the measure to drop. One of the most conspicuous failures in the programme of Her Majesty's Government, so far as their promises were concerned during the period they had been in Office, had been in carrying out the work of Land Reform. He should like to see a much shorter and sharper remedy applied in reference to the enfranchisement of copyholds that would lead to their extinction altogether in 10 years. As he had said, the Bill of the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh) had received a great amount of approval, and had not only been read a second time, but its provisions had been considered and passed by an important Select Committee. There was no other Bill before the House which stood in the same position. In consequence of what he might call the deplorable vote in "another place," the Government were bringing the work of the Session to a speedy close; but they were encouraging, and even promoting, the passing of Bills which had by no means the same claim to consideration as the measure to which he referred. He did hope that, having regard to arrears in the work of the Commission, and the responsibility the Government

incurred in delaying the enfranchisement of copyholds, and bearing in mind that, although the Bill was not everything that could be desired, yet that still it was a step in the right direction—he did hope Her Majesty's Government would not allow the opportunity before them to be lost, but would take advantage of it for the purpose of passing the measure which had been introduced by his hon. and learned Friend. The right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), in discussing a previous Vote, spoke of a Bill which had been dropped and could not now be proceeded with. The Bill of the hon. Member for Cockermouth was not in the same position. It had already passed through a Select Committee, and although it was blocked by one or two hon. Members, there had been no Amendment to it placed on the Paper, and Her Majesty's Government had no Amendment to suggest to it. Therefore, notwithstanding the period of the Session at which they had arrived, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, he thought they ought not to allow the Bill to disappear from the Order Book of the House of Commons. He sincerely thought an effort should be made to pass the measure into law.

MR. SEXTON said, he noticed a very curious entry in the Vote, under Sub-head B., for the legal expenses of the Solicitor to the Commission, and fees upon opinion of Law Officers—£100. The first observation he had to make was that the solicitor must give his services very cheaply; for he (Mr. Sexton) had never heard of a solicitor who gave his services to a Government Department for £100 a-year. Then, again, the item included fees upon the opinion of the Law Advisers of the Crown. He had been under the impression that the Law Officers of the Crown were among the best paid officers of the State. If the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General were appointed to the office of Lord Chief Justice, he would lose a large income by the change of position; and he (Mr. Sexton) wanted to know how it was that two Law Officers, so amply compensated for their services as the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, did not scorn to take £200 in the shape of fees, for giving an opinion upon any matter in the interests of the State? He found, from the Estimate, that the charge for the year amounted to £24,000; whereas the income last year only reached £18,000. Considering that the Department performed very valuable work for many private individuals, he should have thought that it ought to have been made self-supporting. The Commission, professedly, performed the work of valuation for private individuals, and there ought to be no loss to the State from the discharge of the functions of a Department which were principally advantageous to private persons, such Department having a large staff at its disposal. If a private individual were intrusted with the performance of similar functions in London, and had a similar staff at his disposal, in 12 months he would be able to show a profit, instead of a loss. He thought the matter was one which required explanation.

MR. WARTON said, he desired to call attention to a small matter of detail—namely, the way in which this account was made up. It was all very well to include considerable sums in one Estimate; but he wanted to know how they were worked out in detail? He found that every item in what purported to be an explanation of this Vote contained exactly the same provision as the Vote itself; and yet he found an imaginary Estimate informing the House that the sum asked for was £780 less than it was last year. He wanted to know by what process the Government arrived at that singular conclusion?

MR. COURTNEY said, the matter could be explained in a moment.

MR. WARTON said, that there might be an explanation; but if the hon. Gentleman would look at Page 126, he would find that the explanation was given in a very curious way indeed. The one item of copying appeared to be given in three different entries. For instance, copying, &c., £1,500; engraving, copying, &c., £1,850; and then there was a further item for making tracings from maps, and extracts from apportionments and other documents for engrossments of rates, &c., copying, &c., in inquiry cases, engrossing and copying provisional and absolute orders in drainage cases. Were those items the same as those which were paid last year? He should certainly like to receive an explanation from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. COURTNEY said, he could not withhold a tribute of admiration from the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Warton) for having detected an irregularity in reference to these accounts. The explanation, however, was a very simple one; the item said to have been incurred last year was inserted purely by mistake, and ought not to have appeared at all. With regard to the sum referred to by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), if the hon. Member presumed that fees to the Law Officers of the Crown were involved in that sum, he was labouring under a misconception, because the Law Officers received no fees at all; and the sum in question was paid as solicitor's expenses in respect of the delivery of cases for the opinion of the Law Officers. As to the Bill of the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh), the Government had interposed no obstacle to its passing; but, on the contrary, had done everything possible to promote it, and if other Bills were going forward while this was at a standstill, it was because they were not blocked. In the case of this Bill, however, two hon. Members had blocked it, and the Government regretted as much as the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) that any obstacle to the passing of the Bill should have been interposed. There were, however, serious difficulties in the way, and the Bill was only in the same position as Bills of their own which the Government had been compelled most reluctantly to abandon. The Government, unfortunately, could not do more to forward the measure of the hon. Member than they had done.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that the Bills which had been abandoned were not in the same advanced position as the Bill of the hon. Member for Cockermouth (Mr. Waugh).

MR. COURTNEY said, the hon. Member contended that the effect of the Bill would be to extend the voluntary enfranchisement of copyholds; but he was inclined to think that there would be a gradual falling off in voluntary enfranchisements.

MR. WAUGH said, that, as he had charge of the Bill, he might, perhaps, be allowed to say that it introduced a very important reform, and he was somewhat surprised that the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) should have objected to this Commission, which cost only a small sum, whereas the Irish Land Commission cost a great deal.

MR. SEXTON said, he did not object to the Commission. What he had said was, that where a Public Department performed services for the benefit of private persons, those private persons should pay for the performance of the duties, and prevent the charge from falling upon the public.

MR. WAUGH said, he wished to remind the hon. Member (Mr. Sexton) that the expenses of the Land Commissioners in Ireland, who performed duties of a similar kind, were charged on the Consolidated Fund. The whole sum charged for the Copyhold Commission was about £4,000 a-year, and for that sum they performed very important public duties. He did not think that any Commission which had been established in this country had discharged its duties with more economy; the only question was whether the Commission itself was to be perpetual. In 1838, a most influential Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the subject, and it had among its Members Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Sir William Follett, Sir John Campbell, and several other eminent Members, who recommended that, for two years, voluntary enfranchisement should be gone on with; but that it would be necessary to make the Act compulsory both in regard to the landlord and the tenant. That was in 1838. In 1841, the Act was passed for the voluntary enfranchisement of copyholds, and the present Commission was appointed; an expense of £4,000 or £5,000 a-year being sanctioned to that end. In 1851, another Select Committee recommended, in the strongest terms, that copyholds should be abolished in the course of three or four years. From that time, no Government had taken the matter up; but it had been neglected entirely, and the £4,000 a-year, which ought to have been done away with many years ago, had been charged upon the Consolidated Fund. He had originally brought in his Bill in 1881, for this express purpose; and he had introduced it again this year; but it had been blocked by one or two hon. Members who were instructed by the stewards of manors. In regard to the Land Commission, he must say that it was a

great misfortune to Ireland that it had not a Commission similar to the Land Commission here—composed not of lawyers, but of laymen. He was quite sure that the settlement of questions would have been arrived at much sooner, and at a much less cost.

MR. DAWSON said, he did not think there was any analogy between the Land Commission in Ireland and the Commission now under discussion, which had no power whatever in regard to the adjustment of rents. Its duties consisted of the preparation of maps, the inspection of drainage and enclosures, and, in fact, in doing the business of private individuals; but it was not a Commission appointed to carry out a great Act of Parliament, and it had not the power of fixing rents. Therefore, there was nothing in connection with the Land Commission in Ireland which enabled them to draw any analogy between it and the Commission now under discussion.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, it was extremely good of hon. Members from Ireland to take part in the discussion, seeing that they were in a much better condition than this country in having no copyholds at all. At that moment, the taxpayers of this country were paying a very considerable sum for every case of enfranchisement carried out by the Land Commission. That was a very serious matter, and they had a right to expect the passing of some measure which would deal with the great evils of the land system of the country.

MR. WARTON said, he was one of those who opposed the Bill of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Waugh); but, as far as he was concerned, he had received no instructions from the stewards of manors. He opposed the Bill because, in his opinion, the present law was quite sufficient.

MR. WAUGH said, there was only one Petition against the Bill, and it was signed by eight stewards of manors, and had been presented by the hon. Member for Hertfordshire (Mr. Halsey).

MR. WARTON said, he had had nothing to do with that.

MR. WAUGH said, the duties of the Commissioners in this country were of precisely the same character as those of the Land Commissioners in Ireland. They had to settle the value of land in exactly the same way; but they did it without the assistance of lawyers, and without any legal tribunal.

MR. SEXTON said, that if, 40 years ago, steps had been taken, under the Devon Commission, to settle the Land Question in Ireland, great advantage might have been derived; but in regard to the Land Commission they were now discussing, the work they performed had connection with the enclosure and drainage of land, and they were particular services performed for the benefit of private individuals, and services of such a character that they ought to be paid for by those who derived benefit from them. There was this difference between the Land Commissioners in England and Ireland. In England, it was a Department which transacted the business of private individuals; but, in Ireland, it was a judicial establishment in the shape of a Public Court which performed judicial functions. It was, therefore, supported by the State in the same way as all the other legal tribunals of the country.

MR. WAUGH said, he was bound to deny that the duties of the Land Commissioners were discharged for the benefit of private individuals.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £340,757, to complete the sum for the Local Government Board.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, as there appeared to be no Representative of the Local Government Board present, it would, perhaps, be well to postpone the Vote.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I beg to move that the Vote be postponed.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he hoped the right hon. Baronet would not press his Motion. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had been present since the House met, and he (Sir George Balfour) was satisfied he would be again in his place immediately.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, at this moment, having resumed his seat,

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was glad to see the right hon. Gentleman take his place, because there was some difficult and important subjects connected with the Vote for the Local Government Board upon which he desired to have some information. The first point to which he wished to call

the attention of the right hon. Gentleman was the question relating to workhouse schools. Last year, when he raised that question, a statement was made by his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Hibbert), who went very carefully into the matter, that there were upwards of 200 workhouses from which the Guardians sent children to the parochial or Board schools of the district. He should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would state whether the number of workhouses from which children were sent to such schools had increased—whether, in fact, the practice, which he considered right and judicious, was extending or otherwise? He regarded it as one of the most important conditions, in these days, that the children should not be brought up with the stain of pauperism upon them; the great object being to bring them up from the commencement to earn an honest livelihood, and not, in future times, to become, as were their parents before them, dependent on the workhouse for their subsistence. That was a subject to which he invited the right hon. Gentleman's serious attention, and he trusted he would be able to inform the Committee that the system in question had been extended since last year. Then he would also ask information on another subject—namely, as to whether the boarding-out system had increased, or otherwise? They were told last year that 600 or 700 children were boarded out, a number which, having regard to the amount of pauperism in a great country like this, appeared to him a very small one indeed. He did not know what were the views which the President of the Local Government Board held with regard to the parochial boarding-out system; but in his (Sir Walter B. Barttelot's) judgment, it was a system which, in every way, deserved to be encouraged, and he awaited with much interest the reply of the right hon. Gentleman as to whether its was being extended. Then he hoped to receive some information from the right hon. Gentleman with regard to a system which had recently been inaugurated. He believed the Guardians at Chelsea, and in another district, had successfully introduced the cottage system; and, in doing so, they had undoubtedly set a good example to the Guardians of the rest of the Kingdom. There was nothing, in his opinion, more calculated to benefit the poor children of the country than the cottage system. On the other hand, he said that nothing could be worse than that they should be brought up in workhouse schools, to be taught and believe that they were nothing but paupers, and that they were despised by their fellow-creatures. Those were the views he entertained, and he earnestly suggested that every endeavour should be made by the Local Government Board to extend the systems he advocated in all their branches, feeling sure that it would have a most beneficial effect upon the poor children of the country.

MR. CROPPER said, before the right hon. Gentleman replied to the questions of the hon. and gallant Baronet opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) with reference to the workhouse schools, and the boarding-out and cottage systems, he desired to call the attention of the President of the Local Government Board to one or two points which he considered of importance in connection with this Vote. The Committee would find, on Page 130 of the Estimates, a charge for £2,056, to which the sum of £1,500 was added for travelling expenses, for the Inspectors of workhouse schools. His own experience had been that it would be of great advantage if the inspection of workhouse schools were made to run *pari passu* with that of the elementary schools in the towns in which the workhouses were situated. The Committee would be aware that there was a great difference in the way in which these two classes of Inspectors discharged their duties; the man who never had anything but pauper children to deal with would differ in his practice very materially from the man who conducted the examinations of children in the other elementary schools of the country; he approached his work from a different point of view altogether, and came to it with particular views towards the class he had to deal with; and he (Mr. Cropper) believed that he would take a more arbitrary line with regard to the children in question than one who had to deal with children not of the pauper class. Those who had seen these schools within the last few years would have observed that the inspection was of a different kind from that which was performed with re-

gard to board schools; and by the adoption of his suggestion he believed that not only would the amount of the travelling expenses of these Inspectors be saved, but that the quality of the work done would be much better. Then, with regard to the inspection itself, he asked whether the same Order lately circulated among all other Inspectors of schools had been circulated by the Department among the Inspectors of workhouse schools? The Order in question was a very good one, for it gave new rules and encouragement to the Inspectors, which he thought ought not to be confined to Inspectors of board schools. One of the most essential points, in his opinion, was that the Inspectors should not, by their work, interfere with the meal hour of the children. Everyone knew that the difficulty arose in this way—the Inspector came down, perhaps, at 10 o'clock in the morning, and his work was frequently not done when the dinner hour arrived; he had no idea of waiting until after the dinner hour to finish his work, and so he carried it on while the children were fasting. He (Mr. Cropper) knew a case in which the boys were kept from 7 o'clock in the morning, the hour at which they breakfasted, until 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the inspection was finished. He contended that it was a very unfair thing to the scholars that the inspection should go on at a time when they ought to be refreshing themselves. He should like, in all cases, that the work of the Inspectors should cease while the meal hours were going on. For these reasons, he asked the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board whether he would be inclined to join the inspection of workhouse schools with the inspection of the other schools in the towns in which the workhouses were situated; and, if the right hon. Gentleman could not see his way to do that, whether he would not give the Inspectors of workhouse schools that Order lately issued to the Inspectors of National and other schools with reference to inspection?

MR. SEXTON said, he trusted that the excellent remarks made by the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would receive the attention they deserved. There was one class of children in the workhouses—namely, those of the Roman Catholic faith—in which he felt a strong interest, and in whose behalf something more required to be done as a means of furnishing them with a sufficient amount of religious instruction. He believed that the regulations with regard to the religious instruction of children of that faith was pernicious and unjust, as well as unworthy of England. In the first place, the Roman Catholic chaplains in England had to discharge their duties without pay; and he thought it would be an improvement in the policy and the functions of the Local Government Board if the Board took to itself the power of allocating a reasonable salary to Roman Catholic chaplains in workhouses, because he found, in many cases, in England and Scotland, that the Boards of Guardians, although they could not deny the value of the services of the chaplains, had refused to allocate a single penny for their remuneration. Further, he had to say that Roman Catholic chaplains were frequently embarrassed in their communications with the children by the insolence of the officials and the bigotry of the Guardians. He would draw the attention of the Committee to a case at Bath, in which a Protestant clergyman sitting at the Board of Guardians had not felt himself ashamed openly to deride the Catholic faith. He (Mr. Sexton) thought he had a right to ask, when a Guardian of the Poor so misconducted himself, that the Local Government Board would do more than give a curt reply to a Question on the subject put in that House—that they would gravely censure any gentleman who misconducted himself in the manner he had described. Then there was another point to which he desired to refer—namely, the custom pursued in Great Britain of putting out Catholic children as servants to persons of a different faith. Now, he was perfectly well aware that the employers of the children were, in the majority of cases, Protestants; but he thought some endeavours might be made to procure for the child employers of the same religious faith. At Sheffield, a Catholic mother, although in a very delicate state of health, on hearing that her child had been placed with a Protestant employer, left the workhouse to remove the child from a house in which she considered its religious faith was in danger. Surely it was not the intention of Parliament

that the hard necessity of accepting relief for the means of living was to be made an engine for the purpose of changing the religious faith of children. The attention of the Local Government Board to this subject was, in his opinion, very necessary; because the representations of parents, in these cases, had failed to produce any adequate alteration in the practice. When cases of this kind occurred, he maintained that the chaplain ought first to be communicated with, and that the child should not be put out to service with persons of a different creed until the chaplain had been consulted, and had endeavoured to procure for the child an employer of the same faith. Until that request was complied with, he felt that the Department would lie under the imputation of using the law for the purpose of changing the religious faith of pauper children. Then he had to ask for some accurate information on two points with reference to the administration of the Department. In the first place, he desired to know what was the proportion of *ex officio* to elected Guardians throughout the country? At one time, as the right hon. Baronet would be aware, *ex officio* Guardians constituted the whole Board; but, subsequently, an Act was passed, which reduced the number to half of the entire Board, after which another Act was passed, providing that they should not exceed one-third of the entire number of Guardians. He asked whether that Act had operated efficiently and satisfactorily? Again, he had to ask whether any obstacles were thrown in the way of medical officers receiving the Commission of the Peace in England, as was the case in Ireland; whether any such obstacles existed at all in England; and whether medical men were appointed to the Commission of the Peace? Further, he desired to know what course was pursued with regard to officials in the service of the Department, who, in another employment, had been guilty of dishonest and fraudulent conduct? What course would the Department pursue towards a rate collector, for instance, who, being in the employment of the Department, was found to have acted dishonestly in another capacity, as was the case with a rate collector of the Blackrock township, who held also the position of clerk in the Local Government Board, and who, it was discovered, had been for years carrying on a system of malversation, which resulted in the appropriation of £2,600? He asked whether, in England, that man would have been allowed for a single day to continue in the service of the Local Government Board after the circumstances he had described had been known to the head of the Department?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, with regard to the last point raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), as to whether a person in the employ of the Local Government Board, who had been guilty of dishonest conduct in another employment, would be retained in the service of the Department, that the Department under such circumstances would direct a local inquiry into the circumstances of the case, and act according to the result. Of course, if a man was proved to have been dishonest in one capacity, he would be presumably so in another. With regard to the question of the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) on the subject of pauper children being sent to the parochial or board schools, he was able to inform the hon. and gallant Member that there had been an increase in the number of workhouses from which children were sent to school. The number of workhouses from which children were so sent, and which was 200 last year, had increased to 235, and there were, besides, 10 cases under consideration at the present time. That result, he hoped, would be satisfactory to the hon. and gallant Member, as showing that the subject was not being lost sight of. The hon. and gallant Member inquired also as to whether there had been any increase in the number of children boarded out. In this case, also, he was able to inform the hon. and gallant Member that an increase, although a small one, had taken place. The number of children boarding outside the Unions, however, was steadily increasing, and there had been an increase of 186 during the last year, which made the total number boarded out 835. The hon. and gallant Baronet had further asked his opinion with regard to the system of boarding out. Having had an opportunity, outside the House, of expressing his views upon the subject at length, he did not think it necessary to go, except very briefly, into the matter on that occasion. He would

simply observe that his views on the subject of boarding out were somewhat similar to those of his Predecessor (Mr. Dodson); his opinion, generally speaking, was that it would be undesirable to adopt any one system to the absolute exclusion of another. He was one of those who would not push the principle of boarding out to the fullest extent; because, if that were done, he feared there might be a certain amount of laxity in its administration; on the other hand, he might say that he was so far in favour of the application of the principle as to desire to see it moderately extended. The hon. and gallant Baronet had also asked him with regard to the cottage system, which he said very truly had been found to work well in Kensington and Chelsea district, and in Birmingham. The same system was in operation in one of the Unions of South Wales; and he believed, also, that three Boards of Guardians were at the present time contemplating applications for public loans in connection with it. In answer to his hon. Friend the Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper), who suggested that the inspection of workhouse schools and elementary schools should be conducted by the same class of Inspectors—that was to say, by gentlemen appointed to inspect board schools, he was of opinion that, whatever might be the view of the Guardians on that point, the Education Department would object to the proposed change being made, and he thought there was a good deal to be said in favour of separate systems of inspection. Those who had the care of pauper children must be responsible to an authority different from that to which those who had the charge of children in general were responsible; the children being upon an entirely different footing, and the arrangements for their care being a portion of the Poor Law system of the country, it would be most difficult for the Education Department to exercise control over the Boards of Guardians. Further, he was not at all certain that the one system of inspection advocated by the hon. Member for Kendal would not lead to the work of the Guardians being done twice over. On the whole, therefore, he was inclined to think that, as pauper children were under the Boards of Guardians, it might be well to allow them to remain so, although he must not be understood to express a strong opinion upon that subject. With regard to the last point of his hon. Friend, he was bound to say that, subject to the foregoing reservations, he was very much with him as to the desirability of bringing into as close proximity as possible the rules which governed the inspection of the schools under the two systems. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had asked him a question with regard to Catholic children in the workhouse schools, as to which he would refer him to his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. G. Russell), who attended to the subject. The hon. Member also asked him a question as to *ex officio* Guardians in England. The system was that all the magistrates of the district acted as *ex officio* Guardians, without reference to number, of which there was no limitation. But when the number of magistrates did not come up to one-third of the elected Guardians, the Local Government Board had power to appoint *ex officio* Guardians, and that power had sometimes been exercised. The Department could not appoint more *ex officio* Guardians than was sufficient to bring up their number to the proportion of one-third of the whole number of Guardians. The hon. Member had also asked as to whether any obstacle was placed in the way of any particular class of medical officers being made magistrates—dispensary officers for example. He was not aware that any rule of the kind had been made.

MR. SEXTON asked whether, in the case of the Boards of Guardians outside London, where the magistrates exceeded the elected Guardians in number, the Local Government Board had power to increase the number of elected Guardians?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that was not done. He believed that the number of elected Guardians in the country districts always exceeded the number of *ex officio* Guardians.

MR. SEXTON said, he understood from the right hon. Baronet that, as a general rule in England, the elected Guardians exceeded the *ex officio* Guardians.

MR. HARRINGTON asked, whether the *ex officio* Guardians were restricted to residence in the parishes, or whether the holders only of property in the district might be elected?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes. Residence.

MR. DAWSON asked, whether he was right in supposing that the duties of the auditors of the Local Government Board in England, whose expenses were included in the Vote before the Committee, were of this character—that if, in the course of the audit of the accounts of a public body, they found a payment made which was not strictly legal, but in connection with which there was no imputation of fraud, they should not surcharge such payment personally—Whether there was in the officers in question any discretion not to surcharge under the circumstances? Take the case of the Corporation of Dublin, for instance, the members of which acted gratuitously—without remuneration; suppose an expense was incurred after consultation with their law agent, and that, in the end, some legal point were discovered against them—under such circumstances they were personally surcharged. But he understood that in England the auditor would not surcharge, unless fraud was imputed.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, under the circumstances described by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Dawson) the auditor would surcharge; but the Local Government Board had power, on appeal, to remit the surcharge.

MR. CROPPER said, he should like to know whether the Local Government Board contemplated the renewal of the appointments of Lady Inspectors, from which it was well known that excellent results had followed?

MR. NEWDEGATE asked, whether there was any practice or rule by which chaplains of any other denomination than that of the Church of England were paid by fees or salary; and, if there was any such rule or practice, whether the right hon. Gentleman would be kind enough to refer him thereto?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he had been recently in correspondence with some hon. Members on the question introduced by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), with regard to the religious instruction of Roman Catholic children in workhouse schools; and he would confidently appeal to those Gentlemen to bear him out in saying that there had been the greatest possible readiness on his part, and on that of the Department, to meet every representation made to them on behalf of the children. It was only very recently that the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) and himself had been engaged upon a case which had arisen in Sheffield, and in which he believed he had succeeded in producing a result agreeable to the hon. Member. With regard to impropriety of language on the part of any member of the Board of Guardians in connection with the religious faith of children in workhouses, alluded to by the hon. Member for Sligo, he had to say that the power of the Local Government Board did not run further than to express the strong disapproval of the Board of such conduct. They had power to convey their opinion to a member of a Board of Guardians; but they had not power to call such individual to account. With regard to the payment of a chaplain in workhouse schools, he could not agree with the hon. Member for Sligo in his remark that the action of the Board of Guardians in this respect was parsimonious. The Committee would be aware that an hon. Member had prepared a Bill to authorize Boards of Guardians to make payment to religious instructors of all creeds; but that, in consequence of a decision recently given in the Supreme Court, the hon. Member had not persevered with it. It appeared that there was power already vested in the Guardians to make such payment, if they were disposed to do so. With regard to the point as to placing Roman Catholic children in service with persons of the same faith, the hon. Member had very properly indicated the fact that there was an enormous preponderance of Protestant employers over employers of other denominations; but he had the statement of gentlemen of much greater experience than his own in these matters, who assured him that it was the practice of the Guardians throughout the country to seek employment for Roman Catholic children amongst persons of their own creed, and it was only the smallness of the number of such employers which prevented their endeavours in that respect being always successful. Having, as he believed, replied on all the points raised by the hon. Member for Sligo on the religious question, he would say in conclusion to his hon. Friend the Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper) that his

right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board would be disposed, if the number of children boarded out continued to increase, to consider the desirability of making another appointment of a Lady Inspector.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he would wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board to the fact that the expenses of the Department were largely increasing; the expenditure for the year 1884-5 being £440,757, as against £431,047 in the previous financial year. No doubt the business of the country had generally increased within the last few years, and he was aware that there was a corresponding increase in the work of the Department; still, making every allowance for that, he thought the Committee were justified in expecting that some explanation should be afforded of the large increase which had taken place in the expenditure of the Department. Then he observed that the sum of £8,000 was charged to other Votes on account of the Department. He disliked very much, as he had over and over again stated, the practice of dealing in this way with the Votes; and he said there ought to be a distinct Memorandum, showing what other Votes in the Estimates were charged with money on account of the Local Government Board. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would make some statement with regard to the increased expenditure.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he regretted that he was unable to hold out any hope that the expenditure of the Local Government Board would decrease; on the contrary, he thought that during the next few years it would be an increasing expenditure; because, as a matter of fact, the work of the Department was increasing at a great rate. He had gone into the subject with his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the hon. Gentleman at his side (Mr. George Russell); and, after the most careful examination, they found there was only one item in which there was any chance of making a reduction, and that was in the charge for advertising the audits, and other matters coming within the duties of the auditors of the Board. In that item he had succeeded in making a considerable saving; but, as he had already pointed out, it was the only one in which a reduction could possibly be effected.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he thought the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell) had not given a satisfactory answer to his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), with regard to the position of the Roman Catholic children in workhouses. He (Mr. Harrington) acknowledged, however, the desire on the part of the hon. Gentleman that the subjects referred to by his hon. Friend should be dealt with by the Boards of Guardians in a liberal and impartial spirit; still, he thought hon. Gentlemen on those Benches were entitled to something more than that. They were, in his opinion, entitled to claim that the Local Government Board should take upon itself to compel the Boards of Guardians to give effect to the wishes of the Department. If it were true that the Boards of Guardians had power, as the hon. Gentleman had stated, to remunerate religious instructors in the workhouses, it was, nevertheless, equally evident that they had only exercised that power to a very small extent, except in the case of the ministers of the Established Church. He believed that all hon. Members would agree with him, when he said it was most desirable that all young children in the workhouses in England should have some form of religious instruction; indeed, he did not see how it could be expected that those children could grow up and become useful members of society, if, after they were thrust into the workhouses, their religious education was left altogether out of the question. Therefore he said they were entitled to receive an assurance from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board that some steps would be taken by him, either by the passing of an Act through Parliament or by an Order of the Department, to compel Boards of Guardians to adopt some fair scale of remuneration to religious instructors. The demand was not confined to Roman Catholics—it was that a becoming provision should be made for religious instructors of any denomination whatever; and he was quite sure that, if the Local Government Board took upon themselves to order that a scale of remuneration should be struck, the Boards of

Guardians throughout the country would acquiesce therein. They, in Ireland, were often accused of intolerance in religious matters; but he was certain that if there were no more than three children in an Irish workhouse who differed in religious faith from the rest, their religious instruction would be attended to, and he could state, further, that he had never heard of the least difficulty being raised by any Board of Guardians with regard to the remuneration of religious instructors in the case of Protestant children. His hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) asked that when it was found necessary to send Catholic children out to service, notification should be given to the Catholic chaplain in charge of the children at the workhouse. Officially, perhaps there might be some difficulty in getting at the chaplain; but, at all events, the Guardians would know who was in charge of the religious instruction of the children; and he contended that before the children were placed out he should be communicated with, and failing his efforts to get them employers of the same religious faith, he should be informed of the place to which the children were sent, so as insure that proper attention was paid to their religious education. On these two points the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell) had given the Committee no assurance whatever; and, therefore, he appealed to the right hon. Baronet to make a strong representation to the Boards of Guardians throughout the country on these two points, so that children in the workhouses, who did not belong to the Church of England, might have security that they should be visited by and receive instruction from ministers of their religion.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he was afraid the suggestion of the hon. Member (Mr. Harrington) would not meet the case. What was required was, that the Local Government Board should have power to require Boards of Guardians to send Roman Catholic children to Catholic schools. What had happened in London? Parliament had taken a great deal of trouble for many years in regard to this matter; and for many years chaplains had had full access—though they were not paid—to workhouses; but this had proved to be utterly insufficient, and, thanks to the persistent action of Cardinal Manning, and of the Local Government Board, this had been remedied, and no ecclesiastical authority in England had expressed any but one opinion as to the fairness and kindness of the Local Government Board. That Board ought to have more power than they had; but they had always exercised the power intrusted to them well. They ought to have the power of compelling Boards of Guardians to send Catholic children to Catholic schools, and also power to award payment for the instruction given to those children when that was done.

Mr. WARTON said, he would point out that a very small increased sum was allowed for the National Vaccine Establishment, and it seemed to him little short of disgraceful that so small an amount was allowed for that establishment. He knew there was a prejudice among some people against vaccine being taken from animals, and the almost infinitesimal amount of disease transmitted from one human being, which also formed a powerful instrument of superstition among the lower, and also some other, classes. If there was that prejudice, it was better that it should be met, as far as possible, by an increased supply of lymph; and it was disgraceful that the £1,402 granted last year for this purpose was now only increased by the trivial sum of £35 a-year. The Government did not appear to be alive to this matter. Even if there were no epidemic of small-pox, it was the duty of the Government to spend a far larger sum in meeting, as far as possible, the prejudice of people by supplying them with calf lymph.

Dr. FARQUHARSON said, he thought the complaint of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) deserved the attention of the Government; for it seemed to him (Dr. Farquharson) that the money granted for the maintenance of this establishment was very far short of what the necessities of the country demanded. But he should like to ask his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board a question as to the working of this vaccine establishment, with regard to the particular branch of calf lymph. No doubt all the information was contained in the Blue Books; but Blue Books were not gene-

rally read by the public, and he thought a little information from the right hon. Gentleman in the House would be very valuable at that particular crisis. Was this establishment as well known to the general public as it should be? Was it appreciated by the poorer classes, and was there an ample supply of calf lymph? Everyone must admit the great advantage and the importance of having, as an alternative, a free supply of this lymph direct from the animal, as that obviated the only two objections that could be raised against the lymph of human beings being transmitted to others —namely, the possible deterioration, in which he himself did not believe, and the possible, but very rare, introduction of diseases into the system. The adoption of calf lymph had been the heaviest blow the agitators against vaccination had received; and they had made frantic efforts to discredit it—trying to make out that the supply of calf lymph was kept up from the cow. It was not the case that the supply was kept up by vaccinating the calf from the vesicles of human beings. It was said that if a calf was vaccinated from a child with a syphilitic taint, the disease would be taken back to the human being; but it was well known that it was impossible to give an animal syphilis. They were simply vaccinated one from the other, and there was no possibility of spreading disease in that way. Considering the advantages to the general public from this vaccine establishment, he hoped the supply of lymph would not be hampered by the want of funds.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the vaccine establishment was largely increasing its operations, and was becoming much more resorted to; and it would be necessary this year to propose a Supplementary Vote for it. A short time ago the Board had had to apply to the Treasury to take other premises to carry on its operations.

MR. DAWSON said, that in reference to the answer of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board as to the procedure of the Board, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman how he would act in such a case as this—Suppose an officer had been guilty of fraud in a Municipality, acting for the Local Government Board as well as for the Municipality, how could the Local Government Board institute an inquiry into his dealings with the Municipality?

MR. COURTNEY replied, that in such a case the Local Government Board would move the Home Office to institute an inquiry.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, referring to the appeal of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) to himself, said, he could not help thinking the hon. Member had underrated the powers of resistance of Boards of Guardians and over-estimated the power of the Local Government Board. He was very much disposed to agree with the hon. Member that the object he sought, to promote was very desirable; but unless further powers were given to the Board all they could do was to urge and recommend, and that they strongly did. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would bear him out that it required considerable power to secure the enforcement of the law as it stood. A great deal of pressure was required to bring Boards of Guardians to do that which it was their duty to do with regard to Roman Catholic children in workhouses, as was seen in the Sheffield case. This was a question which had recently engaged the attention of the Board, and it had been found very difficult to compel Boards of Guardians to do what they were legally bound to do. With regard to the appointment of religious teachers of other denominations than the Church of England, although the Boards of Guardians might remunerate them if they pleased, a difficulty arose in this way—it was not only that objection might be taken by the Guardians themselves, but the religious sects were very numerous; and, so far as his little experience went, there was a considerable feeling against the appointment of religious teachers on the part of Guardians. He very much agreed with the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst), and the Local Government Board were in favour of sending children to schools outside the workhouses. As to keeping a continuous record of the addresses of children, he thought that would be a very difficult thing to require the Guardians to do after the children had left their first situations. He agreed, however, in thinking that some more permanent knowledge of the future of the children should be obtainable by their religious

instructors, and thought such information might be obtained through the good sense and goodwill of Boards of Guardians.

MR. DAWSON said, the mental improvement of these children was carried out in a very cursory way, and he wished to know whether there was any improvement in the technical teaching of children in workhouses, for that was a matter of great importance to them.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, the great anxiety of the Board was to insure that the teachers appointed should be persons capable of giving practical and useful instruction. There was sometimes a tendency on the part of Guardians to appoint persons merely for the sake of giving them comfortable berths; but the Board had viewed that with great disapproval, and had endeavoured to appoint persons who could impart useful instruction.

MR. MOORE said, that, in his opinion, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. George Russell) had managed to elude the whole point. The Local Government Board were not doing their duty; but were distinctly abandoning the position taken up by the late President of the Board. There was the Sheffield case; and was it not the fact that in London children were being proselytized? The Guardians would not give up the children, although the Roman Catholics had ample certificated schools for their reception. They refused to give them up at the request of the children's friends. That was one of the causes of this hotly-contested question, and there was no doubt that there had been a distinct retrogression upon this question by the Local Government Board. [An hon. MEMBER: Nonsense!] He did not know why the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury should say he (Mr. Moore) was talking nonsense.

MR. COURTNEY said, he had made no such remark.

MR. MOORE said, some hon. or right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench had said he was talking nonsense; but he thought it was considerable sense, seeing how the Roman Catholic people were being treated. They were having their religion violated, and although the Board had the power of preventing that they did not do so, but were departing from the position taken up by the late Tory President of the Board. Another matter was the remuneration given to the chaplains. There were four very large institutions at Hampstead, in which there were people suffering from the most contagious and painful diseases—the Fever Hospital, the Small Pox Hospital, and two large Workhouse Hospitals—and the whole of the religious work was being performed by Roman Catholic chaplains gratuitously. That cast an undue burden on the Roman Catholic population. It was very well for the hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) to flatter the Board; but he maintained that the Local Government Board were not doing their duty.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE replied that the Fever and Small Pox Hospitals at Hampstead were under the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and not the Local Government Board. This matter had come before the Local Government Board last week; they at once communicated with the Asylums Board, and in the course of the day steps were taken to remedy the case. With regard to the general charge of the hon. Member that there had been a change in the policy of the Board since the present Government had been in Office, as to the removal of Catholic children, there was not a shadow of foundation for the charge. He would undertake to say that those who were mainly responsible for the education of Catholic children in England would not endorse the statements of the hon. Member. If there was any fault it was in the law, and not in the Local Government Board.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) had accused him of flattering the Local Government Board; but what he said was that the Board ought to have the power of removing Catholic children from workhouses, and to give adequate remuneration, and he held that the Board had earned credit by what they had done as the law stood.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, no doubt, there was a grievance, and the Bill which had been introduced by the hon. Member for Berwick (Mr. Jerningham) was one which he should have supported, if it had gone on.

MR. MOORE said, he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman admitted that the Roman Catholics had a grievance,

and that there was a Bill which he would have supported; but why did he not bring in a Bill himself, and not throw the responsibility on the hon. Member for Berwick?

MR. HARRINGTON said, he understood that the Bill alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman was a Bill to compel Boards of Guardians to act in the manner that had been urged. If the Bill was merely to give discretionary power to Guardians, he did not see why it had been introduced, because everyone knew that Guardians had now discretionary power; but if it was intended to give the Local Government Board power to act over Guardians, surely the decision of the Queen's Bench was no reason for abandoning the Bill. That decision was merely that the Guardians already had discretionary power. Was the Local Government Board to have discretionary power, and yet, when the Guardians refused to act, there was no power to compel them? In Ireland the Local Government Board issued sealed Orders, and those Orders had all the authority of Acts of Parliament. The abandonment of this Bill was no justification for the action of the Local Government Board in England; on the contrary, it made their action all the worse, because if a Bill was introduced to give the Board new powers, the decision of the Queen's Bench was no justification for its abandonment. Was the right hon. Gentleman satisfied that the law should remain as it was? If not, would he introduce a Bill giving the Board some further powers?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, there was a strong case in the neglect of some Boards of Guardians in regard to this and other matters; but so there was in the case of other Local Authorities; and he did not think the House of Commons would give to any Government such large powers as were now urged.

MR. RYLANDS said, the increase in the Vote during the last 12 months was very easily explained; but his right hon. Friend (Sir Charles W. Dilke) wished the Committee to realize the fact that for a number of years past this Vote had increased to a very considerable amount. How was it that they were now asked to vote nearly £500,000 for a centralized system of government? Simply because the House of Commons had been willing to barter away the legal rights of Local Boards for the money they got from the Government through the Local Government Board. His right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board spoke of the statutory powers of the Board; and that was what hon. Gentlemen opposite wished to increase. What did that mean? That a Central Department should control the action of the Local Boards; and the Local Boards would say they would not administer under the control of a Central Department unless they were bribed from the public purse. Nothing did more to eat away the local patriotism of this country than the way in which affairs were administered by the Central Department. His right hon. Friend sympathized very much with that view; and he (Mr. Rylands) would like to see centralization not increased, but diminished. One of the penalties this country had to pay in consequence of what had taken place in "another place" was, that there was no chance of Parliament dealing with this question of local government this year. He hoped that, in a subsequent Session, his right hon. Friend would be able to bring forward such a measure with regard to local government as would materially diminish the action of the Central Authority over the Local Representative Boards. A question had been asked about *ex officio* magistrates and Guardians. He, himself, was an *ex officio* Guardian; but did hon. Gentlemen think he would attend when, if he wanted to spend 20*s.*, that must be settled in Whitehall? He declined to submit to a Central Authority with regard to matters which, he maintained, ought to be settled by Local Authorities. He knew of cases in which very small items of expenditure had been desired by Boards of Guardians; but they could not do that without the sanction of the Local Government Board. A large amount of correspondence and red tapeism ensued; and, after two or three weeks' delay, permission had been granted, but not till the opportunity for spending the small amount of money had passed. He did not know exactly what hon. Gentlemen from Ireland wanted—whether a Central Authority, or real Boards of Guardians, or a grant from the public purse. Whatever was right in the administration of local

affairs might be obtained by the proper use of the electoral powers that individuals had in the election of the Boards; and he declined to support hon. Gentlemen in asking the Local Government Board to apply to Parliament for increased powers of centralization. But what he wished to do was to impress as strongly as he could upon the Committee that every year this increasing expenditure was going on, and must go on, unless the House of Commons was determined to decentralize, and give Local Bodies a greater amount of authority. Supposing a Local Board did spend a few pounds in improvements; suppose they came to some resolution which was not wise. They were responsible to those who elected them; and if it was found that they had taken an unwise course, the very experience thus obtained would prevent a repetition of the mistake. The Public Departments proceeded on the principle that they were omniscient, or very nearly so; and very often they controlled Local Bodies in a manner which people not belonging to that Olympian region believed to be unreasonable. How should it not be so? How could the right hon. Gentleman administer all the affairs of the country in all the different localities as well as the people who were on the spot, and who knew what the local requirements were, and who had to provide the funds for the purpose? He had strong reason to believe that the fact of this action on the part of the Central Authority—the fact that these Local Bodies had no authority and responsibility, such as he thought they ought to have—tended to prevent men of character and independence taking part in local affairs, and to go on to Local Boards. He knew that that was so; and he thought it was a most unfortunate thing. No one could express too strongly his sense of the misfortune to this country of a system of centralization, the effect of which was to prevent the best men from taking part and interest in the management of local affairs, and to give to a Central Authority a control which it was impossible for them to properly exercise.

MR. DEASY said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in the sentiments he had just expressed; but the hon. Member was in the habit of putting forward Radical proposals, and then swallowing his own words. The hon. Gentleman had made more Radical speeches than any hon. Gentleman on that side of the House; but he never gave a Radical vote. Although the hon. Member supported decentralization, no doubt, if the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Government Board brought forward a Centralization Bill, the hon. Member would support him; but he (Mr. Deasy) wished the hon. Member would support Irish Members in endeavouring to decentralize the system of Government in Ireland. He had no doubt, however, that neither the hon. Member, nor those who sat beside him, would do anything of the kind. It was complained that the Local Government Board in England did not carry out the law in a proper manner; but Irish Members complained that the Board had not sufficient powers. It was not that the House would not trust them with greater powers. In some cases, when Local Boards refused to grant the rights of Catholics, and members of other religious denominations, it was desirable that some Central Authority should have the power to compel them to do so. Those were the principles enunciated from the Irish Benches. With regard to the charge of flattering the Local Government Board, the Irish Members had not done so, nor had they accused the Local Government Board of not doing their duty. No such charge had been made by them. The hon. and gallant Member for Cork County (Colonel Colthurst) had pointed out that the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster was satisfied with the administration of the Local Government Board; but Cardinal Manning had been one of the strongest advocates of the principles to which Irish Members were endeavouring to give expression in this House. He would support the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) in the view that the Local Government Board should have further powers for the protection of Catholic children. With regard to the system in Ireland, he would point out that in the Cork workhouse, of which he was a Guardian for many years, the Protestant chaplain received £60 a-year, and there were also male and female Protestant teachers, though the number of Protestant children did not often exceed three or four daily. The same thing might be said of several other Unions.

He did not think there was any case where the power of the Catholic Guardians had preponderated that Protestant instruction had not been provided even for only one Protestant child. With regard to keeping a record of the addresses of the children boarded out, or sent into service, he understood the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. George Russell) to say that it would be impossible to compel the Guardians to do that, or that, at all events, it would be very difficult. But in Ireland it was the invariable rule that the addresses of children were kept, so that 10 or 20 years afterwards it could be ascertained in whose service they were first employed. There would not be the least difficulty in keeping such a record. The statement made by the hon. Member for Clonmel only emphasized what had been stated from these Benches; and he hoped the Local Government Board would endeavour to have such a system as would render these outrages on the religion of Catholics impossible. He trusted this debate would not conclude with empty promises by the Treasury Bench; but he could not rely on the expressions of any Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. They had carefully avoided the main question that had been raised, and there was no guarantee that they would bring in a Bill to render it impossible for Boards of Guardians to act as they had been acting. They had simply said they would endeavour to have the law as it stood enforced; but the complaint was that the law at present was not sufficient to meet the case, and what was asked was that the President of the Local Government Board should introduce a Bill which would give that Board power to compel Guardians to do their duty.

MR. HARRINGTON said, the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) was a severe advocate against centralization, so far as his speeches went; but, in his votes, he was as meek a follower of the Government as any Member of that House. Irish Members had not advocated anything like a system of centralization to-day, except upon a question which they maintained it was wise and judicious that there should be, if necessary, a supervising authority vested in the Local Government Board, and that was as to the religious training and practices of those who were in the workhouses. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. George Russell) had said he wanted the Local Boards to have full power in matters of this kind. They would be glad to extend the powers of Local Authorities, provided that those who sat with the hon. Member on the Board of which he was a Member, and those who sat on similar Boards in England, were sufficiently broad-minded and tolerant, and had sufficient regard for the religious views of those who differed from them, to properly and fairly administer the laws they had. No doubt in matters of religion, as in other matters of administration, the hon. Member for Burnley was in favour of an extension of local authority; but they knew what were the opinions of several who sat with the hon. Member upon religious questions, and they knew that the aim and effort of those hon. Gentlemen was to set aside, as much as possible, the religious aspect of the education of the children, and to eliminate religious training and institutions. However much the hon. Member for Burnley might inveigh against centralization, they were not likely to agree with him, so long as the object he and his hon. Friends had in view was to set aside every effort at religious training for the children who had been driven into the workhouses, and who, if allowed to grow up with no religious training, were likely to become the wreck and ruin of society. If they were as intolerant as the hon. Member, and those who sat with him, and if they took the same view as that taken by Local Boards in England, who deliberately refused to give effect to the principles put forward to-day, they would have the remedy very easily in their own hands. They would advise the people to vote only salaries of Roman Catholic chaplains—the chaplains of the majority of the children—and leave to voluntary effort those of other religious persuasions; but they did not wish to approach the subject in any such narrow spirit. They wished to approach it in the broadest spirit, and to see ample power given to the different Local Boards in the exercise and control of the funds they administered. But surely it was not too much, and it was not imposing any system of centralization, to ask that the Local Government Board should have some authority to step in where the religious training of children in workhouses had been neglected. There

was already provision with regard to the secular training of children; and in that respect the hon. Member for Burnley, no doubt, would advocate an extension of the powers of Local Boards to any extent; but when they raised this religious question the cry of centralization was immediately raised. He did not think there was anything in this like unreasonable interference with Boards of Guardians; and it was a scandal and a shame to the civilization of England that while salaries were paid to the teachers of the majority of the children in the workhouses, those who instructed the minority were left unremunerated. Let it be one thing or the other. Let it be a voluntary matter, and let those who were already paid salaries give their services to the poor in these workhouses without any reward; and he would undertake to say that the Roman Catholic chaplains would do their duty, even though the duty was greater than that of the Protestant chaplains. But while salaries were given to Protestant chaplains, and Catholic children were allowed to grow up in Protestant workhouses without any regard to their religious training, he should maintain that such a system could not confer any credit on English administration.

MR. WARTON said, the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had made one statement which could not be allowed to pass. He had made it, no doubt, hastily; but he had said that, owing to certain conduct in "another place," the Local Government Bill could not pass. Such a Bill was mentioned in the Queen's Speech; but the Government took good care that it was not mentioned in the Address to the Throne from this House. They had not produced the Bill, and therefore it was untrue that any action in "another place" had prevented the Bill being passed. That statement was a specimen of the sort of misrepresentation that was likely to be made in the coming agitation against the House of Lords.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he should be perfectly satisfied with the existing law, if only it was fairly administered; but what he complained of in respect to Catholic children in workhouses was, that the law was not fairly administered, but openly and flagrantly violated. The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell) seemed to think that because Cardinal Manning, who happened to be the Bishop of one diocese in this country, had from time to time expressed his satisfaction more or less with the action of the Board, there could not be any room for dissatisfaction with that Department. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) doubted very much whether Cardinal Manning was so very well satisfied in all respects with the conduct of that Department; but, even if he were satisfied with respect to his own diocese, that was nothing to say as to the rest of the country. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) admitted that there was a better state of things in London than in the Provinces. In a large capital like London bigotry and prejudice might be expected to be less rampant than in smaller places; but in the North and South, the East and the West, throughout the country, Catholics in workhouses suffered from a large number of grievances, and from a great deal of petty persecution. This House had recognized this state of things, and had made provision for dealing with it. With regard to children in workhouses, power was given by the existing law to the parent of a child not belonging to the Established Church in a workhouse to make application that such a child might, if they thought fit to order it, be sent to a school established and maintained for the education of children in the religion of the parents. There were very large numbers of Catholic children in the workhouses throughout the country for whom such claim had been made, and for whose accommodation there were existing schools within a reasonable distance, but with regard to whom the Guardians had repeatedly, and sometimes insolently, refused to comply with the provisions of the law. What was now complained of was that, for some reason or other, the Local Government Board scarcely ever would think fit to order that that should be done. They refused to use the powers which Parliament had placed in their hands to meet these grievances. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell) had referred to him (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) in respect to the treatment he had received from him as regarded one particular case. He was prepared to admit the personal courtesy he had received from the hon.

Gentleman; but the facts of that case might be summarized in this way—he had in his hands a copy of the Correspondence relating to the Catholic children in the Sheffield Workhouse, and they were the only inmates. That Correspondence extended over four years, and it set forth in the clearest light the multiplied grievances under which those inmates suffered. In the year 1881, the Local Government Board, moved thereto by the demands pressed upon them, caused an inquiry to be made of the Board of Guardians as to the number of Roman Catholic children in their workhouse, and the amount of convenience afforded them for instruction in their religious duties, and for attending their church; and other things. In reply, the Board sent them a Minute of their proceedings at which this matter had been discussed. That was the sort of treatment the Local Government Board received and put up with at the hands of these Guardians, who were improperly detaining 88 children, many of whom were orphans, and some of whom had been deserted by their parents. The correspondence had gone on for a very long time, the parish priest constantly making complaints, and protesting against the treatment the inmates were receiving. This state of things went on up to the 31st of March, 1884, on which date the Assistant Secretary to the Local Government Board wrote to the parish priest a letter, from which no satisfaction could be derived. What on earth was the use of the Legislature passing the Act he had quoted, giving the Local Government Board power, if they thought fit, to remove a child in a case of this kind, if, when the occasion arose, the Local Government Board would not remove such child? This was a solitary case; but there were hundreds of such cases all over the country, and the priests and Catholics generally throughout England had become sick and tired of making applications to the Local Government Board on the subject. The Sheffield case was one of special hardship, because the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson), who, some time ago, was in the position of President of the Local Government Board, led the Catholic authorities of Sheffield to understand that their grievances in this matter would be removed. He begged, with all respect to the present President of the Local Government Board, to say that, if the late President had remained in Office, he believed these grievances would have been removed. As to other matters, such as compelling the Catholic children in the Sheffield Workhouse to attend Protestant prayers, and the refusal of the Guardians to allow adult inmates to go to Mass, except on every alternate Sunday, the present President of the Local Government Board had done as much as he could do. He had caused inquiries to be made the moment the matter was brought under his notice, and had evinced every disposition to protect the religious interests of the paupers. But it had taken four years to bring this matter into the position in which it now was; and unless an individual Member of the House of Commons had taken it up, and urged it on the Local Government Board, there had been nothing to insure its being taken up and justice being done. There was nothing to insure that cases of this kind would be taken up by individual Members. The Local Government Board had power to deal with these cases, and it should make use of it when it felt that a proper representation was made. He would not go into the question of the payment of chaplains, because, after all, that was a matter which did not press so very hard on the Catholic body; but this question of giving up the children who were being proselytized by hundreds in every part of the country except London was certainly one that the Catholic Members could not allow to lapse without bringing it to the notice of the House.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £10,052, to complete the sum for Lunacy Commission, England.

MR. W. J. CORBET said, he wished to ask a question or two with respect to this Vote of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Hibbert). He wished to know what were the exact duties of the Commissioners in Lunacy? He thought it was desirable, in the present unsatisfactory state of the laws relating to lunacy, that the country should know exactly what their duties were. In the first place, in regard to private lunatic asylums, he wanted to know how it was that sane persons, on whose liberty

attempts had been made, could be shut up without the intervention of the Lunacy Commissioners; how it was that persons who kept private madhouses for profit could make attempts on the liberty of sane people, those people being left to fight their own battle with the private madhouse keepers, the Lunacy Commissioners looking calmly on? He wished further to ask, was it no part of the duty of the Lunacy Commissioners to interfere in such cases? In regard to private lunatic asylums, he had been informed by the hon. Member (Mr. Hibbert), he thought in August last, in reply to a question in reference to the expense of maintaining pauper lunatics in asylums, that the Commissioners were unable to give the actual cost of maintaining pauper lunatics. That seemed to him a very extraordinary state of things. It did not prevail in Ireland; because, in the Reports of the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums, the cost of the maintenance of lunatics was given. Another thing with regard to the extraordinary increase of insanity in this country — an increase which was described by a peculiar phrase—that was to say, as an "apparent increase," all through the Reports of the Commissioners. He should like to know whether there was any prospect of that increase being, in any degree, reduced, or put a stop to, by the action of the Commissioners? He should just like to draw attention to the figures for a moment or two. In 1862, the number of insane persons in England was 41,129, an increase on what it was 10 years before of 17,511. In 1872, it stood at 58,640, and in the next 10 years it had increased by 16,432, standing in 1882 at 75,072, the total increase in 20 years being 30,943. According to the last Report of the Commissioners in 1883, there had been a still further increase of nearly 2,000—namely, 1,923. The Commissioners described this as only an "apparent increase." It appeared to him that the increase was very substantial indeed; and he desired to know what explanation the hon. Gentleman could give of these matters.

MR. HIBBERT said, that in reply to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. J. Corbet), whom he knew had given great consideration to this subject, he was very glad to say what he knew of this matter. Respecting the duties of the Commissioners of Lunacy, he must say, for his own part, that though the Lunacy Commissioners had, for a considerable number of years, very ably conducted the business of the Commission, yet their position was not at all a satisfactory one. They were a *quasi*-independent body, not, properly speaking, under the control of any Public Department. It would be a distinct advantage if, instead of being partly independent, and partly dealing with matters under the control of the Home Office, and with matters under the control of the Local Government Board, they were placed directly under one of those Departments. So far, he thought, a change would be a distinct advantage. As to whether the Commissioners performed their duties, all he knew was that whenever any complaint was made, either to the Home Office or to the Local Government Board, in respect of any case in which there appeared to be an abuse, the Department at once drew the attention of the Commissioners to it, and did their best to get it inquired into. As to the increase of lunacy which the hon. Member had referred to, he was afraid that, to a great extent, it was real. He could, however, understand what the word "apparent" meant in the Report. It referred to this—the increase owing to the great pressure which had been brought to bear of late years on the Guardians, and the grant of 4*s*. a-head for the lunatics removed from their homes and the workhouses to the asylums. He knew that that 4*s*. grant had been very largely availed of all over the country. In Lancashire, it had been found necessary to enlarge many of the asylums. It was thought that the increase was largely caused by the premium placed on removing lunatics from their homes to the asylums. At the same time, there was this advantage in having these lunatics taken to the asylums—that they were better treated than they would have been if left in workhouses, or in their own homes. One great drawback which had arisen from the system was that the asylums were now crowded with a number of cases which it was quite impossible to cure, or even to treat. There were hundreds—he might almost say thousands—of cases which it was quite impossible to deal with satisfactorily; and, so far, this was a great drawback. The asylums were quite crowded with

these cases. They prevented the incoming of cases which might be cured, and in that manner, indirectly, the system did harm. With regard to the Return giving statistics with reference to pauper lunatics, as he had said last year, he was afraid there was no special Return kept in the different workhouses, or in the different Unions, as to the cost of the lunatics. They were treated merely as paupers, and, therefore, the cost was included in the maintenance of common paupers. That was where the difficulty had arisen. He should think it would be possible to obtain a Return which would state exactly the cost of all pauper lunatics. It would be very desirable to have it prepared if it were possible. They should have a true and reliable Return, and he could only say that the preparation of such a Return he would do his best to facilitate.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he thought the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet) had done good service in bringing this question before the Committee, as it had drawn from the hon. Member the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Hibbert) a promise that the subject would receive the careful consideration of the Government. That hon. Gentleman had indicated his opinion that the Lunacy Commissioners should cease to be an independent body, and that they should be put under some Government Department. In that opinion he (Sir Henry Holland) entirely concurred; and he considered the change would be of great importance, as, if such a change were effected, the powers of the Commissioners might with safety be increased. Very few persons could have read the evidence just given by Lord Shaftesbury in Mrs. Weldon's case, which was now proceeding, without seeing that grave defects existed in the present system, in respect of supervision, and especially in respect of the manner in which persons were admitted into private asylums, and of the way in which medical certificates were obtained. He hoped that the Government would, as soon as possible, consider whether they could not give effect to several of the valuable suggestions made by a Select Committee of this House which sat a few years ago. It would be a great misfortune if the labours of that Committee should be wasted.

MR. HIBBERT: The Lord Chancellor has now got the matter under his consideration, and will, I believe, prepare a Bill on the subject.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he must congratulate the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet) on having elicited from the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department the most satisfactory speech he had just delivered. He (Sir George Balfour) should not have taken part in the discussion, but for the fact that his name was attached to a Bill on the subject of lunatic asylums—the Bill brought forward by the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn). In spite of the strenuous efforts which had been made to get the Bill considered it had not been attended to. At the time it was brought forward the hon. Member (Mr. Hibbert) was not in the position of Under Secretary to the Home Office. If he had been, no doubt the measure would have been considered. There were serious evils to be remedied in the private asylums; and he hoped the Government would not turn a deaf ear to the appeals made to them, and that another Session would not be allowed to pass without a Bill on the subject.

MR. DAWSON said, he wished to know whether the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Hibbert) could supply any statistics bearing on the question of the number of inmates of lunatic asylums who had been sent there, not from the ordinary ranks of life, but from prisons which they had entered perfectly sane, but in which the *régime* of penal servitude had deprived them of their reason? In Dublin it was his (Mr. Dawson's) duty, *ex officio*, during his tenure of the Lord Mayoralty, to visit a number of criminal lunatic asylums; and he had seen in them many persons who, having been convicted of criminal offences, had been sent to gaol, and there, losing their reason, had been afterwards removed to the asylums. He did not think it should be the object, or even a part of the result, of prison treatment that human beings should so constantly go out of their minds. He made this remark because of the leniency and mercy displayed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department in his treatment of prisoners. He did not know whether he was correct; but he, certainly, had the impression that a great number of people

had been driven mad by the penal servitude system. He should like to know from the Under Secretary of State whether there were any statistics bearing on the point?

MR. RAMSAY said, he considered it very satisfactory to hear from the speech of the hon. Member (Mr. Hibbert) that the Government had in view some modification of the law relating to lunacy in England. He would take leave to suggest to the hon. Member that the Government, if they took this subject up, should consider the desirability of securing a Return of the number of lunatics in England which the hon. Member for Wicklow was so anxious to have—the desirability of having an account of all classes of lunatics in the several districts. At present there were a large number of lunatics under the care, or under a sort of control, of the Lord Chancellor; and the Lord Chancellor probably assumed that the system under which they were managed at present was better than placing them under the Board of Lunacy, as it might be reconstituted under his own Bill. For his (Mr. Ramsay's) own part, he did not see why the Lord Chancellor should continue to have control over lunatics, if that control could be transferred to the Board of Lunacy. One of the defects of the present law, and one of the grounds on which he thought the words of the Commissioners "apparent increase" were justifiable, was to be found in the fact not that an increase had taken place in the number of insane persons in the country, but that a greater number of imbeciles and lunatics had been brought under the cognizance of the authorities, owing to the payment made by the State in aid of the maintenance of lunatics. The practice of availing oneself of a proffered grant was contagious; and it made all kinds of persons apply for assistance, which they would shrink from applying for if the bribe were not held out. In the case of lunatics, the bribe was held out to the Boards of Guardians to place poor persons who were incurable in the asylums, but had been previously maintained at their own homes or in the workhouses. The Guardians sent these people to the asylums because of the economy secured thereby, and because they were relieved from the care and responsibility attached to the keeping of the people in the workhouses. The Guardians were not put to increased expense, but rather, as he said, economized; therefore, he thought that the system was a dangerous one. In the case of lunatics who were harmless and inoffensive, he believed they were always better whilst they enjoyed their freedom than they were in asylums. In the latter places they did not enjoy that measure of freedom which they might enjoy in workhouses, or any other establishments which might be provided for them.

MR. SEXTON said, he had lately had the advantage of conferring with a gentleman who, both officially and by his studies, was an expert in matters relating to criminal lunacy, and he had informed him that there were two classes of persons in the asylums between whom there was a radical difference of classification; the first being those indicted for crime and acquitted on the ground of lunacy, and then ordered to be detained in an asylum; and the second, those who had been convicted of crime in a sane condition and had lost their reason in prison. Would the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department consent to the preparation of a Return giving the number of persons confined in criminal lunatic asylums, distinguishing between those who became insane after their conviction, and those who were acquitted on the ground of insanity?

MR. BLAKE said, he wished to make a few observations on this particular part of the subject. He believed it often happened that persons were sent off to lunatic asylums, and transformed into lunatics, without sufficient care being taken to ascertain whether they were actually lunatics or not. He would give an illustration of this which had come within his own knowledge during the past few weeks. He would suppress the name of the individual, and the name of the institution, and the workhouse concerned, as it might give pain if they appeared in the Press; but he would have no objection to giving the names to the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department privately, if he desired them. About three months ago a man came over from Ireland—a man who was known to some of the Irish Members. He tried, but without success, to get a situation in London. It was to be feared he fell into dissipated

habits; for he ultimately got into a workhouse infirmary, and a friend had sent him (Mr. Blake) a note stating that the man was there, and would not be let out unless some one went there for the purpose of taking him away. He (Mr. Blake) had gone to the infirmary to see the man. The attendant who took him round the place, and who, by the way, was a very civil man, on being asked where this person was, replied—"Oh, we sent him off into the country to an asylum." From inquiries then made, it appeared that the workhouse infirmary was rather overcrowded, and the authorities, wishing to make more room, had sent the man off to a lunatic asylum—a man who was about as much a lunatic as he (Mr. Blake) was himself. He might be under a wrong impression as to the view of the authorities concerning the necessity for sending the man to an asylum; but his own strong opinion certainly was that the patient had been sent away from the workhouse infirmary to a lunatic asylum for the sole purpose of securing a bed in the infirmary, which was rather overcrowded. The authorities said very kindly—"You can have him if you like to take him away;" but although he (Mr. Blake) was of a rather inquisitive disposition, and although he was anxious to know the condition of the man and the precise circumstances of the case, he had thought this was hardly the kind of subject it would be desirable to exercise his inquisitiveness upon. He should very much like—and he was sure the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department would take the necessary steps—to have the case inquired into, and to find out whether this man was a fit subject for an infirmary; and, if so, whether it was right to have him detained as an idiot?

MR. HIBBERT said, he should be very glad to have the case inquired into. He was not at all sure that it was not another instance of the readiness of the Guardians to avail themselves of the 4*s*. Government grant. However, if the man had shown any signs of loss of reason, probably it was the wisest course to send him away from the workhouse. The case would be investigated. With regard to lunatics who lost their reason in gaol, he had no such statistics as hon. Members seemed to desire. Of course, there would be a record of the number of persons sent from their convict and other prisons to the lunatic asylums; but he did not think it would safely show the number who might have lost their reason in consequence of imprisonment. He believed that, at the present time, there were from 180 to 200 criminal lunatics in detention in their asylums, sent from the prisons and convict establishments. As to the other classes of criminal lunatics, a Return was given two or three years ago, on the Report of the Sub-Commission of the Home Office, which had sat on this subject of criminal lunatics, and hon. Members could get all necessary information in regard to these other classes from that Return. Information which hon. Gentlemen required, which was not in that Return, no doubt could be furnished. There was a Bill now before the House, and under the consideration of the Grand Committee on Law, relating to criminal lunatics, the object of which was to carry out the recommendations of the Commission. That Bill would be found to ameliorate the condition of criminal lunatics.

MR. DAWSON said, that his object in raising the question of lunacy in prisons was to find out whether the system of imprisonment in their gaols was such as to produce lunacy. He should like to know how many harmless lunatics had been sent out of their prisons, as well as how many criminal lunatics?

MR. SEXTON said, he would examine the Return referred to by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hibbert), and if he failed to find in it the particulars he required, he would ask for them.

MR. W. J. CORBET said, that as to the increase of insanity in the country, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hibbert) had mentioned the weekly grant of 4*s*. per head by the State as being to his mind the cause, to a great extent, of the development of the number of insane, and as causing this "apparent increase." He (Mr. Corbet) just wished to point out that the 4*s*. contribution had existed for the last 10 years at least; and that while the average increase for nine years past had been about 1,600 per annum, the increase during last year—when the development theory might fairly be said to have been worked out—had been nearly 2,000. He only wished to make that explanation.

MR. HIBBERT said, he had admitted there had been an increase of lunacy over and above that which might be attributed to the 4*s.* grant.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to know whether, during the past 12 months, Her Majesty's Government, in accordance with the half promise they had given last year, had considered the possibility of devising some better system of classification of people of weak intellect, as between workhouses and lunatic asylums, than at present existed? There could be no doubt that a great many persons were sent from workhouses to lunatic asylums who ought not to be sent there—who were really not lunatics in the proper sense of the word—and that a great many persons were detained in asylums who were not fit subjects for lunatic asylums, and who were subjected to petty persecutions, and suffered an almost incredible amount of distress and misery. It ought not to be a very difficult matter to contrive a classification; but, however difficult, it ought to be done, seeing that its effect would be to save a great many persons from being sent to lunatic asylums, and subjected to a life of misery, and to cause others to be sent from the workhouses to the asylums, where they would get the treatment suited to their state of mind. Persons of simply weak intellect were not fit subjects for either workhouses or lunatic asylums, and it would be an advantage to ascertain their number, and to have them sent to intermediate establishments. The difficulty the Government made to the carrying out of the suggestion was that it would involve the expense of a separate staff; but that expense would be covered by the diminished expenditure on the workhouses. Two out of every five workhouses in Ireland could be easily done away with; and he was disposed to think that many workhouses in this country could also be dispensed with. By a proper classification of the inmates of workhouses and lunatic asylums not only might considerable economy be effected, but also a great deal of human misery might be avoided.

MR. HIBBERT said, that last year he had stated in the House his entire sympathy with the views of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) on this question; and it was to be hoped that whenever a comprehensive measure was introduced dealing with the Lunacy Laws—and a Bill was to be brought forward by the Lord Chancellor—the plan the hon. Gentleman suggested would be carried into effect. If all their idiots could be removed from the asylums and workhouses to special establishments, where they would receive fitting treatment, the system would be a much superior one to that at present adopted. He might say that, in the Criminal Lunatics Bill, to which he had just referred, they had carried out this plan, so far as criminal imbeciles and idiots were concerned. It was proposed that instead of treating them as criminal lunatics, and subjecting them to severe discipline, there should be a special dispensation given to the Secretary of State to ameliorate their condition.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £44,307, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to know whether the abandonment by the Government of the Coinage Bill would affect in any way the estimated extra receipts under this Vote? According to the Estimates, whereas the figure last year was £75,000, this year it was put down at £120,000. Was that, or was it not, in contemplation of the receipts this year being increased in consequence of the arrangement which it had been proposed to carry out under the Coinage Bill? If it was, the abandonment of the Bill would affect the estimated receipts.

MR. COURTNEY: No, Sir. This Estimate was made before the scheme of the Coinage Bill was framed. These extra receipts are not to come from the gold coinage.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Where will they come from?

MR. COURTNEY was understood to reply that they would come from the silver coinage.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that in 1883-4 the cost of "Incidental Coinage Expenses" was £4,000. All the items, whatever they amounted to in that year, were grouped into one round sum of £4,000. He was always doubtful of the accuracy of round sums; and he should like to know how it was that this figure of £4,000, without any fraction, was arrived at? He was still more surprised to find that this was pre-

cisely the sum in the Estimate for last year—"Water Supply; Bags and Boxes for Coin; Melting Pots; Expenses in connection with Supply of Coin to Ireland and Scotland; Steel for Dies; Tools; Loam; and other Expenses, incidental to Coinage and the Manufacture of Medals, £4,000." He quite agreed that there should be a sufficient sum provided to meet these incidental expenses; but he should like to know whether the Estimate was prepared with certain data to guide those who made it, or was the sum simply taken in a rough-and-ready style?

MR. COURTNEY: It is taken on the experience of the expenditure of former years. The sum we have paid in previous years, under these heads, warrants this amount being put down.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that, no doubt, the hon. Member would be able to give a satisfactory explanation of the expenditure; but, still, it was worthy of remark, in that House, that previous Estimates of a certain class of expenditure, before being accepted as a guide for another year's expenditure, should be fortified by some explanatory return of the actual expenditure. He had no faith in round sums—at any rate, if they were used, the Committee should have some return, showing how they were arrived at.

MR. P. H. MUNTZ said, that he did not know whether the hon. Member (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) was aware of it; but, as a matter of fact, it was impossible to anticipate what the cost of manufacturing would be until it had taken place. The cost might vary £200 or so every year; therefore, it was necessary to put down an approximate sum in the Estimate.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA thanked the hon. Member (Mr. Muntz) for his statement. No doubt it was necessary that the Treasury should estimate from something—that they should have something to guide them; but why did they not estimate from the past expenditure, and not from former Estimates?

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR thought that in these minute matters of manufacturing coins they should have a table showing exactly the profit and loss on the separate coins turned out at the Mint.

MR. RYLANDS pointed out that if hon. Members would refer to the Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint they would find all the balances given. For years past he (Mr. Rylands) had been in the habit of examining the accounts of the Mint; and he could, therefore, inform hon. Members that they would find the balances carefully drawn up if they would look for them. In the Report hon. Members would find the cost of manufacture set forth, and the profit derived from the work. If the hon. Member (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) had looked into the Report to which he (Mr. Rylands) referred, he had nothing more to say; but if he had not, it would be most profitable for him to examine it. He (Mr. Rylands) must express satisfaction at the fact that, owing to the action taken by himself and other hon. Members in that House, a large amount of expenditure in connection with the Mint was saved to the country—probably £250,000. They had the evidence of a very able Master of the Mint, to the effect that the Mint was now in a position to manufacture as much coin as was required at a much less cost than formerly. The action of the hon. Members to whom he referred had resulted in a saving of public money, and had, at the same time, secured the efficiency of the Department.

MR. WARTON said, he was unable to understand the enormous discrepancy between the cost of manufacturing gold and the cost of manufacturing silver coin. The item for silver coin was much the larger of the two; and that seemed to him most extraordinary, seeing that there was a large profit on the manufacture of silver coin. He quite understood what had fallen from the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. P. H. Muntz)—namely, that it was not possible to anticipate the exact amount of this expenditure; but what he (Mr. Warton) complained of was that these items, which were all lumped together, were not even explained as to the past. There was no reason why they should not say what the items were last year. Though some of them were trifling, there was, mixed up with such things as "water supply," "bags and boxes for coin," "melting pots," "steel for dies," "tools," "loam," &c.; an item, "expenses in connection with supply of coin to Ireland and Scotland." They could not see from the Estimate what that item meant, and what it amounted to. That should be shown,

particularly as lower down they saw an item for the supply of silver and bronze coin to the Colonies. He should have thought £1,500 would have been enough to pay for the freight and package of a considerable bulk of coin, and that some account should be given of the profit; because he believed there was a great deal made out of the manufacture of silver coin, and an enormous amount made out of the manufacture of bronze coin.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that when the Coinage Bill was before the House, he had addressed one or two Questions to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the number of half-sovereigns lying in the Australian banks; and the right hon. Gentleman had stated, in reply, that he was not at that time in possession of full information upon the point. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) happened to have obtained from gentlemen well acquainted with coinage matters in Australia certain very interesting facts as to the number of half-sovereigns lying in the banks of that country. If the Coinage Bill had passed, the half-sovereigns, no doubt, would have come back in large quantities. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) had any information to give on that point, particularly as to who bore the cost of the freight in regard to coin returned to this country from the Colonies.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said, that he saw from the Estimate that there was a loss on silver coinage of £250; but, farther on, he noticed—

"LOSS ON WORN SILVER COIN WITHDRAWN FROM CIRCULATION: Amount required to cover Deficiency in Weight by Wear in Circulation, the Coin being received at its Nominal Value, £35,000."

It was understood that in these transactions there was a profit on the coinage of silver; but it did not appear in this account. According to the Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint for the year ending 31st December, 1883, the profit on silver coinage was £224,162, and the profit on copper coinage, £68,291. Here he should like to remark that he thought that, in addition to the Estimate, they should also have the Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint printed and circulated among them. It was a most important Report; but it was not circulated, although any hon. Member could obtain a copy by applying for it. It was not, perhaps, generally known that it could be obtained in that way; and, no doubt, many hon. Members had no idea they could get it, for the reason that all important Parliamentary Papers were printed and circulated without it being necessary for Members to apply for them. Members rarely thought of asking for any Reports which was not sent to them in the ordinary course. According to the Estimate, the loss on gold coinage was very small compared with the enormous loss on silver coinage. He could account for that discrepancy; but it would be well if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would explain the matter for the information of the public. The Coinage Bill had been withdrawn. If it had not been, the Report to which he had alluded would have been of great importance. Now, however, it was not necessary for them to discuss the question of a light gold coinage. To his mind, the scheme was one fraught with great danger to the whole coinage and circulation of this country, and one which would have set a bad example to all other countries, there being no other country, at the present time, in which a gold token coinage was issued.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) that his observations are hardly in order on the Vote before the Committee. He seems to be discussing the principle of the Bill, which has been withdrawn.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, the argument of the hon. Member (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) evidently satisfied his own ingenious mind; but he (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) was far from satisfied as to the manner in which the accounts were furnished. The amount for 1884-5 was only an Estimate, he knew; but what hon. Members wanted to know was whether it was for a proper amount? They wanted to know how the Estimate of 1883-4 had turned out in point of practice? His observation went no further than that. He contended that the details which should appear before them were not only what was estimated to be spent in 1884-5 and for the previous year, but also as to the exact expenditure of 1883-4.

MR. COURTNEY said, the hon. Gentleman had been a Member of the House for a very long period, and it was very remarkable that he should now get up to make a complaint of a system of which he must have been cognizant for many years. The hon. Gentleman must be aware that the comparison he asked was to be found in the Appropriation Accounts. In those Accounts the hon. Gentleman would get all the information he asked for. As to the question raised by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), he would repeat what he had said before—namely, that it was not in the power of the Government to prepare a Return of the number of half-sovereigns in the Colonial banks. The Government knew how many had been issued; but they did not know how many were in circulation.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: They do not circulate.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the Government could not say how many there were in the Colonial banks. As to the question raised by the hon. Member behind him (Mr. Alderman Lawrence), with regard to the loss on coinage of gold and silver, and the discrepancy between the two items, the explanation was, that whilst there was no loss in melting gold, there was a considerable loss experienced in melting silver. A great deal was lost in the way of dross in silver — a deal of silver was lost in the process of coining. The loss on worn silver coin was owing to the fact that the Government took back silver coin at its nominal value. The item in regard to silver and copper coin sent to the Colonies was to cover the cost of packing and carriage. The Government had undertaken to defray these expenses in consequence of the profit they made on the manufacture. As to the details in regard to incidental coinage expenses, he had not got them at hand just now.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £10,557, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

(9.) £23,178, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.

(10.) £18,003, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.

(11.) £6,578, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.

(12.) £14,378, to complete the sum for the Record Office.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, that perhaps his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) would explain how it was there was so much delay experienced by anyone who wished to see anything in the Record Office? He used the Office very extensively, and he was sure that anyone else who did so would agree with him that an extraordinary length of time was occupied in getting any document down from the shelves of the Office. Now, at the British Museum, where he should imagine there was considerably more work, a very different state of things prevailed. There they were required to wait but a few minutes for any book or paper they desired to see; but, at the Record Office, it was a very common thing to have to wait half-an-hour before they could get their wants supplied. He was afraid this state of affairs arose in consequence of the Office being undermanned, or else in consequence of the fact that a great deal of the attention of the clerks was devoted to the side of the Office at which fees were derived, and in consequence, also, of the fact that a large number of the persons engaged in the Office were employed in literary work. He knew of no occasion on which this question could be raised, unless it was that on which the Vote for the Record Office was taken; and he thought it was of the utmost importance to the literary public that some question should be asked, if it was only with the view of calling the attention of the officials to the extraordinary delay and sluggishness in carrying out the ordinary work of the Office. He was still more interested in knowing why it was that *The Orkney Sagas* had not been published, although it was paid for eight years ago? Two persons were employed on the work; one of whom was Dr. Vigfusson, of the University of Oxford, who went to Vienna for the purpose of procuring transcripts. He got them; and a translation was made by Sir George Dasent. For some reason or other there had been a delay in the publication of the book. Sir George Dasent demanded an *apparatus criticus;* but Dr. Vigfusson declined to furnish it—he declined, to use a common phrase, to have his brain sucked by Sir George Dasent, and to have the result of his own labour

put into a preface of which he was not the author. He (Mr. Rogers) believed that this dispute was the reason of the delay; but, perhaps, the Secretary to the Treasury was able to give an explanation. The book was awaited with the greatest interest, and the delay in the publication of it was certainly unprecedented.

MR. SEXTON said, this Vote included the item of £3,630 for "calendars and historical documents." This money was devoted to the very useful public work of investigating public documents, both at home and in foreign countries. He noticed that in the Vote for Ireland there was nothing of the kind, although there were many manuscripts which, if attention were only given to them, would be found to be very valuable. In the English Vote there was a charge last year of £400 for *Calendar of Instruments and Entries in the Public Record Office, relating to Ireland, from the earliest period to the end of the Reign of Henry VII.* There was no charge for the Calendar this year; and, therefore, he would like to know whether the work had been completed? If it had been, why was it not published? Had the work of the Irish Calendar been abandoned? There was a very extraordinary proceeding detailed on Page 146, sub-head 5—namely, "Publication of Documents connected with History of England, prior to the Reign of Henry VIII." The charge for this year was £2,000. The work began in 1857—28 years ago—and the calculation then made was that the work would be completed in 30 years; up to now, £58,710 had been spent on the work. Did the Committee realize that £58,710 had been spent during the last 28 years on the publication of documents connected with English history prior to the reign of Henry VIII? Were the Committee aware that a battalion of 23 editors were employed on the work? At the commencement of the work 55 editors were employed; but for some years only 23 editors had been actually employed, and it appeared they had not yet exhausted the documents—177 volumes had been published. He did not doubt they were very interesting; but he feared there were more documents than anyone were likely to read. It appeared to him that this battalion of editors would go rooting about, and finding documents, until the Day of Judgment, if only the Government paid them £2,000 a-year, and allowed them to use their discretion as to what kind of manuscripts they found and published. In respect of all other work, there was an Estimate given of the total cost; but, in this case, although £58,710 had been actually spent, there was no Estimate of the cost shown. He would like to know what the cost would be, and when the 23 gentlemen would be discharged from the public employment?

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he was unwilling to detain the Committee; but after what the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had said, he felt bound to say that, of the volumes published, a great number referred to Irish history. Of the gentlemen employed in the work, two were Irish gentlemen, who, he was proud to say, were valued friends of his. Those gentlemen had given great attention and time to the work of the Record Office. Of course, the volumes published consisted of extremely valuable papers—in short, they were essential to the proper study of history. He only mentioned this fact, because it was just possible his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) did not know the books as well as he (Mr. Rogers) did.

MR. W. H. JAMES said, there was one matter to which he wished very briefly to call the attention of the Committee. He was glad to see the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) in his place, because the matter was one in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman was personally concerned. It was the appointment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, in succession to the late Mr. Rawdon Browne, at Venice. The editing of the State Papers in the different capitals of Europe was a useful and an advantageous work; but, from a popular point of view, it was a work which it was somewhat difficult to defend. He was bound to say that, in some quarters, the appointment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to succeed Mr. Rawdon Brown gave not a little surprise. It would be satisfactory to hear from the right hon. and learned Gentleman when the work he was now carrying on would be completed? Although he was quite aware that the right

hon. and learned Gentleman would not draw any payment for carrying on the work, the Committee should bear in mind that there were other persons besides the right hon. and learned Gentleman who were prepared to discharge the duty without remuneration. He was not aware that the right hon. and learned Gentleman laid claim to any particular powers of great literary research; but he held this position to the prejudice of other persons who had spent the whole of their lives in this sort of work.

MR. COURTNEY said, the complaint that had been made by the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Rogers), with respect to the want of attention at the Record Office, was quite new to him. He had not much experience of the Office; but he would look into the matter. There was no item in the present Vote in regard to the publication referred to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Southwark, and consequently he (Mr. Courtney) had not been able to obtain any information about it. He presumed the money for the work had been advanced; it was therefore necessary some inquiry should be made as to the reasons why the work had not been carried out. With reference to the point raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), he had to point out that no less than 40,662 volumes of documents connected with the history of England prior to the reign of Henry VIII. had been sold, so that the money spent on the publication of the volumes had not been by any means thrown away.

MR. SEXTON: What did the volumes sold bring in?

MR. COURTNEY: The charge was considerable; I suppose each volume would be sold at about 10*s*.

MR. SEXTON: 10*s*. a volume would bring in £20,000.

MR. COURTNEY presumed that was about the amount realized. The concluding observations of his hon. Friend the Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) struck him with surprise. The hon. Member indicated that there were many persons desirous of taking up and completing the work of the late Mr. Rawdon Browne, although they would receive no pay. He (Mr. Courtney) had not, in his experience, found many persons who were willing to perform the laborious task of revising manuscripts without remuneration. That, however, was what the right and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had undertaken to do. The late Mr. Rawdon Browne's manuscripts were ready for the Press, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman, who was Mr. Rawdon Browne's executor, had volunteered to see them through the Press. He (Mr. Courtney) thought the Committee owed a debt of gratitude to the right hon. and learned Gentleman for so generously taking the work in hand.

MR. HARRINGTON said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) had not referred to the point raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), as to the *Calendar of Instruments and Entries in the Public Record Office, relating to Ireland, from the earliest period to the end of the Reign of Henry VII.* The hon. Gentleman had not explained why there was no provision made for that Calendar, for which £400 was taken last year.

MR. COURTNEY said, he would make inquiry into the matter.

Vote *agreed to*.

(13.) £35,012, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, England.

(14.) £361,200, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.

MR. TOMLINSON asked how it was that, though several Bills had been passed that Session, hon. Members had not received copies of any of them? It was of the utmost importance that Bills should be in the hands of the public as soon as possible after they were passed. There was a distinct grievance in this matter.

MR. COURTNEY thought the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Tomlinson) was labouring under a misapprehension. The Statutes had been issued as far as possible.

MR. TOMLINSON: I have not received them.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: They have not been delivered.

MR. COURTNEY: That may be the fault of the Queen's Printer. The Stationery Office had certainly promulgated the Statutes as early as possible.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he wished to draw the attention of the

Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) to the state of the Stationery Account, which was presented on pages 153 and 154. He found that in England the total increase in the expenses of the stationery was £5,525, and that in one Department alone the increase during that period had been £12,907; while every other great Department of the State—the Foreign Office, the Revenue Department, the Post Office—had reduced their expenditure for stationery, the War Department in two years had increased theirs by £12,907. He should like to know whether the Treasury supervised or controlled the expenditure of the War Department? The expenses of the country were increasing steadily at the rate of £1,000,000 sterling a-year. Such was the increase which the House of Commons was permitting in passing these Estimates. They ought to take every opportunity of knowing whether the increased expenditure was really necessary for the efficiency of the service of the public. A short time ago an alteration was made, by which an annual allowance was changed into a supply in kind, and he was very much afraid that the change had resulted in very great and unnecessary expenditure. He knew, from experience, that great waste occurred when stationery was issued in kind. If an allowance were made, the authorities took good care there was no waste. When stationery was issued in kind, waste was sure to occur; for there was not one superior officer in 50 who would take the trouble to take stock at the end of each year. He (Sir Alexander Gordon) trusted the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) would explain how it happened that while there had been a reduced expenditure in respect of stationery in every other Department, there had been an increase in the War Department.

Mr. WARTON said, he thought the Committee were indebted to the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) for calling attention to the delay in publishing Bills which had been passed into law. The delay was inconvenient to hon. Members; but it was a greater inconvenience to people outside. It was a principle of their law that the Judges should know all the laws passed; but, owing to the strange delay which took place at the end of every Session of Parliament in the publication of Acts passed during the year, their Judges were left for months in utter ignorance of the law on many points. At the end of every Session, Bills were passed with reckless haste; some of them without even a word of explanation. Last year there was a ludicrous result of this curious mode of legislation. There was a trial of prisoners who turned out to be lunatics——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing): I must point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman that this has nothing to do with the Stationery Vote.

Mr. WARTON said, he begged the Chairman's pardon. He understood they were now on the Stationery Vote, and that that included the printing of Acts of Parliament.

The CHAIRMAN: No doubt the Vote includes the printing of Acts of Parliament; but the hon. and learned Gentleman is going into matters much beyond that question. The hon. and learned Gentleman was about to describe the nature of certain Acts of Parliament.

Mr. WARTON said, he would refrain from giving the illustration he intended to give of the absurd mode of legislation which was adopted by the present Government. As a dry matter of fact, however, he might say that at the end of a Session trials had taken place and Judges had had no means of ascertaining what changes had been made in the law. He maintained it was essential that laws should be printed and published directly they were passed.

Mr. RYLANDS said, he thought the statement of his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Alexander Gordon), that the system of supplying stationery to military officers, instead of making them an allowance, had led to a much larger expenditure, was one which would not be found by the Departmental Committee, which was now sitting to investigate the expenditure of the Stationery Office, to be strictly accurate. Perhaps his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) would be able to tell the Committee whether there had not been an economy effected in substituting a supply of stationery in kind in lieu of an allowance for stationery? In the Navy allowances for stationery were still made to superintendents of Dockyards, naval officers in charge of the different Departments,

and others; but he thought the Committee would hear that the system was open to considerable abuse. Of course, the Committee had a right to expect that public officials, supplied with stores at the public expense, would be disposed to protect the public from any wasteful disposal of the stores. However, he did not intend to go into the Vote in any detail. His hon. Friend (Mr. H. H. Fowler), and two or three other hon. Gentlemen, had, for some time past, been sitting as a Departmental Committee upon the subject of Stationery; and from what he knew of the Members of the Committee, he had every confidence that their recommendations would be in the interest of public economy. Probably, the inquiries they were making would be more efficient than any ordinary inquiries that could be made in Committee of the Whole House. He was glad the Treasury had appointed a Departmental Committee on this large Vote, and he hoped the result of the inquiries would be satisfactory.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the Stationery Vote was excessive, and, if possible, ought to be reduced. An inquiry, in which he was taking part, was now being held with the view of making recommendations to the Treasury, which it was hoped would result in a great reduction of the Vote. It must be borne in mind that the Vote was one which must increase every year. The inquiry was a heavy one, and would occupy considerable time. He had contemplated, if an unforeseen catastrophe had not happened, to have had an Autumn Session of his own to continue the inquiry. He trusted, however, that he would now be able to present his Report to the Lords of the Treasury before the regular Session of Parliament of 1885. There had been a considerable economy effected with reference to the stationery supplied to the Army, although there had been an increase in the nominal amount of the Stationery Vote. Up to within a year or two, it was the custom to make allowances to the Army for stationery. Those allowances, which amounted to something like £12,000, were very wisely discontinued, and stationery was supplied to the Army under the Stationery Vote. The change involved an increase of £8,000 to the Stationery Vote; but the Committee would see there was a saving to the country of £4,000 a-year. He intended to raise the question with regard to the Navy or the Admiralty Vote; because he thought it was necessary the Navy should follow the good example the Army had set. At the present time allowances amounting to £6,000 were allowed to the officers of the Navy for stationery; and, of course, they bought at retail prices. If the stationery were supplied by the Stationery Office, he did not hesitate to say that there would be a saving of at least 25 per cent. That was a matter, however, which would come up for consideration shortly. In the meantime, he could assure the Committee that the Departmental Committee would go fully into the question, and would endeavour to show how the money was expended, under what control it was placed, and what checks there were against waste. His impression was that there was room for great reform, and that the investigations of the Departmental Committee would result in considerable economy.

MR. HARRINGTON said, there was a small matter to which he wished to draw attention. Small and trivial though it was, very many Members of the House were interested in it. Now that the Parcel Post afforded a very cheap means of sending Parliamentary Papers outside the boundary to which their distribution was now confined, he would suggest to the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) that he should, for the convenience of hon. Members, make arrangements by which Parliamentary Papers could be sent to any address in the United Kingdom. At present, the issue of Parliamentary Papers was confined to a very small area, or to those hon. Members who lived within a stone's throw of the House. Of course, there were many Papers which hon. Members did not desire to have; but he thought the more important ones ought to be sent to any address hon. Gentlemen might give. What he suggested would entail but a very small additional expense.

MR. BIGGAR said, that before the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) replied, he should like to say one word with reference to the point raised by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson). The publication of Acts of Parliament immediately they were passed was of the utmost importance, and it was not

sufficient to say that the Queen's Printer was at fault. An instance of the inconvenience occasioned by the delay in question occurred this week. On Monday last a Bill came into operation, under which the Grand Juries in two counties in Ireland could correct an error which was made last year under the Tramways Act. The Assizes in one of the counties took place this week; but the Grand Jury postponed the consideration of the subject; while in the case of the other county the Assizes were to take place yesterday, or to-day. As a matter of fact, these Grand Juries were asked to decide a question in accordance with the law as laid down in an Act of Parliament which was passed last Monday, but a copy of which probably would not be issued for many weeks to come. The probable result was that some fresh blunder would be made, and that the Privy Council in Dublin would upset the whole proceedings, as they had done previously; and that the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the County of Cork (Colonel Colthurst) would have the trouble of coming up in the next Session of Parliament to get another Act of Parliament passed to remedy a state of things which would not have arisen if the Act passed this Session had been printed, and there had been an opportunity of seeing what the provisions of it were. His hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) had made what seemed to him (Mr. Biggar) a very reasonable proposition. He (Mr. Biggar) would not have been disposed to raise the point, because usually he lived in London during the Parliamentary Session; and it would be no advantage to him to have his Papers sent to Ireland. But the case was different with a large proportion of the Members of the House. Many hon. Members only lived in London during a certain portion of the time; and it was desirable that they should have an opportunity of seeing what was going on in Parliament, and should have official intimation of what was likely to take place, so that they might come up to town on a particular day, if it was necessary they should do so. Especially now that the Parcel Post was in operation, it was not an unreasonable proposition that hon. Members who did not live in London should have their Papers sent to their residences in the country. According to the Parcel Post system, distance did not affect the expense of carriage; and, seeing that that was so, it was not unreasonable to suggest that if, for instance, the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) happened to be in Dublin, his Papers should be sent over to him there, so that he might have an opportunity of consulting them.

MR. COURTNEY said, he assented entirely to the statement as to the great importance of having Acts of Parliament printed as soon as possible, and representations should be made with that view. He was informed that all the Statutes up to Chapter 25 of this Session were on sale; and, therefore, he thought there must be some misapprehension as to the rapidity with which the Acts of Parliament had been issued. It certainly very seldom happened that an Act was passed on the very day that a Grand Jury or anybody else were required to administer it. Such a case would always be very difficult to meet. The question of the distribution of Parliamentary Papers was raised some time ago by the hon. Colleague (Mr. T. D. Sullivan) of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington); and he (Mr. Courtney) put himself in communication with the Stationery Office and with the Post Office on the matter. He learned that during the Session the delivery of Parliamentary Papers by messengers was much more rapid and certain than delivery by post; so that he thought it would not be wise to make any alteration as to the mode of delivering Papers during the Session. As to the delivery of Papers out of Session, he thought some might be sent through the post to any address hon. Members left at the Vote Office. He would suggest, however, that only the most important Papers, or those which it might be supposed would be urgently required by hon. Members, should be sent in this way. A list of the less important Papers might be issued to Members, say, once a-week, with an intimation that if they wanted any in particular, and they applied for them, they would be forwarded. He thought such an arrangement would meet the convenience of hon. Members. He could not sit down without making one remark, and that was, that his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had undertaken a most arduous and laborious task. The

inquiry the hon. Gentleman was making would prove of the highest benefit to the country, and he (Mr. Courtney) had no doubt that the result would be most satisfactory. The House was considerably indebted to the hon. Member for the interest he was taking in the subject.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was persuaded most Members heard with satisfaction the explanation of the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) with regard to the Papers which might be sent hereafter from the Vote Office. There was one point, however, he did not quite understand. He made an inquiry at the Vote Office that day, and he was told that all the Acts of Parliament, bound in some way or other, would be delivered to Members at the end of the Session. He thought it would be very convenient to most Members to have the Acts delivered in that way. They would then have the Acts altogether, instead of having them delivered amongst their Papers, and very likely not be able to find them all at the end of the Session.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he hoped it would not be supposed that what would suit some hon. Members would suit all hon. Members. Personally, he should be exceedingly sorry not to receive Acts of Parliament as they came out. He remembered that last Session some one spoke to him about an Act which had been recently passed. He (Mr. Tomlinson) said it had not been printed; but his friend said—"I am sure it has, because I have seen it in a law stationer's window." It would be a great inconvenience not to receive Acts of Parliament as they came out; and, therefore, he hoped the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Courtney) would give the necessary directions in the proper quarter.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Acts should be issued according to the wishes of hon. Members. If hon. Gentlemen wished to receive them at the end of the Session bound together they would be supplied in that form.

Vote *agreed to.*

House *resumed.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) [SALARIES] BILL.

Resolution [July 15] *reported,* and *agreed to:*
—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. TREVELYAN.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 292.]

MOTIONS.

PRISONS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Bill to remove doubts as to the powers of the Secretary of State in relation to the altering, enlarging, rebuilding, and building of Prisons, and appropriating any building for a Prison, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT and Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 293.]

TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to continue certain Turnpike Acts, and to repeal certain other Turnpike Acts; and for other purposes connected therewith, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 294.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 17th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Lord Somers, after the death of his cousin.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Strensall Common * (195); Prisons (Ireland) Cost of Conveyance of Prisoners * (196); Oyster Cultivation (Ireland) * (197); Canal Boats Act (1877) Amendment * (198); Naval Discipline Act (1866) Amendment * (199).

Second Reading—Naval Enlistment * (175); New Parishes Acts and Church Building Acts Amendment * (171).

Committee—Report—Local Government Provisional Order (Salt Works) * (182); Bishopric of Bristol * (181); Building Societies Acts Amendment * (188).

Withdrawn — Friendly Societies Act (1875) Amendment * (169).

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—RESOLUTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, in rising to move—

"That this House is prepared to proceed now with the consideration of the Representation of the People Bill, on the understanding that an humble Address shall be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying Her Majesty to summon

Parliament to assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible,"

said: My Lords, I crave the kind indulgence of the House while I endeavour to state the grounds upon which I wish to induce your Lordships to pass the Resolution which stands in my name. Before doing so, I wish to refer to what passed in your Lordships' House on Monday last, when the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition censured me for two things—in the first place, because I did not on Friday give Notice of my intention to move the Resolution which I now wish to move; and, in the second place, because I had sent a Notice to the papers that it was my intention to make the Motion on Tuesday, and for having given Notice in this House that I would postpone the Motion until Thursday. In reference to my action on Friday, I wish to say that I had not the slightest intention of doing anything of the kind; indeed, I had entered into an engagement to go to Blenheim on Saturday morning to see those beautiful pictures which I am afraid Her Majesty's Government are going to let slip through their fingers. I had not the slightest idea until the evening—and after what had taken place in the other House—of taking any part whatever in the battle on this question of the Franchise after the decision which your Lordships had come to on the second reading. So much for my not giving Notice on Friday. As regards the changing of the day, I changed it because I remembered that the French had a saying, *La nuit porte conseil*, and because I thought it was better that your Lordships should have a little time to consider the question, especially my Friends on the Conservative side, after the meeting at the Carlton Club. Having said this, I propose now to proceed with a few arguments in favour of my Resolution. I think that what has occurred in "another place" is of vital importance; because the Prime Minister used words the value of which I venture to think, in the present condition of this question, cannot be exaggerated. They were words which the Prime Minister employed after a very angry discussion, but they were words of peace. The right hon. Gentleman said that with regard to the substantial political part of his (Lord Randolph Churchill's) remarks, the Government were still in the spirit which had dictated the suggestion that had been under the consideration of the House. I wish to point out to your Lordships that the Government, according to the Prime Minister on Friday night, was still in the spirit which dictated that suggestion. This statement of the Prime Minister appears to me to have been dictated by a notion of conciliation. The noble Duke on the opposite Benches (the Duke of Argyll) who, like myself, hails from Scotland, may remember that many years ago one of the greatest orators of the Scotch Free Church used to take for one of his favourite texts the words—"And the door was shut." That is not the text from which I have to preach to-night, for the door is open; and I think the Conservative Members of this House may very reasonably pass through this door, a door which I believe will allow those who voted in the majority the other day to pass through without loss of character or loss of honour, with a view to conciliation. I think this question now stands upon a very different footing from what it did when your Lordships voted on the second reading. In the first place, practically the principle not of a Reform Bill, but the principle of this actual Bill has been affirmed. That was not the case when your Lordships voted on the question. Your Lordships then affirmed your readiness to consider a general measure of Reform provided certain other contingencies occurred; but there was no mention of this specific Bill. An Amendment moved by my noble Friend (the Earl of Dunraven) was subsequently accepted by the Opposition and carried without a Division, to the effect that your Lordships had accepted the actual principle of the Bill. So far there is a material change in the position of things. Further, your Lordships are now in the possession of knowledge which you did not then possess, which is that Her Majesty's Government, in their anxiety to obtain a settlement of this question, made a proposal to the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns). In my Resolution I originally made a reference to this further knowledge; but when it was put to me that it might imply some reflection upon my noble and learned Friend I at once withdrew it, because I think he

showed an almost Quixotic sense of honour in keeping it to himself. I think the Government have shown, further, a spirit of conciliation in the fact that they have practically accepted my Resolution—that is to say, they are ready, supposing your Lordships go on with this Bill, to summon Parliament in the month of November for the purpose of discussing a Redistribution Bill, and in order to give time for its consideration. I think that this spirit of conciliation should lead your Lordships to endeavour, as far as possible, to take the hand which the Government clearly wish to hold out to you. I am aware of what will be said in reply to this. It will be said that this is all very well, but that it gives your Lordships no hold upon the Redistribution Bill; and that if your Lordships were to agree to such a proposal as I make you will find yourselves committed to go on with this Bill, and that eventually you would find yourselves without any security as regards redistribution. My Lords, I endeavoured on the second reading to show that after passing this Bill you might take such steps in Committee, and at further stages, as would give your Lordships that hold and that security which you desire. The Government never have maintained in either House of Parliament that in principle it is right to legislate on one branch of the subject alone. They only pleaded that time was against them; and if this question is met by an Autumn Session I think that argument is in a great measure met thereby. I venture to think that if your Lordships were to agree to this Resolution which I submit you will be able, even now after having passed the second reading, and in the course of its progress through your Lordships' House, to come to some further arrangement with the Government in order to obtain some further security in this matter. I hold in my hand an abstract from what is called the leading journal. [*A laugh.*] I see a noble Lord sneeringly smiles at this reference to the leading journal; but as that leading journal simply endeavours to gauge and express what is the public opinion of the day, a reference to its remarks is not out of place. *The Times* of last Tuesday remarked—

"Even if the compromise now offered is not held to be sufficient there would, when once the Bill had been read a second time, be opportunities for further adjustments in Committee. A settlement of this moment and magnitude is not likely to be arrived at without a good deal of negotiation and substantial concessions on both sides. Mr. Albert Grey pleads, in a letter we print to-day, for a revival of his Amendment which the Opposition declined to support in the House of Commons. It is not likely that the Government would be ready to accept this particular proposal; but it is obvious that if the Bill were read a second time it would be open to the House of Lords to insert some such provision in Committee, and to leave to the Government the responsibility of dealing with it on its merits."

I venture, then, to say, that if your Lordships were to pass this Resolution it would still be competent for you, on the subsequent stages of the Bill, to require further security to meet your views. If this is the case, and if the great Conservative Party refuses, as apparently they intend to refuse, to pass this Resolution, or adopt any of the other courses which I have suggested, one cannot help feeling that there must be something more behind, and that something, I suppose, is the question of a Dissolution. It is all fencing with a view to getting a Dissolution on the old constituency instead of on the new. My Lords, I venture to think that this is a question which is to be viewed, first of all, as to how it will affect your Lordships' House with reference to the other House, and—all my life a Liberal-Conservative—I wish also to express my opinion as to how this attempt to force on a Dissolution will beneficially or otherwise affect the Conservative Party. As regards the Constitutional question, your Lordships, as a Court of Review — as a second Chamber—are not only justified, but bound, when you believe the opinion of the nation is contrary to that of the House of Commons—no matter by what majority the latter opinion is expressed—in such a case it is not only your right, but your bounden duty to take your stand firmly, and endeavour to bring about an appeal to the people. Here, however, we have to deal with a Bill which, although not enthusiastically supported at first, has up to the present time met with no opposition, and has been carried by large and increasing majorities. And what was its last appearance in the House of Commons? It passed its third reading with nothing but a whispered "No," and whispered so low that it was inaudible; and, almost

for the first time on record, there appears in the Journals of the House the fact of a Bill being carried *nemine contradicente.* [A noble LORD: A trick.] Well, I am not speaking of motive, I am referring to a fact. So much for the Constitutional question. Now, how will this forcing of a Dissolution affect the Conservative Party? As a Liberal-Conservative, I hold very strongly to the view that the action of the Conservative Party for the purpose of forcing a Dissolution with the present constituency is dangerous in itself and of very doubtful result. I am not going to indulge in threats. I know that it is not the way to influence your Lordships; but I may say this, that we shall have a very nasty time of agitation—for agitation on the one side will be met with agitation on the other—and for the next three or four months a political warfare will be waged from John o' Groat's to Land's End. I think that that is a matter which in itself is to be regretted; and, after all, it is doubtful whether the agitation for a Dissolution will be successful. In the first place, it rests very much with Her Majesty's Government whether they will consent to it; and even if it does take place after the Autumn Session, it may result differently from what we expect, for some of the existing voters may be drawn into the vortex in favour of, and not against, the Bill; and, in any case, the effect will probably be to turn against the Conservative Party the 2,000,000 of voters whom it is proposed to enfranchise. Another respect in which this forcing on of a Dissolution will tell against the Conservative Party is this—that all the Government have done for good or evil will be forgotten and wiped out. They will appear before the country with what will be practically a clean slate. I verily believe that when the political blood of the people is aroused on such a question as this is, the interest in foreign affairs will be abandoned; the Russians may be allowed to advance to Herat or even to Constantinople, and General Gordon to be crucified at Khartoum, without attracting much attention. Therefore, I say that, looking at all these things, it is not in the interests even of the Conservative Party that an agitation should be aroused upon this question, and that simply on the chance of getting a better vote from the present constituency than they can hope to get from the new constituency. The Conservative Party, as a whole, have determined to vote against this Resolution, judging from what happened in another place—I mean the Carlton Club. ["Oh!"] I hear noble Lords say "No!" [Several noble LORDS: No! *and* Oh!] Noble Lords say "Oh!" it appears. My noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) told us that was a private meeting; and the consequence was that when I left the meeting I met the noble Earl who has been called the "patron of Mid Lothian" (the Earl of Rosebery), with whom I have been in communication on this matter—and I must bear testimony to the anxiety with which, in a non-Party spirit, he has endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation on this question—and when the noble Earl asked me what had happened I told him that my lips were sealed. I was asked by the Press to contribute a summary of my own speech. I told them that my hands were tied. Yet the next morning, to my astonishment, I saw in the newspapers a full and, on the whole, fairly accurate account of what occurred; and in *The Times* I read a speech, nicely rounded in most finished periods, that was represented as having been made by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), who threatened to withdraw his favour from your Lordships if you did not persevere in your attitude of hostility to the Bill. Probably your Lordships could survive that. But it certainly appeared strange for a Member of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons to endeavour to throw the whole burden on your Lordships, when they themselves did not venture to go to a Division on the third reading of the Bill. My Lords, I have not much more to say in support of my Motion. I have brought it forward solely with a view to peace, and, if possible, of conciliation on this great question. I do not say that the Resolution is the right or the best way of bringing about a compromise and conciliation. All that it is brought forward for is to take the opportunity of the door being ajar, and not hermetically shut, to endeavour to keep it open, so that noble Lords on both sides of the House may have a chance of negotiating some better compromise. There are other compromises which are possible, and which might be accepted by noble Lords

on both sides. In fact, the air is full of suggestions for compromises; but there is one which seems not unreasonable—namely, that the Bill should be read a second time, and proceeded with in Committee, and that the third reading should be suspended until the Autumn Session, when the Redistribution Bill should be introduced. That seems a compromise which both sides might honourably and rationally accept. There ought to be mutual concession; negotiation which ends in getting all one wants is no concession at all. I hope that in the course of this debate nothing will fall from my noble Friend the Leader of the Opposition—["Oh!"]—I am not aware that I have said anything ridiculous—I merely express a hope that nothing will fall, in the course of this discussion, from my noble Friend at the head of the Opposition which will absolutely and irretrievably shut the door. Even if you reject my Resolution, and accept the Amendment of my noble Friend, there is still time for compromise and conciliation, for the Bill is still alive. My Lords, I have taken this step in what I believe to be the public interest. I am as fond of a Parliamentary fight as any man; but I like to fight on sound ground and fair principles. I am old enough to recollect the debates on the Corn Laws, and I remember Mr. Sidney Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert, saying to the country gentlemen of England—

"Don't take your stand on the Corn Laws. Don't take your stand and fight on mined and rotten ground."

I think in this fight the Conservative Party is taking its stand on mined and rotten ground. I, for one, will take no part in it, or share the responsibility of either the success or failure of the battle. I have only to say, in conclusion, that I trust on a great question such as this personal feeling, or anything like an approach—I will not say there has been anything like an approach—to Party manœuvring will be cast aside, and that noble Lords on both sides will remember the magnitude of the issue at stake, which is far above all questions of Party politics or personal feeling. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this question, which is momentous as regards the future interests and well-being of our common country. My Lords, I beg to thank you for the patience with which you have listened to my remarks; and while expressing the hope that in what I have said I have uttered nothing which, by any possibility, can give offence, or be even considered distasteful, to any of your Lordships, I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY: My Lords, I rise to say a few words in seconding the Motion just propounded by the noble Earl. I would not have spoken at all in this debate, had I not been so solemnly and deeply impressed by the gravity of the occasion, which has made it almost a matter of duty with me to give any opinion. My Lords, in the whole of my political experience I have never known a crisis at all equal to the present. I was mixed up in all the debates on the Reform movement of 1832, and was fully aware of the danger apprehended at that time. But I hold that the crisis of 1832 was nothing whatever in comparison with the crisis in which we are now placed. At that time the nation contemplated many and various reforms, some of them of a very beneficial character; but now, all these reforms having been effected, organic changes alone will be in the view of an excited public—changes which will involve the very existence of the Constitution. I fear that the decision of to-night, if adverse to the Motion, will tend very much to produce a real and permanent breach in the harmony, peace, and order of this great country. I support the Motion of my noble Friend, because it seems to me the only one which has a chance of being carried. It is certainly the only Motion by which we can reconcile the feelings of the majority of the other House to the course we take here. It is not, perhaps, all we desire; it is not, perhaps, the best; but we are not now striving for what is best, but for what is possible. I am very much of opinion, if I may say so, that at the time this Bill was first propounded by Her Majesty's Government the majority of the country were very indifferent to it—the feeling in favour of it was very partial. Now, I must confess that all is changed—materially changed; the people have accepted the offer, they will not surrender the boon, and they cling to it earnestly. Many of those who before were adverse are now silent. There seems to be a general desire of com-

promise; and I feel assured—I feel very strongly assured—that if this measure be rejected or retarded, and if any evil consequences ensue, none will be so loud in the condemnation of the course pursued as the Conservative Party throughout the Kingdom. I never have concealed—and I will not now attempt to conceal—my deep apprehensions of the issue of this measure. In 1867 I ventured to oppose its predecessor when suggested by the Government of the day. I, and others, foresaw the issue, and ventured to predict that the extension of household suffrage to the counties was the necessary, the inevitable, consequence of its extension to the towns. Such a measure, propounded by authority in these days, cannot be resisted. The late Sir Robert Peel discussed the question of Reform with Prince Talleyrand, and he told me that the Prince remarked—

"So long, in this country, as the question of Reform is confined to individual Members, and to the proposition of individual Members, you need not be under any sort of apprehension about it. But whenever Reform is undertaken by the Government of the day, it may be carried in your country to the very extreme of revolution."

Reform was undertaken by the Government in 1832, and in 1867, and you know the issue. It is now again undertaken by the Government of the day in 1884. My Lords, I accept the Bill in that sense as an absolute and unqualified necessity. Noble Lords on both sides of the House will say they accept it in the same sense; but that they wish it to be connected with full security in the nature of provisions for redistribution. I must, my Lords, ask this—Would it not have been wiser, better, and safer—the necessity of a special franchise being past dispute—to have given a second reading to the Bill without hesitation or delay, and then have taken such securities as you could obtain either in Committee or by some other means? This would have saved you from the most painful misrepresentations. This would have made clear your Lordships' mind to the country that you had accepted the principle of the Bill, and that it was neither to be rejected nor delayed. But now if, when this measure comes before the country, the great argument of the necessity of redistribution is pleaded, it will be of no avail whatsoever. A large proportion of the people know nothing about redistribution. A large proportion do not care one straw about redistribution. It is a matter to which most of them are perfectly indifferent; and some even say that it is altogether an unnecessary adjunct. I hold that an explaining party is always at a disadvantage; and in this case your disadvantage will be overwhelming. The simple, naked fact of the rejection or delay of the Bill will be before the popular mind. Nothing else will be allowed to enter into the argument. That fact, and that alone, will demand absolute and unqualified attention. I wish to ask whether this is a measure so framed as to demand such a determined and obstinate resistance? Can we, on the ground simply of its construction, justify to the country, and, indeed, to ourselves, a prolonged and bitter conflict with the other House of Parliament? If there were a well-founded hope and conviction that you could either reject or delay the Bill until such time as you could have it connected with all the securities you desire, then, perhaps, there might be something intelligible in the course pursued. But is it not manifest from the experience of all past time that the resistances we have made were speedily followed by concessions? And, if so, can we think that this measure will be taken out of that category, and will submit to a delay which no other measures have submitted to, and that the popular feeling will be satisfied when the measure the people now so much desire is not at once put into their full possession? I am not urging peace at any price, or surrender of everything demanded. I only ask your Lordships, in the present state of public opinion, and in the altered state of men's minds, to fix your resolute and real resistance on questions where you can plead the depth of your conscience and the whole force of your duty. If you make use of all your strength to resist a measure of this kind, you will find that when the time shall come—and it can not be far distant—for opposition to some organic change, you will have lost both sympathy and power, and will be unable to plead with effect that you are acting on your consciences, as that plea will have been exhausted on the present occasion in regard to a question of far less gravity. My Lords, I would remind you of the altered character of the feeling and sentiment of the

people with whom you have to deal. It is most remarkable to those who, like myself, have known them for more than half-a-century, to see the great change which has come over their thoughts and their purposes. The people of England, my Lords, have not at this moment the same reverence for ancient institutions and for ancient traditions which they formerly had. The penny post and the railways have wrought wondrous changes in their affections and aspirations. Utilitarianism is far more rife than of old among them, and they desire change, frequent change, because they see, or fancy they see, in every change something is to be gained. Is that not matter for your Lordships' serious consideration? I, myself, have ever had real and true confidence in the mass of the working people, when left to their own instincts and their own deliberate judgment; but I confess I have no confidence at all in them when I see them under the influence of wild and reckless agitators. The great fear I have as to the rejection or delay of this measure is that by taking that course you will so exasperate the present and future constituencies as to drive them still more than now within the sphere of that pernicious agitation. My Lords, however uncertain the prospect before us, I still perceive enough to feel assured that the people of England, as a mass, have a strong desire for unity and concord. I have ventured to say to you—"Give them, by a free and liberal vote, the franchise you have promised them," and it will, I think, be accepted by the people in a kindred spirit. You will thus produce, for a few years at least, between your Lordships' House and the great mass of the people of the country a sentiment of harmony and of reciprocal confidence. My Lords, I apologize for having detained you; but I felt I could hardly, as a Christian man, refrain from expressing what I feel, and what I believe in my conscience to be true.

Moved to *resolve*,—

"That this House is prepared to proceed now with the consideration of the Representation of the People Bill, on the understanding that an humble Address shall be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying Her Majesty to summon Parliament to assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible."—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

EARL CADOGAN, in whose name the following Notice stood upon the Paper:—

"To move, as an Amendment to the foregoing Resolution, that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying Her Majesty to summon Parliament to assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Representation of the People Bill already presented to Parliament, in conjunction with the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible,"

said, he felt it to be his duty to acquaint the House that he had been informed that afternoon that, in one respect, the Notice which he had ventured to place upon the Paper was considered by the authorities of the House to be out of Order. It appeared to have been decided some 140 years ago that Addresses to the Crown ought not to be presented in connection with any Bill impending in either House of Parliament. Under these circumstances, not wishing to do anything that could be considered in any way disorderly, he thought it only respectful to their Lordships to ask permission to amend his Notice. His Amendment in its altered form would run as follows:—

"That this House is of opinion that it would be desirable that Parliament should assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Representation of the People Bill, already presented to Parliament, in conjunction with the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible."

He hoped he need not assure the House that it was with feelings of sincere regret that he rose to oppose the two noble Earls who had just addressed the House—the noble Earl on the Cross Benches, whose long Parliamentary and distinguished career had given him the advantage of experience and knowledge in these matters, and of authority and weight in both Houses, and the noble Earl who had just sat down, whose long and noble life had been distinguished in this—that he had always been in the front when an opportunity had occurred of promoting "peace on earth, and goodwill towards men." He (Earl Cadogan) yielded to none of their Lord-

ships in his desire for conciliation and compromise on this difficult question. Reference had been made by the noble Earl on the Cross Benches to private communications between himself and the noble Earl who had lately been called the "patron of Mid Lothian" (the Earl of Rosebery). He (Earl Cadogan) was not quite sure that it was a good precedent which had been established by the Prime Minister to state openly negotiations which might have been carried on in private. The discussions which he (Earl Cadogan) held with the noble Earl opposite were entirely of a private nature, and were unauthorized by any of the noble Lords sitting on this side. His noble Friend would, he felt sure, give him credit for a sincere desire to arrive, if possible, at some compromise or terms of conciliation which would conduce to the end which he believed they both had in view. One more word with respect to his peculiar position there that night. He thought it was due to his noble Friends behind him that he should state, in the action he was taking that night, that he was not acting, as it would probably be supposed, under that irresistible pressure which was generally supposed to be brought to bear on all Conservative Members of their Lordships' House. They were too often told they could not vote, or move, or speak without the permission of the noble Marquess behind him (the Marquess of Salisbury). He (Earl Cadogan) wrote and drew up this Resolution himself, but out of courtesy he showed it both to the noble Marquess and his Colleagues; but in the course which he was taking he was acting entirely on his own judgment and responsibility, although he trusted to receive the support of noble Lords behind him. He would ask the House to view the position in which they stood at that moment. Just 10 days had elapsed since the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) brought forward his Resolution on the subject of the Reform Bill now before their Lordships. That Resolution was debated with all the ability and power that distinguished the debates in their Lordships' House, and at the termination of the second night's discussion the Resolution was carried. The points which the House affirmed when they passed that Resolution were that, in the first place, this House was prepared to concur in the principles of the Bill for the extension of the franchise; in the second place, that a scheme for Reform should be accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return Members as to secure a true and fair representation of the people; and the third, that it was necessary that adequate security should be given in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill should not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme. Briefly stated, the principles which were then enunciated were that redistribution must accompany the extension of the franchise, and that no Franchise Bill ought to be passed until the redistribution scheme of the Government should, at all events, have been produced. To that principle their Lordships stood committed, for it was deliberately affirmed in their Lordship's House by a substantial majority. Now, what had occurred during the last 10 days to induce the House to alter the decision at which it had arrived, or to weaken the strength of the principle it then affirmed? The noble Earl on the Cross Benches stated that the situation, during the last few days, had considerably changed, and quoted a speech made by the Prime Minister, which he said was conciliatory in tone, but from which he (Earl Cadogan) confessed he did not gather much hope for conciliation or for compromise. He had, however, seen a speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman, which, read in connection with another speech delivered by one of his Colleagues, had, in his opinion, materially changed the situation. The right hon. Gentleman, in addressing his supporters last week, said—

> "The passing of a Redistribution Bill is impossible this Session. And there is no mode, I venture to tell you, in which—a majority of the House of Commons though you be—you can carry a Redistribution Bill through the House of Commons unless the House of Commons and the Conservative Party in that House has a motive for allowing its progress."

The object of this was to show that unless the Prime Minister had these 2,000,000 newly enfranchised, but undistributed voters, to hold *in terrorem* over the heads of the Members of the House of Commons, he would find it impossible to pass a Redistribution Bill. It was, therefore, acknowledged by the Prime Minister that the withholding of redistribution was not done to expedite

Reform generally, but as a deliberate plan to enable him to force Parliament to accept whatever Redistribution Bill it might be his pleasure to present. And the Home Secretary in "another place" had used words to the effect that we should never have a Redistribution Bill at all until the Government had passed their Franchise Bill. Therefore, there was no mistake whatever as to the position of the Government. The noble Earl on the Cross Benches stated that the Conservative Party were taking their stand on rotten ground. For his own part, he should prefer that foundation, rotten as it might be, to that upon which the Government officially took its stand. The circumstances which had produced the present deadlock were entirely due to the action of Her Majesty's Government. They were told that compromise was in the air, and no doubt during the last few days there had been symptoms of a more conciliatory tone on the part both of Her Majesty's Government and their supporters; and here he could not but acknowledge the statesmanlike speech made by the Postmaster General the other night to his constituents. But what was this compromise? What took place when the Franchise Bill was passing in "another place?" There was an Amendment by Mr. Grey proposing that the Franchise Bill should not take effect until after 1886. That proposal was rejected on grounds with which he had some sympathy. But Her Majesty's Government did make what they called a concession. They introduced a provision that the Bill should not come into operation until the 1st of January, 1885. That concession was not of much value, because it was obvious that the Bill could not come into operation without registration, which took place in July, and therefore the new voters could not exercise their franchise until after the 1st of January, 1886. Then came the Amendment moved by Colonel Stanley, the effect of which would be to suspend the operation of the Franchise Bill until the Redistribution Bill was passed. That proposal was rejected by the Government in no measured terms. Since that time there had been those private negotiations to which the noble Earl had alluded, the object of which was to induce their Lordships to read the Franchise Bill a second time and then to hang it up until the Redistribution Bill passed, or, as the noble Earl suggested, that they should pass the Franchise Bill through Committee, and that the third reading should be suspended until the Redistribution Bill should pass.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: Until we had a scheme of redistribution.

EARL CADOGAN: But all those compromises were cases of reciprocity all on one side. What their Lordships had decided was not to allow the Franchise Bill to pass until they had a knowledge of the Redistribution Bill; and what influenced them in that decision was the fear lest a General Election should take place under the temporary constituency. In none of the compromises was any security given by the Government in that direction, and the speech of the Home Secretary to which he had alluded stated most clearly that the one thing to which the Government would not agree was that the Redistribution Bill should be introduced before the Franchise Bill was passed. Therefore, he could not see any tangible compromise before their Lordships. He would now explain in a few words his objection to the Resolution of the noble Earl. The noble Earl proposed to resolve—

"That this House is now prepared to proceed with the consideration of the Representation of the People Bill."

When the noble Earl stated that they were prepared to proceed with the consideration of the Representation of the People Bill, did he mean that they were ready to pass it? For he could not imagine that the noble Earl intended that they should again discuss the Bill and again reject it. Therefore, in asking their Lordships to read this Bill a second time, he was distinctly asking them to do what they had distinctly refused to do 10 days ago. But what he proposed himself to do was to ask their Lordships' House to declare their willingness to pass a complete scheme. It could not be said that in this there was no concession from the Opposition side of the House. They were told out-of-doors that the House of Lords, by passing the Amendment of his noble and learned Friend last week, intended deliberately to delay and, if possible, destroy all Reform. He asked their Lordships now to pass a Resolution that Parliament should assemble early in the autumn for the purpose of

passing an entire scheme of Reform—namely, a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill. There could be no doubt of the possibility of passing these two measures. The Prime Minister indicated that he would ask Parliament to assemble for the purpose of proceeding with redistribution on the 20th of October. Since then the Leader of the House stated distinctly that it would be impossible for Her Majesty's Government to produce a complete measure of redistribution until the end of November or the first week in December. But if Her Majesty's Government were sincere in their desire to pass a complete measure of Reform, what was to prevent them introducing the Franchise Bill in October, at the time when they stated their intention of calling Parliament together, passing the Bill up to their Lordships, and proceeding in the end of November with the Redistribution Bill, with which they said they were desirous to proceed? Their Lordships would be then in a position to pass a complete scheme with the knowledge they would have of the Government plan of redistribution. It was said that if their Lordships did not read this Bill a second time this Session, the Government would deal only with the Franchise Bill in October. Such a course as that would meet with the condemnation which it deserved both in Parliament and the country. The principle of a complete measure was that to which that House was committed by the adoption of the Resolution of his noble and learned Friend. It was the principle which in former years received the sanction of Mr. Bright and of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for the Colonies, however now he might account for his change of opinion. If a complete scheme could be achieved without delay, what good excuse would Her Majesty's Government have for fostering an agitation, not against the House of Lords, but on the subject of Reform, when, by their own act, they were delaying a complete scheme? He had acted in no spirit of hostility to Her Majesty's Government in laying the Resolution on the Table which he now had the honour to move, and, as his noble Friend on the Cross Benches knew, in no spirit of hostility to him, nor with any desire to delay Reform. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would consider the real meaning of this concession, that they would clearly understand what they professed not to understand—that many on the Opposition side were sincerely and honestly desirous to assist them in passing a complete measure of Reform, and that they would respect the principle upon which Conservative Peers felt it their duty—perhaps a difficult and unpopular duty at this moment—to act—namely, to insist that redistribution should accompany the Franchise Bill. If Her Majesty's Government approached the subject in the spirit which animated noble Lords on that side, he had very little doubt that before the 1st of January, 1886—the date fixed for the coming into operation of the Bill they had laid on the Table—they would have the satisfaction of having passed a measure which would redound to the contentment, the security, and the welfare of the country.

Amendment *moved*,

To leave out all the words after ("is") and insert ("of opinion that it would be desirable that Parliament should assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Representation of the People Bill, already presented to Parliament, in conjunction with the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible.")—(*The Earl Cadogan.*)

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, I have paid great attention to the speeches which have been delivered to-night; and with regard to the speech of the noble Earl who seconded the Motion, I say with very great regret that I cannot agree with anything it contained. I listened to the speech of my noble Friend with an earnest desire to arrive at the meaning of the Resolution; but I confess I could not do so. It is to be presumed the noble Earl considers this proposal is of the nature of a compromise, and it is to be presumed also, by the wording of it, that the noble Earl considers that the information which came to our knowledge, subsequently to the late debate as to certain propositions made by the Government to the Opposition, and by the Opposition to the Government, has modified in some way the question which was debated and decided in this House on Tuesday week. I fail to see how the situation is altered in the slightest degree. The issue before the House is exactly the same as it was previously. If the House

accepts this Resolution, it absolutely contradicts itself. It says that it regrets its former conclusion, and humbly begs to reverse it. The Resolution cannot be accepted without completely contradicting the decision arrived at the other day. We were well aware then that the Government had promised to bring in a Redistribution Bill next Session, and to do their best to pass it into law. No one doubted the *bona fides* of Her Majesty's Government. To consider that the situation was changed by the proposal made by the noble Earl the Leader of the House (Earl Granville) to the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) is tantamount to saying that we did not value the word or the promise of the Government; that while we did not believe in their evidence given on their honour, we would accept it if they were put upon their oaths. The contention was, and is, that the Government are promising what it may not be in their power to fulfil. They might promise on oath to bring in and pass a Redistribution Bill; they may swear to do so; they may engross it on parchment, and sign, seal, and deliver it, or embody it in identic Resolutions and lay it at the foot of the Throne, but they can give no additional validity to their promise. The proposal of the Government merely enunciates the original promise in a more solemn form. Can a pledge, however solemn, overcome the vicissitudes of human existence or of human affairs? Numberless circumstances might necessitate a Dissolution of Parliament before the Government could fulfil its pledge. And it is to the possibility or probability of a General Election being held on the extended franchise without redistribution, and the immense injustice and danger to the State which would ensue, that I take exception. The Resolution of the noble Earl does not assist us towards a compromise in the slightest degree. I confess I do not at all understand the mental attitude of the noble Earl. His voting with the Government the other night was irreconcilable with the tenour of his speech, and the Resolution which he moves to-night is still more at variance with it. I do not understand the frame of mind of those who voted for the second reading of the Bill, and thought it should be hung up, by a clause moved in Committee, until the Redistribution Bill was passed. They voted on the supposition that something would follow which they knew would not follow. I thought myself that to read the Bill a second time and move a clause in Committee, would have been the best course to pursue. The Opposition thought otherwise, considering, I suppose, that practically to shelve the Bill for a time in Committee was unwise. That was a pure question of tactics. It was very advisable that the country should see the action of this House in its true light, that our motives and meaning should be expressed as clearly as possible; and, with that end in view, the Opposition preferred to deal with the matter by a Resolution, rather than to read the Bill a second time, and add the necessary clause in Committee. I differed from them; but I saw no sense in quarrelling about the precise method of asserting a principle in which I agreed. The important point was that Her Majesty's Government would not accept such a proposition. Had they done so, I should have voted for the second reading of the Bill. If the Government had been strong enough to pass the second reading, they would have carried the Bill through Committee as it stands. I hold that every man should vote as though his individual vote would decide the question; and it seemed to me that to vote against the Amendment of the noble Earl was to vote against the principle contained in that Amendment—namely, that enfranchisement and redistribution should go together—and not merely against the particular method adopted to assert that principle. Every one of your Lordships who voted for the second reading of the Bill, voted for passing the Bill without redistribution. How that course could be pursued by anyone holding that the Bill should be hung up until redistribution should be passed is beyond my comprehension. However, that was the view taken by the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss). He declared that the arguments of the noble and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) were unanswerable; but he voted against him. He stood, then, upon the ground that the Bill should be passed, but should be made inoperative until the Redistribution Bill should be passed also. And now the noble Earl proposes this Resolution—that the Bill should be passed because

the Government promise to introduce a Redistribution Bill in an Autumn Session. Can the noble Earl really think such a promise is in any degree equivalent to a clause making the operation of the Franchise Bill dependent upon the passing of a Redistribution Bill? He cannot think so. It is not a question of degree; it is a question of two absolutely different principles. In the one case, the Bill would not become active until a Redistribution Bill was passed. In the other case, it would become active at once, and would come into operation without redistribution if the Government fail to fulfil a promise which either death, resignation, foreign complications, war, or many other circumstances might make it impossible for them to perform. The noble Earl has changed his ground completely. I trust your Lordships will not emulate the mental somersaults of the noble Earl. Surely, it is impossible for anyone who objects to an extension of the franchise without redistribution to support the Resolution before the House. The noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) has adopted a still more extraordinary course. After having stated the other night that his desire was to have a clause inserted in the Bill to prevent its coming into operation until a Redistribution Bill had been passed, he now invites us to pass a Resolution to the effect that the Franchise Bill is to become law, on the promise of the Government to bring in a scheme of redistribution in an Autumn Session. The two things are totally and entirely different. [The Earl of WEMYSS dissented.] The noble Earl shakes his head, and I suppose I misunderstood him; but my idea of his Resolution is, that it says the Franchise Bill is to be proceeded with, and it is to be proceeded with in view of becoming an Act. The change of ground on the part of the noble Earl is most remarkable, and I sincerely hope that your Lordships will not be induced to follow him in the extraordinary mental gymnastic feat which he has performed. No Member of your Lordships' House regrets more than I do that there should be any difference of opinion between the two branches of the Legislature; and I regret it still more because the difference of opinion between the Prime Minister and the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition in this House is remarkably small. The whole essence of the speech of the noble Marquess the other night was that this Bill without redistribution was inequitable. He said —"The extension of the franchise and redistribution are absolutely bound together." Well, my Lords, the Prime Minister, at the Caucus meeting of his Party at the Foreign Office, said he desired redistribution "because it is equitable, because it is necessary to give full and proper effect to the franchise." The Leader of the Opposition in this House and the Prime Minister are almost verbally in accord; but the deductions which they make from their opinions are entirely different. The Prime Minister admitted that redistribution was necessary to make the Bill equitable, and to give it full and proper effect—in other words, that the Bill without redistribution was inequitable, and would have an improper effect; and yet the Prime Minister is perfectly satisfied, and is determined to leave it to chance and the chapter of accidents to pass another Bill which is to divest this measure of its improper and inequitable character. The noble Marquess agrees with the Prime Minister that extension of the franchise without redistribution is inequitable; but he goes further, and says a Redistribution Bill being necessary to make this measure equitable, it should be brought in before this Bill is allowed to pass, and he refuses to trust to chance to remedy the inequitable and improper character of the Franchise Bill. The position of the noble Marquess is very superior to that of the Prime Minister. It seems to be absolutely in accord with common sense, to be wise, to be patriotic, and to be most Constitutional. Supposing the question were brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, which has the power to review any Constitutional alteration, can any reasonable man doubt what the verdict of the Court would be on a Bill of this kind? Would it not say that a measure which was in itself inequitable and improper, and which, in order to be made equitable and proper, depended on the passing of another measure which had not yet seen the light, was an absurdity, unconstitutional, null and void? We hear a great deal about the impossibility of passing such a complicated Bill as a Redistribution Bill in one Session, accompanied by the Fran-

chise Bill. But, my Lords, I do not see how passing this measure now would lighten the labours of Parliament in any respect. I do not see that, if this Bill is passed, the labour and difficulty of framing a redistribution scheme will be lessened in the smallest legitimate manner. By no legitimate means could it be affected at all. If it be impossible, which I do not believe it is, to pass a whole Reform Bill in one Session, then the common-sense course to have taken would have been to have sketched out the measure of enfranchisement, but proceeded first with the Redistribution Bill. What would be thought in the House of Commons of a Minister who asked them to vote money for the service of the State, but refused to give them any opportunity of ascertaining or discussing how the money was to be applied? That is absolutely a parallel case to the one now before your Lordships. Her Majesty's Government say—"Give us these 2,000,000 votes, and then it will be time enough for us to tell you how they are to be applied." It is very hard for me to comprehend the position and attitude of Her Majesty's Government. It is so difficult to reconcile it with the belief that they have it in their minds to give us a fair and just scheme of redistribution. They have openly avowed that the great object of their attitude is, that if the House of Commons should not accept their redistribution scheme, that House will have to accept what is worse—the enfranchisement without any redistribution at all. I could understand such a sentiment as that coming from the lips of the autocratic Minister of a despotic country, but as emanating from the mouth of a Constitutional Minister of a country under a free and representative system of government, it passes my comprehension altogether. After all, what is the most that your Lordships' House has asked for? It has asked to be allowed to appeal to the people. In reference to that the noble Marquess said he wished to appeal to the people.

> "And if it be their judgment that there should be enfranchisement without redistribution," continued the noble Marquess, "I should be very much surprised, but I should not attempt to dispute their decision. I call upon the Government to appeal to the people, and by that appeal I will abide."

Well, my Lords, it appears to me to be absolutely impossible for any man to take up a more patriotic, a more sensible, or a more strictly Constitutional position. I know it is said that the action of your Lordships' House in endeavouring to obtain an appeal to the people interferes with the rights of the Crown, and is unprecedented and unconstitutional. But if there is any interference with the rights of the Crown at all, it lies in the proceeding of the Government, which, if it has any value whatever, will absolutely preclude the Crown from dissolving Parliament, at any rate, for 12 months. As to the course which your Lordships' House pursued the other night, the statement that it was absolutely unprecedented is not strictly true to history; but, even if were, we might say that the position is absolutely unprecedented also. To add to the constituencies nearly 2,000,000 additional voters, and to bring in no measure of redistribution whatever—give us no security that those votes shall be properly applied, or that the voters shall have their true share of representation in Parliament—that, I think, is absolutely unprecedented, an anomaly and a novelty in our Parliamentary history. I trust your Lordships will not forget that, although you sit in one room, and the Members of the other House sit in another room, both are parts of one Legislative Body; and to say that one portion of the Legislative Body shall have the right to appeal to the people under any circumstances, while the other portion shall, under no circumstances and at no time, have the privilege of appealing to the people, to know whether they are right or wrong, is a position that cannot be Constitutionally maintained. I believe that the real reason why the Government are so reluctant to grant an appeal, has come out in the famous speech of the Prime Minister at the Foreign Office, a speech which throws much light on the motives of the Government. Speaking of the House of Commons, the Prime Minister said they were all sent about their business if they were wrong; but if the House of Lords was wrong, their Lordships were not sent about their business; and then the Prime Minister went on to speak of the unpleasantness of having to meet constituents, who were dissatisfied. The real reason therefore, of the objection of the Government to appeal to the country, appears to be

consideration for the personal convenience of certain Members of the other House. There is no question whatever of the interests of the people. It is merely a consideration that, if the constituencies bear out the contention of the Opposition, inconvenience will arise to some Members of the House of Commons; whereas, if the constituencies say that Her Majesty's Government is right, equal inconvenience will not accrue to Members of your Lordships' House. In other words, if the constituencies say that we are right, it is possible that the Prime Minister might have to look out for some other constituency to return him to Parliament; if, on the other hand, the constituencies say we are wrong, the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) will come back to his place of authority, and will still sit with comfort in his own arm-chair. The arm-chair of the noble Marquess appears to have greatly excited the mind of the Prime Minister. Well, my Lords, the Prime Minister goes on to say—

> "All that the noble Marquess will have to do will be to consider at his ease whether or not it is convenient for him again to reject your legislation."

I want particularly to call your Lordship's attention to this passage, because it was uttered after the noble Marquess had distinctly stated in his place in this House that he would abide by the decision of the constituencies. It is impossible more to misrepresent the position of the noble Marquess and the position of the majority in your Lordships' House. It is a most terrible example of inaccuracy to go out to the country. Of course, the Prime Minister could not have read the speech of the noble Marquess, or he never could have said that which was not only at variance with the facts, but absolutely opposed to the noble Marquess's own words. I think that the Prime Minister, before delivering a speech which was to go out to the whole country, might have taken the trouble to know what the noble Marquess had said and what the position of the majority of this House was before he sounded the key-note of an agitation. No doubt, your Lordships will not lose your seats if, in the event of an appeal to the country, you are proved to be mistaken. That is a matter of the Constitution of the country. It is not your fault. But I venture to think that inconvenience does accrue to the Members of this House. Surely, the Prime Minister might have put himself in the position of another man, and might have comprehended that to an honourable man sitting in this House it might be just as inconvenient and just as painful—in fact, more inconvenient and more painful—to subordinate his own will to that of the people and the constituencies, than it would be to maintain his own convictions and lose his seat. To be in Parliament and possess power is not the be all and end all of every human being's existence. Nobody can be more anxious than I am that a compromise may be found to reconcile the difference between the two Houses. It appears to me that if Her Majesty's Government were not so determined to have an instrument of torture with which to torture the House of Commons into accepting any Redistribution Bill they chose to set before them, there would be no difficulty in finding a basis of compromise; but if Her Majesty's Government are absolutely determined that, under no circumstances whatever, shall enfranchisement wait on redistribution, it is very difficult to see how a compromise can be arrived at. I would suggest to my noble Friend on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Wemyss) that even if his Resolution is not accepted, as I hope it will not be, the door will still be open to an agreement. I should be very sorry if the labours of the Session were thrown away. For my own part, I do not see why Parliament should not adjourn, instead of being Prorogued. Your Lordships' House has accepted the principle of the Franchise Bill; and I do not think it is presumptuous to suggest that, probably, it would not object to bind itself by Resolution to pass this Bill through all its stages without debate, on accepting a Redistribution Bill. I cannot tell whether the Conservative minority in the House of Commons would agree to a similar course; but I should fancy they would; and if that can be done, the labours of the Session, as far as this Bill is concerned, will not be thrown away. If any reasonable scheme of compromise is put before your Lordships, I hope you will accept it. I hope the House will submit to any sacrifice of comfort, or even sentiment, in order to prevent matters going further; but I fail to see in

MR. COURTNEY said, the hon. Gentleman had been a Member of the House for a very long period, and it was very remarkable that he should now get up to make a complaint of a system of which he must have been cognizant for many years. The hon. Gentleman must be aware that the comparison he asked was to be found in the Appropriation Accounts. In those Accounts the hon. Gentleman would get all the information he asked for. As to the question raised by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), he would repeat what he had said before—namely, that it was not in the power of the Government to prepare a Return of the number of half-sovereigns in the Colonial banks. The Government knew how many had been issued; but they did not know how many were in circulation.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: They do not circulate.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the Government could not say how many there were in the Colonial banks. As to the question raised by the hon. Member behind him (Mr. Alderman Lawrence), with regard to the loss on coinage of gold and silver, and the discrepancy between the two items, the explanation was, that whilst there was no loss in melting gold, there was a considerable loss experienced in melting silver. A great deal was lost in the way of dross in silver — a deal of silver was lost in the process of coining. The loss on worn silver coin was owing to the fact that the Government took back silver coin at its nominal value. The item in regard to silver and copper coin sent to the Colonies was to cover the cost of packing and carriage. The Government had undertaken to defray these expenses in consequence of the profit they made on the manufacture. As to the details in regard to incidental coinage expenses, he had not got them at hand just now.

Vote *agreed to.*

(8.) £10,557, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

(9.) £23,178, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.

(10.) £18,003, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.

(11.) £6,578, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.

(12.) £14,378, to complete the sum for the Record Office.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, that perhaps his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) would explain how it was there was so much delay experienced by anyone who wished to see anything in the Record Office? He used the Office very extensively, and he was sure that anyone else who did so would agree with him that an extraordinary length of time was occupied in getting any document down from the shelves of the Office. Now, at the British Museum, where he should imagine there was considerably more work, a very different state of things prevailed. There they were required to wait but a few minutes for any book or paper they desired to see; but, at the Record Office, it was a very common thing to have to wait half-an-hour before they could get their wants supplied. He was afraid this state of affairs arose in consequence of the Office being undermanned, or else in consequence of the fact that a great deal of the attention of the clerks was devoted to the side of the Office at which fees were derived, and in consequence, also, of the fact that a large number of the persons engaged in the Office were employed in literary work. He knew of no occasion on which this question could be raised, unless it was that on which the Vote for the Record Office was taken; and he thought it was of the utmost importance to the literary public that some question should be asked, if it was only with the view of calling the attention of the officials to the extraordinary delay and sluggishness in carrying out the ordinary work of the Office. He was still more interested in knowing why it was that *The Orkney Sagas* had not been published, although it was paid for eight years ago? Two persons were employed on the work; one of whom was Dr. Vigfusson, of the University of Oxford, who went to Vienna for the purpose of procuring transcripts. He got them; and a translation was made by Sir George Dasent. For some reason or other there had been a delay in the publication of the book. Sir George Dasent demanded an *apparatus criticus;* but Dr. Vigfusson declined to furnish it—he declined, to use a common phrase, to have his brain sucked by Sir George Dasent, and to have the result of his own labour

possibly be passed if brought in in February was to be brought in in November. That appeared to be a most futile and delusive proposal for their Lordships to accept, and there was nothing to justify them in going back from the position they had assumed. It was said that agitation would spring up if that House stood firm as the champion of Constitutional principle. At a moment like that, when they were told that tumultuous meetings and processions with banners would be held throughout the country, he could not but think that there were large sections of the community who would be thankful that there was one House of Parliament which was not swayed to and fro by popular feeling, and did not change its opinion at every breath of popular passion. He would, therefore, urge the noble Earl on the Cross Benches earnestly to consider whether he ought not to withdraw his Resolution; but if the noble Earl persisted in going to a Division, he hoped that their Lordships would agree with him that it was their duty to oppose it.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN said, he begged to apologize for attempting to interpose between the House and the noble Duke; but his reason for doing so was that the noble Duke who preceded him (the Duke of Somerset) did not refer to the arguments brought forward by the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven). It was a most hopeful sign, which even those who were most sanguine as to the possibility of effecting some *modus vivendi* could hardly have expected after the Division of last Tuesday week, that 10 days later circumstances would have been so favourable as they were at the opening of this discussion for some *rapprochement* between the two sides of the House. Last week it seemed almost impossible that noble Lords opposite could depart from the attitude then taken up without some sacrifice of dignity, or, at least, some sacrifice of logic. But to-day a change could be effected without loss in either respect, and he said that, not only in view of the terms of the Motion before the House, but in view of what had occurred since last week's Division. Much had happened since then. For one thing, everyone was now aware that a communication was made by the Government to the noble Marquess opposite with the view of effecting some sort of agreement. He was not now complaining that the noble Marquess and those who acted with him did not regard the proposal of the Government as of any practical value. The fact remained that an olive branch was extended by the Government; and it was also admitted that, owing to a misrepresentation which had since been entirely explained, most of the noble Lords opposite were not at the time aware of the negotiation. That circumstance obviously afforded an opportunity for any of the noble Lords opposite who would have differed from the noble Marquess and the noble and learned Earl upon that point had they been consulted at the time to act upon such difference of opinion even now without implying any appearance of invidious reflection upon their Leaders. Now, they had the Motion of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches. That noble Earl appeared as a man of peace; but he was afraid he might now exclaim—"I am for peace, but when I speak unto them thereof they make them ready for battle." As to the noble Earl who seconded the Motion, he appealed to the House whether any other Peer occupied such a position of veritable independence, coupled with great weight, and, at the same time, immunity from those vicissitudes to which the typical Cross Bench position was often subjected? The fact was, that if, after all that had occurred, noble Lords opposite refused to move from their present attitude, their position to many of them on that side was almost unintelligible. He could only suppose that many of the noble Lords opposite were relying upon a theory which he had heard some of them express in conversation, and that was—that if they held out now, Her Majesty's Government would, at some future time during the autumn, come forward of their own accord to offer to produce a Redistribution Bill to be considered before the passing of the Franchise Bill. He could only say that if noble Lords were bolstering themselves up with that idea, they were in a fool's paradise. He dared say he might be asked what right he had to talk as if he were acquainted with the mind and intentions of the Government? If he thought it worth while to trouble the

noble Earl below him, he might ask if he considered that there was the smallest probability of the Government considering such a course? But he did not think it necessary to put any such question, because it required no access to official knowledge to see that even if the Government wished to pursue such a course they could not do so. He did not believe their supporters would follow them if it was proposed. He was always for peace; but he should think twice before he should be prepared to support the Government in such a course, especially after the concessions which, as he maintained, they had already made. For he thought that the significance of the support which the Government were to-day giving to the Motion of the noble Earl had not been sufficiently recognized. The Government had made a real concession by so doing. They were undertaking to make a sacrifice, not of principle, but of their own convenience; and not only that, but, if he was not mistaken, they had occasioned some mutterings of discontent among some of their own supporters. He thought noble Lords opposite should take note of the fact that while the present action of the Government facilitated a departure from their uncompromising attitude, it would enormously weaken their position afterwards if that attitude was maintained. But there was another point. The rejection of this Motion, and all that was implied by that rejection, would place that House, as a whole, in a very peculiar and, as they on his own side believed, a false position before the country. They heard a good deal about the rights of minorities; and he thought, if ever there was an occasion when a minority might claim for their views something more than mere Party considerations, it was such an occasion as the present. He said the House would be in a false position before the country. Let him not be misunderstood. He was not one of those who would look forward with dislike or alarm to the prospect of changes in the constitution of their Lordships' House. He would regard such a prospect with considerable equanimity. In fact, he could sympathize with those who would regard even banishment from this House as very tolerable, provided it did not imply exclusion from that "other place" to which they so often alluded. But if changes were to be made, let it be in the calm and judicial atmosphere of deliberate inquiry. Let it be by such means as those lately suggested by his noble Friend who sat below the Gangway (the Earl of Rosebery)—not in the heat and excitement of controversy and recrimination such as he was afraid they might shortly experience. But he was not thinking merely of the enemies of that House. Everybody knew that they would not breathe freely as long as the fate of this Motion was in doubt. The moment it was rejected they would heave a sigh of relief, or, rather, they would raise a shout of exultation. He was thinking of those who were well disposed to their Lordships' House. He knew that his noble Friend the noble Earl below the Gangway (the Earl of Rosebery) was, by some accidental error, reported as having said that their Lordships' House had no friends. He believed his noble Friend was not the man to say anything so inaccurate. He said their Lordships' House wanted friends. It needed the friends that it had, and he affirmed that vast sections of the community, especially of the great middle class, regarded this House with a steady, if somewhat passive, feeling of friendliness and confidence. But what was their state of feeling in the present crisis? He dared say there were plenty of ardent spirits who telegraphed to the noble Marquess and his friends that the country was at their back. He believed, however, that closer inquiry would show that the prevailing sentiment was that of perplexity, of doubt and misgiving as to the course that the noble Marquess was pursuing. He knew very well that noble Lords opposite could say—"It is useless to talk to us of consequences and dangers ahead; we must act up to our convictions. *Ruat cœlum*, we must do what we believe to be right." He should be the first to applaud such language and such an attitude when some great and sacred principle was involved. But what was the great principle here? Was it not rather a question of procedure and of expediency? The Government said they believed that the best way of effecting the proposed reform was temporarily to separate the Redistribution Bill from the Franchise Bill proper. The noble Marquess said he thought the proper

course would be to bring in both as one scheme. What, after all, was the mischief that was predicted in the event of the Government's mode of proceeding being adopted? Why, it was the hypothetical and visionary danger that, in the possible contingency of an Election occurring during the intermediate stage, one of the two great political Parties in this country would be put at a disadvantage. Admitting, in a sense, the Constitutional right of the noble Marquess to demand that, as a preliminary step, an appeal should be made to the country, had not the Government, as the responsible Advisers of the Crown, a superior right to decide when an appeal to the country should be made, so long as they were supported by an ample majority in a representative House of Parliament? Was it possible that there was still some other influence working upon the minds of noble Lords opposite? Was it possible that they were nursing a sort of resentment against the Prime Minister because of his so-called threats? He should have thought it almost superfluous to refer again to that notion, were it not that only the previous day a politician of repute and of position publicly stated that the Prime Minister came down to the House of Commons to threaten the House of Lords with extinction. Once more they had the Prime Minister depicted as a sort of Goliath coming forth from the hosts of the Philistines to defy the armies of the faithful; and the first word of his defiance was supposed to be the ominous word "Beware!" But that was merely part of the misapprehension which prevailed. To whom did the first word of the first line of the celebrated quotation apply? The Prime Minister indicated that the attitude of the Government might be illustrated as follows:—

"Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel."

To whom did this apply? Clearly to Her Majesty's Government. Mr. Gladstone was expressing a sense of caution and of reluctance, which the Government and their supporters wished to show before being led into a contest with the Upper House. No doubt, the latter part of the quotation went on to indicate that the Government, being convinced of the soundness of their own position, would not be prepared to yield; but that he would describe, not as a threat, but as a fair and honourable declaration. ["No, no!"] Noble Lords were not disposed to accept that view; but he would give them something else. What did Mr. Gladstone say last Friday? He said—"It is our desire to see this Bill win its way by"—what? By the rumblings of popular discontent, which were already beginning to be audible? By storm and tempest? No; but to win its way "by persuasion and calm consideration to the rational minds of men." What men? The noble Lords opposite. Was that a threat? He called it a compliment. But noble Lords frequently complained that the Prime Minister was in the habit of misrepresenting and maligning their Party. He confessed that if the Motion before the House was rejected, the general feeling would be that the Prime Minister did attribute to the Party opposite something which they might fairly disclaim when he spoke of the rational character of their views upon the subject. He had one last question to ask. Were noble Lords opposite prepared to state that they were convinced that the agitation, the angry controversy, the disturbed feeling which would inevitably follow the course which they now proposed, would not be a greater evil—he did not say to their Party, but to the welfare of the nation—than any evil which, even from their own point of view, could arise from the acceptance of this Motion?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I do not believe that I should be acting according to the desires of the House, and I should certainly be putting off the Division, if I were to enter again upon the arguments which we thrashed out 10 days ago, and rediscuss the question of the second reading of the Franchise Bill. I desire rather to confine myself to the limited issues which have been raised by the Motion of my noble Friend on the Cross Benches; and for that purpose I wish to ask your Lordships what is the central position which we are defending—what is the essential point that we must maintain, and on what accessories or secondary issues are we able to accept a compromise? Now, my Lords, I do not think the matter stands exactly as it did when we divided on Tuesday week. Since that time a

most important speech, to which reference has been frequently made, was delivered by the Prime Minister at the Foreign Office, and in that speech he gave us a frank revelation of the intentions and objects of the Government for which we could not have hoped, but which marks out to us the course we must pursue if we mean to maintain our independence as a Deliberative Assembly. When we were debating on Tuesday night we all imagined that the reason why franchise and redistribution were separated was because, in the present condition of things in the House of Commons, there was a mechanical difficulty in carrying them together, and that was the doctrine which animated the speeches of Ministers who addressed us, especially the speech of the noble Earl the Colonial Secretary. But the Prime Minister had a very different account to give of the motives which actuated his own mind. His object was not to deal with any merely mechanical difficulties, but to procure a lever by which he could press upon his opponents and compel them to take, whether they liked it or not, whatever scheme of redistribution he might please to offer. These are the words of Mr. Gladstone—

"The goodwill on the part of the Opposition which we require in order to give a Redistribution Bill a chance cannot be had unless they know that the extension of the franchise is to take place, and that if they will not have it with redistribution they must have it without."

Therefore, what the scheme arranged by the Prime Minister was intended to effect was, that on the principles of redistribution neither the Opposition in the other House nor the Opposition in this House should have any influence; that whatever decision he came to on the grave issues which affected the future representation of the country, on the representation of various interests, and on the protection of the rural communities from being swamped by an undue admixture of the urban element, and, above all, upon the most vital question of proportional representation — that question which concerns the defence of minorities, a question that in all democratic forms of government is of supreme importance — that question was to be decided solely upon the will of the Government of the day, and the Opposition in neither House was to have any influence in dealing with it; and that that end was to be attained by placing them in the position that if they did not take the enfranchisement with such redistribution as he was pleased to give, they should have enfranchisement without redistribution at all. That is the issue. Now, on that point I confess I see no room for compromise. After that announcement of the Prime Minister I do not see how this House, how those who voted the other night, can withdraw from the assertion of the principle that redistribution and enfranchisement must pass together; and we feel that, forewarned as to the meaning of the tactics which the Government are pursuing, we are bound, so far as our powers go, to accept no arrangement which shall carry that enfranchisement into law without securing that redistribution shall pass into law at the same time. But then I am told—"you are hostile to enfranchisement; you are killing the Bill." We ask to be judged, not by our professions, but by our acts. If we had wished to kill the Bill, nothing would have been easier than to have done so; we could have done so by a formula well known to the House. We deliberately selected a form of Motion that would not kill the Bill, and the Bill is still alive. As far as we are concerned, the Bill will not be killed. If it is killed, it will be killed only by the process of Prorogation, which is the act of Her Majesty's Government and not ours. Wishing, as we do, that enfranchisement should take place, and that it should take place on the principles of this Bill, we desire to keep this Bill alive until its necessary complement —the Redistribution Bill—can come up alongside of it, and both can be passed together. What course Her Majesty's Government may take in using that weapon, Prorogation, which lies in their hand, which has the power of killing Bills, and which it is for them to use or forbear to use according to their discretion and responsibility, I will not presume to forecast. I am aware that there are difficulties, that it would be of no use adjourning in August unless you are prepared to adjourn again in December; and that there are certain difficulties in stretching one Session over two years; but on that I do not wish to express an opinion. What I wish to in-

sist upon is, that it will not be any act of ours, but the Prorogation, that will kill the Bill, and that if the Government wish not to kill the Bill they can forbear the Prorogation. But, my Lords, it seems to me of more practical moment to turn to what is to be done if there is a Prorogation now, as I suppose there will be, and what will be done when we come back in November. Then, we are told—if I did not misread what is attributed to Members of the Government in "another place"—that they intend to pass the Enfranchisement Bill, sending it up here, and that if, as is very probable, we decline again to pass that Enfranchisement Bill until a Redistribution Bill has reached us, they will then themselves cut the thread of life of their unfortunate Franchise Bill by interposing another Prorogation at Christmas. Against that I most strongly protest. It is deliberately putting off enfranchisement. It is deliberately making it impossible for that enfranchisement to be carried out merely that the Government may be able to carry into effect this unprecedented and despotic design of using the passing of the Enfranchisement Bill as a means for coercing the free judgment of both Houses of Parliament. My hope is that if an Enfranchisement Bill is passed in the autumn, and is brought up to this House, we shall meet it with no hostile action, but that we shall simply defer it to a day sufficiently distant to allow a Redistribution Bill to be passed through the House of Commons, and to come here, and that we shall leave it to the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government, if they choose so to do, to kill that Bill by an unnecessary and unusual Prorogation for the purpose of forcing the decision of the House on the other question of redistribution. If they do that, it will be their act alone. Do not let them say that we are hostile to enfranchisement, or that we have been the means of preventing it coming into law. These being my views, I need hardly say that I can have no sympathy with the Motion of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches. He merely offers us another promise of the Government. Promises are mere counters. They are perfectly idle in this matter. We do not want to throw any doubt or suspicion on the word of noble Lords opposite; but there are two objections to their promises. The first is, that circumstances are stronger than men; and the second is, that though we may have a promise to bring in another Bill, we have not, and cannot have, any promise as to the nature of what that Bill will be. My Lords, I do not recognize in the arguments used to-night any consideration that should turn this House from the resolution to which it deliberately came 10 days ago. I have heard nothing but this one cry—that misrepresentation is so powerful that you must not do what is right lest you should be misrepresented. The noble Earl's (the Earl of Shaftesbury's) cry has been "*Magnum est mendacium et prævalebit.* He believes in the unlimited power of misrepresentation and falsehood. Though we have in every speech which we have uttered expressed our wish to bring this enfranchisement into law, though we have recorded that wish in the most solemn manner on the Journals of this House, yet he tells us that it will be easy for the agitators to mislead the people, and that it will be impossible for the people to pay the slightest attention to our professions. He told us that the Conservative Party throughout the country would blame our action. I venture to say I know more of the Conservative Party than the noble Earl. I have had communications from every part of the country, from the largest and most populous communities, and from open meetings where workmen were represented and voted in large numbers, and I venture to say that, though I do not doubt that the Radical Party are strongly and bitterly opposed to us, and will desist from no effort to attack us, the Conservative Party are as strongly in our favour, and that this feeling extends far beyond what is technically known as the limits of the Conservative Party. This argument as to the omnipotence of misrepresentation and as to the power of agitation, is unworthy of this House, and is a dangerous principle to admit into legislation. If it is once established that the fear of agitation is sufficient to make you recede from a decision solemnly taken only 10 days ago, you may be quite sure that the weapon so discovered will not be allowed to remain useless in its scabbard, The Birmingham Caucus will then be divided

The Marquess of Salisbury

into two departments, one for the manipulation of the House of Commons, and the other for the intimidation of the House of Lords. Whenever it is desirous, in the interests of any Party or clique or corrupt interest, to pass some Bill through this House to which this House objects, these same tactics, before which we are now asked to tremble, will be repeated, and the same agitation will be produced, the same weapons will be employed, to beat down our calmer judgment. My Lords, I have no belief in the assertion that this misrepresentation will be all powerful. I do not so lightly esteem the clearness of perception and the discernment which distinguish our countrymen. I should, indeed, despair if they were likely on all public questions to be so easily misled by mere loud, empty, unmeaning, and evidently unfounded clamour. [*Ironical Ministerial cheers, and counter Opposition cheers.*] I understand those cheers to mean that, though we have never withdrawn our belief from the statements of our adversaries, they affect not to believe our statement when we say that we desire to pass the Enfranchisement Bill. My Lords, I think they will have difficulty in persuading the impartial body of our fellow-countryman of the truth of such a monstrous assertion. Certain I am of this, that the duty of this House is not to look to right or left from considerations of this kind. If a House like this, in its nature independent, is of any value at all, its value consists in its power of disregarding merely transitory clamour. Let us adhere to the right, without caring for the gloss or colour that agitators may place upon it, preferring our duty to our country and our Queen to any dangers, whether real or imaginary, which the minds of overtroubled advisers conjure up to deter us from our course.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I cannot be altogether surprised that the noble Marquess does not approve of the language used by Mr. Gladstone; but I doubt whether there is anyone in this Assembly—I doubt whether there are many in the nation at large—who are not perfectly convinced that Mr. Gladstone is absolutely in earnest in his desire to add these 2,000,000 voters to the constituencies of the United Kingdom, and also to pass a Redistribution Bill, fair and large in its character, and yet very different from the extreme and radical views which will be pressed upon him to adopt. The noble Marquess will not, I hope, misunderstand me. I entirely believe the assertion that is made by noble Lords opposite as to their intention; but I strongly disbelieve that the noble Marquess is—and I do not think that he will pretend to be so—the least in earnest in his desire for the extension of the franchise. ["Oh!" *and cheers, and cries of* "Withdraw!"] I have not the slightest intention of withdrawing. It is perfectly true that the noble Marquess agreed in the Resolution passed the other night as altered; but when the noble Marquess, a very few months from this date, announced that the agricultural labourers did not in the least desire this boon, and that, being indifferent to it, they would be a prey to harmful agitators—when he said that their enfranchisement would swamp the Conservative element of the farmers—if he then expressed his conviction, how is it possible that the noble Marquess can now wish for an extension of the franchise?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I spoke of enfranchisement without redistribution. [*Cheers.*]

EARL GRANVILLE: I would beg noble Lords before they cheer to refer to the speech which the noble Marquess made, and I am perfectly certain it will be found that, with regard to the extension of the suffrage itself, it was, he represented, open to the objections which he stated. Under these circumstances, with the earnest desire of Mr. Gladstone that this Bill should be carried into effect, is it not right that he should take the measures best calculated to attain that object? The language of the Prime Minister was not a threat; it was addressed to the whole House of Commons, and it pointed out that, whereas Members under the influence of their constituents to the greatest extent might give the Government a majority of 130 on a Franchise Bill, the case was very different in regard to redistribution, when local feeling was called into play, and that majority might be reduced to 40, 50, or 60. The noble Earl opposite asked why the Government did not make so easy a compromise as that which he suggested. That compromise is merely

this—that the Government are to turn against this enormous majority in the House of Commons, who considered this Bill for four months. The discussions during that period almost entirely turned on whether a Redistribution Bill should accompany the Franchise Bill or not. That large majority decided that it should not, and the Government are now asked to turn against that majority in the House of Commons to satisfy a wish suggested by your Lordships. I think that to be absolutely impossible, if we really and earnestly wish to pass this Bill. I am very sorry to have heard the speech of the noble Marquess. There are parts of it which are quite incredible. He was angry with us for cheering. We merely cheered when he said "unmeaning clamour." We did not cheer when he charged the Liberal Party with being parties to mendacity and misrepresentation.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH: The noble Marquess did not make use of the word "mendacity" in my hearing. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble Marquess said there would be an agitation produced entirely by misrepresentation and calumny of the Conservative Party. Really, does the noble Marquess think that when criticisms are made upon particular action in this House this is all misrepresentation and all mendacity? My Lords, I said the other day, and I repeat it now, that I have the greatest feeling of respect with regard to this House, a House of which I have been a tenant for so many years. I am not one of those—I have not the ability, I have not the eloquence, I have not the ambition, I have not the youth to wish to burn down that House, whether it is to roast my own eggs or any other person's eggs. I wish to retain for this House the respect and regard which I believe is very generally felt for your Lordships' House. I believe that respect and regard can be maintained and increased by a constant and persistent and statesmanlike conduct on the part of the House; and I believe that regard and respect may be destroyed in a very shor time indeed by the mismanagement o those who are at its head and conduc its proceedings. The noble Marques said something about the solemn deci sion of you Lordships the other night There is no doubt that a majority of some 60 is a very large majority in any Assembly; but you must remember the immense normal majority which exists in this House against the Government. ["No!"] Well, my Lords, take the numbers. The number of the majority last week was not only a fourth less, not only a third less, but it was very much less than on any one occasion upon which, during the last four years, the noble Marquess has thought fit to marshal his forces—whether on Votes of Censure or for the stopping or amendment of Bills. On the other hand, during those four years we have not had on our side as many by nearly 50 as voted the other day in favour of the second reading of the Bill; and, in fact, we had on that occasion 100 more than on most occasions on which there have been Party Divisions in this House. Does that mean nothing? Does it not indicate very strongly the feeling that exists in this House? Does it not indicate something of the feeling that exists, not only on the Episcopal Bench, but on all three sides of the House, and show that some of the most eminent men of all Parties agree with us? I believe it does to a great extent, and I shall not feel the really moral effect of that debate and the Division the other day at all weakened even if to-night the majority be swelled some 10 or 20 more, when we can understand now the sort of violent declamation that has been used and which the noble Marquess has thought fit not only to address to us, but to the whole nation, with regard to this great question. I do trust your Lordships will not go about using language which, if it is perhaps brilliant and clever, is full of such mischievous incitement to the excitement of both Parties and the nation.

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM, who spoke amid loud cries of "Divide!" was understood to say that he wished, if possible, that a compromise should be come to upon this question. He would have preferred that the second reading of the Bill should have been taken and an Amendment introduced in Committee postponing the operation of the Bill until a Redistribution Bill had been passed.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS wished to say a word or two on the bearing of his Motion, as to which, he thought, there

had been a misunderstanding. He had endeavoured on the second reading, and again that night, to say, as clearly as words enabled him to do, that he agreed that it was desirable that their Lordships' House should have more control over the question of redistribution; but he believed what was suggested by the noble Duke was the proper think to do, to pass the second reading of the Franchise Bill, and in Committee, by negotiation or otherwise, endeavour to obtain that control which the noble Marquess thought this House ought to have over redistribution. He therefore maintained, if noble Lords tried to make out this Resolution did not admit of that, he was afraid they were shutting their eyes purposely to the real bearing of the case.

On question, "Whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand part of the motion?"

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Resolved in the *negative*.

Then the Amendment was *agreed to*.

Resolved, That this House is of opinion that it would be desirable that Parliament should assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Representation of the People Bill, already presented to Parliament, in conjunction with the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible.

House adjourned at half past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 17*th July*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART—Vote 11—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 10 to 25.

Resolutions [July 15, 16] *reported*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Standing Committee on Law, &c.*—*Report*—Criminal Lunatics * [No. 277].

Second Reading—Naval and Greenwich Hospital Pensions * [276]; Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) * [289].

Report—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * [259].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) [22-286], and *passed*.

Third Reading—Public Libraries Acts Amendment * [273]; Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Manx Children) * [280], and *passed*.

Withdrawn—Dean Forest and Hundred of Saint Briavels [184]; Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881 (Extension to Leaseholders * [29].

QUESTIONS.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—CORK UNION WORKHOUSE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the Board of Guardians of the Cork Union recently passed a resolution prohibiting the in-

troduction of luxuries, such as eggs, fruit, &c. into the hospitals of the Cork Union Workhouse; whether, afterwards, seeing that such a resolution was inadvisable, it was rescinded, and whether the Local Government Board then refused to sanction its withdrawal; whether it is a fact that the patients in the hospitals of the Cork Workhouse are chiefly composed of temporary inmates suffering from acute disease, and not permanent inmates of the Workhouse; whether he is aware that the practice in question exists to a greater or less extent in all the large Workhouses both in Ireland and England, as well as in every hospital in the Kingdom, and that the resolution referred to is, in the opinion of the medical officers of the Workhouses, and of the vast majority of the Board of Guardians, both injudicious and inhuman; whether it is a fact that the adoption of the resolution referred to involves a large additional expense to the ratepayers, and whether it was passed at the suggestion of Dr. Brodie, the Local Government Board Inspector, notwithstanding that the custom referred to has existed for years, and during the terms of office of his predecessors, Drs. King and M'Cabe, with their entire approval; whether, after being in charge of his present district for six years, Dr. Brodie has now become acquainted with the fact for the first time; whether the Board of Guardians of the Middleton Workhouse recently accused Dr. Brodie of unfair treatment of the nuns, at a sworn inquiry held at that institution, and passed a unanimous vote of want of confidence in him therefor; whether he is in the habit of getting dispensary and union officers to write Reports on their own duties, which he forwards to the Local Government Board as the results of his own observation; whether there are several dispensaries which, during the six years he has been in charge of his present district, he has only visited once, and some he has not visited at all; whether he reported parts of his district which he had not visited to be in a prosperous condition; and, whether, being close upon eighty years of age, he will be placed on the retired list?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is a fact that the Board of Guardians of Cork Union recently passed a resolution prohibiting the introduction into the workhouse of what are called luxuries, and subsequently rescinded that resolution, and that the Local Government Board disapproved of the rescinding resolution, and decided that the prohibition should continue. The grounds of their decision were that the proposed arrangement would be at variance with Article 20 of the General Order for the management of workhouses, and that the relaxation of the workhouse rules would lead to irregularities and abuse, and injury to the health of patients. The patients in the hospital are not, I am informed, of the class mentioned in the Question. Most of them are chronic cases; but all are eligible for such extras as the medical officer in charge may order for them. The Local Government Board are not aware that the practice of allowing visitors to bring in articles of food to workhouse inmates exists generally elsewhere, and no such practice has been established with their authority. With reference to the duration of the practice of admitting luxuries to the workhouse, no definite period can be named. So far as I can gather from the reports Dr. Brodie has not been long aware of it. The enforcement of the resolution may entail some small extra expenses on the rateyayers; but it checks abuse by stopping to some extent a system of petty trading and bartering in food known to exist in the workhouse. The Board of Guardians of Middleton Union did pass a vote of want of confidence in Dr. Brodie; but the facts before the Local Government Board do not lead them in any way to concur in the implied censure—Dr. Brodie having strictly discharged his duty in the matter in question. Dr. Brodie does not act in the improper manner suggested in the latter part of the Question. The Local Government Board have no reason to think that his age interferes with the discharge of his duty.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BALLYCASTLE UNION.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a Resolution of the Board of Guardians of Ballycastle Union, county Antrim, passed on the 5th instant, to the effect—

"That we desire to state, for the information of the Local Government Board, that their

inspector, Mr. Hamilton, read to this Board, on the 21st ult. a letter which he had received from Mrs. General Boyd, Ballycastle, in which she complained of the conduct of the master in reference to visits made by her and her daughters to the workhouse; that, after some discussion as to the admission of visitors, Mr. Hamilton recommended to this Board, and advised us to adopt a proposal to the effect, 'That the guardians order that for the future all persons, except professional Scripture readers, are to be allowed to visit their friends and acquaintances, and give them any books they may wish, so long as these are not of a controversial character;' that, when asked by the chairman to put his proposal in writing, Mr. Hamilton replied, 'Better for yourself or the clerk to write it,' or words to that effect; that, although he did not write it, he was the author of it, it emanated from him, he recommended it to this Board, and advised us to adopt it; that, in acting thus, Mr. Hamilton tried to induce this Board to re-introduce a custom which he should have known has no sanction in the Poor Law Act, and which had been abolished by a resolution of this Board sixteen years ago, and had been the cause of sectarian disputes and bitterness in this house in past years; and that we are of opinion the master would not have done his duty if he had allowed the ladies and the Scripture reader to give religious tracts to the inmates; and we disapprove of Mr. Hamilton's action in the whole case;"

did Mr. Hamilton act as described in that Resolution; and, if so, did he, in so acting, exceed his duty as representative of the Local Government Board, the administrators of the Poor Law Act; if not, will he point out what section of the Poor Law Act sanctions the admission into workhouses for any religious purpose of any visitors besides the persons specified in 1 and 2 Vic. c. 56, ss. 48 and 49; and, if he did exceed his duty, will he cause the Local Government Board to instruct their inspector and the Ballycastle Board of Guardians to that effect?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board inform me that they believe the facts to be as they have already reported, and as I have already stated in reply to a former Question; and the Guardians appear, therefore, to have been under some misapprehension as to Mr. Hamilton's intentions when they adopted the above-quoted resolution. Mr. Hamilton states that it is not the case that he recommended an indiscriminate permission to be given for all visitors except Scripture readers; but that he did intend to convey to the Guardians that he would like the patients in the hospitals to have the same privilege of seeing their friends as is given to the sick in the hospitals of other workhouses; but that in the remarks he made he did not recommend or advise the Guardians to adopt any course at variance with the regulations laid down by Article 28 of the workhouse rules. That article regulates the admission of "visitors" to the workhouse. Sec. 49 of 1 & 2 *Vic.* cap. 56 merely enacts that—

"It shall be lawful for any regular 'minister' of the religious persuasion of any inmate of such workhouse . . . to visit such workhouse . . . for the purpose of affording religious instruction to such inmate."

I have already intimated that the Local Government Board do not consider that the course suggested by Mr. Hamilton's remarks at the Guardians' meeting on the 21st of June would have been an infringement of the Irish Poor Relief Act, or that the Inspector exceeded his duty.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OVER-PRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether, in consequence of the following statement appearing in the tabulated records of the Registrar General—namely:—

"This is the second death in my practice within a week, the cause of which was produced from pressure at a School Board. (Signed) W. H. Borham, M.D.,"

he directed a communication to be made to Dr. Borham; and, whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House Dr. Borham's answer.

MR. MUNDELLA: The cases referred to are now being investigated by the London School Board, and Dr. Borham's answer has been sent to them.

IRELAND — COUNTY DOWN — MR. HENRY SMYTH, COUNTY SURVEYOR.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Northern division of the county Down has no county surveyor residing in it; whether Mr. Henry Smyth, the county surveyor of the northern division of the county Down, resides in Newcastle, county Down; and if it be a fact that both the county surveyors reside in the southern division of the county; and did not Mr. Smyth always reside in Downpatrick up to the past

few years, and is not his office at present in the county court house at Downpatrick, which is in his own division of the county; and, whether he will be obliged to reside permanently in Downpatrick as formerly, or will be called on to resign his situation?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that Mr. Smyth, the Surveyor of the Northern Division of the county, lives at Newcastle, which is about two miles outside the boundary of this district. His office is at Downpatrick—10 miles distant—with which place he has direct railway communication. The present arrangement has been in existence for four years. No public inconvenience is known to have been caused, and the Grand Jury have made no objection. It is not a matter in which the Government can interfere. The Grand Jury can suspend or dismiss a County Surveyor if he neglects his business; and if any person thinks that Mr. Smyth does so, his complaint should be addressed to the Grand Jury.

EDUCATION ACTS—LOANS FOR SCHOOL HOUSES.

MR. JACKSON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether, in boroughs where School Boards have been established, the money needed for the purpose of providing school houses may be borrowed by the Town Council instead of by the School Board; and, whether Town Councils are at liberty to exercise the powers conferred on School Boards by the fifty-seventh section of the Elementary Education Act, 1870, as to borrowing money?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Town Council cannot, under the Education Acts, borrow money for the purpose of providing school buildings. All loans, whether with the Public Works Loan Commissioners, or in the open market, must be negotiated by the School Boards.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—CONTINUANCE OF APPOINTMENT.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. M'Devitt is to be retained as a Sub-Commissioner; whether Mr. Gray and Mr. Crean are to be discontinued; and, will the list of dismissals be published before the Vote for the Land Commission is taken?

MR. TREVELYAN: The word "dismissal" cannot be properly applied to the case of any of the Sub-Commissioners. Their appointments were temporary, and only as many have been retained as are required to do the remaining work. Mr. M'Devitt is one of the Sub-Commissioners whom it is proposed to continue in office after the end of this month. Mr. Gray and Mr. Crean are not. I have no objection to announce now the names of the gentlemen selected for reappointment. They are—legal, Messrs. Bourke, M'Devitt, Rearden, Hodden, C. Roche, and Doyle; lay, Messrs. Walpole, Weir, Barry Guiry, O'Callaghan, Bomford, Golding, R. Sproule, Mowbray Cunningham, Comyn, and Lynch.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware of the relations of Mr. Walpole with his own tenants?

[No reply.]

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—GARRY-KENNEDY HARBOUR.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the attention of the Irish Board of Works has been called to the dangerous state of Garry-Kennedy Harbour, on Lough Derg, owing to a sunken ledge at the entrance, which renders it difficult of access, especially during the summer months when the water is low; and, if so, whether the Board will consider whether an improvement ought not to be effected?

MR. COURTNEY: This is a private harbour, with which the Government have nothing to do. But the Board of Works have on previous occasions lent their dredger to the owners, and will be prepared to do so again when it can be spared.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CROSSMAGLEN PRISONERS—MAJOR BLAIR.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Major Blair's visit to the Crossmaglen prisoners in Chatham was made at his own expense; did he obtain leave of absence for the purpose; were the Government aware of his intention; and, has he made any report, recommenda-

tion, or communication on the subject since his return?

MR. TREVELYAN: Major Blair was on duty in London at the time of his visit. He did not obtain or require leave of absence to enable him to go to Chatham, nor did he take his ticket there at his own expense. The Government were not aware of his intentions further than was involved in his getting the Secretary of State's authority to visit the prisoners. Any communication he subsequently made was of a confidential character.

MR. HEALY: Were Major Blair's expenses to Chatham paid by the Government?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have no doubt they were, as he was on duty in London at the time; but any further Question on the subject had better be addressed to the Home Secretary.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—MR. BUTCHER, A COMMISSIONER TO ADMINISTER OATHS.

MR. WARTON asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether it is true that he has supported the application of Mr. Butcher, a solicitor of Bury, in Lancashire, to become a Commissioner to administer Oaths in the High Court of Justice; whether Mr. Butcher is a solicitor of only three years standing; whether other gentlemen at Bury in the profession, of equal respectability and longer standing, have been refused Commissionerships; whether Mr. Butcher is the Secretary to the Bury Liberal Association; and, whether he has any further knowledge of Mr. Butcher's qualifications?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The hon. and learned Member is quite right in supposing that I supported Mr. Butcher's application to be appointed a Commissioner to administer oaths in the High Court of Justice, and I was very happy to do so. The date of his admission is also correctly stated in the Question. The House should know that all respectable solicitors of six years' standing can obtain the power to administer oaths. That period was anticipated in Mr. Butcher's case under the following circumstances. That gentleman practises at Radcliffe, a place of some 17,000 inhabitants, as well as at Bury. At Radcliffe there was only one resident Commissioner, and a further appointment was thought advisable. The only solicitor who, in point of standing, had any claims superior to those of Mr. Butcher, signed the usual memorial in favour of his appointment. I may add that Mr. Butcher obtained the prize of the Incorporated Law Society, and also is Secretary of the Bury Law Association. He is, as the hon. Member has stated, no longer Secretary of the Liberal Association. Under these circumstances, if I have rendered any assistance to Mr. Butcher so as to secure him his appointment, I am exceedingly glad to hear it; but I am by no means sure that Mr. Butcher owes anything to me. Prominently among the names of those who, like myself, supported his application is that of Mr. Ormerod Walker, the late Conservative candidate for Bury, and a gentleman whose position caused him to be regarded as the head of the Tory Party in that town. Knowing, as many of us do, how carefully the present Chancellor has guarded against allowing any political predilections to influence him in the exercise of his patronage, I am sure that, in all probability, Mr. Butcher owes far more to Mr. Ormerod Walker than to me.

MR. WARTON: May I ask whether the hon. and learned Gentleman proposes to proceed with the Corrupt Practices Bill to-night?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) was understood to say that the Bill would not be taken that evening.

SCOTLAND—THE WESTERN ISLANDS —CIRCULATION OF INFLAMMATORY PUBLICATIONS.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to an anonymous printed paper which has been circulated in Skye and elsewhere, urging the people to every kind of unlawful action; and, if he will institute proceedings with the view of discovering the author and printer, in order that they may be prosecuted?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have received from the hon. Member the printed paper referred to, which I understand from him is being circulated in Skye. Its circulation was not known to the authorities there. I have directed that endeavours shall be made to discover the author and printer, and also the per-

sons by whom the paper is being circulated.

SCOTLAND—THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION—CASE OF DONALD COLQUHOUN.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that Mr. Allan, of Aros House, in a Letter dated 26th November 1883, addressed to the Royal Commissioners, printed on page 446 of their Report, used the following words with reference to Donald Colquhoun, of Tobermory, of whom he was writing:—

"At the last term of Whitsunday he paid no rent, and is now over a year in arrears; this accounts for his recent notice of removal;"

if he has compared this statement with the Letter of D. Colquhoun, printed on page 448, and, further, with the Copy of Colquhoun's rent book, certified by Mr. Maccallum, notary public, which has been placed in his hands, commencing in 1875; and, if the Lord Advocate is now satisfied that the accusation that he has paid his rent "with great irregularity," and was in November 1883 "over a year in arrear," is unfounded?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have read the letters and copy of Colquhoun's rent pass-book referred to in this Question. The last-mentioned document does not appear to me to negative, on the contrary it seems to confirm, the statement in Mr. Allen's letter. I understand that Colquhoun's rent was £6, payable half-yearly in equal moieties at Whitsunday and Martinmas. The entries in the pass-book show that Colquhoun paid nothing at Whitsunday 1883, and that at Martinmas of that year he was owing more than a full year's rent, £6 17*s.*, which sum was not paid until 14th December, while Mr. Allen's letter is dated 26th November. The prior entries in the account do not show that the rent was regularly paid as it fell due; on the contrary, they establish that Colquhoun was generally somewhat in arrear, though the amounts in arrear were usually small.

MR. MACFARLANE asked if the Lord Advocate was aware that the man's rent-book satisfied the Royal Commissioners?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I do not at all know what the Royal Commissioners may have thought about it; but I read it carefully with reference to the two documents to which the hon. Member refers and I think it will be found that the answer I have given him as to the sums is strictly correct.

MINERAL LEASES—FINES FOR TRANSFERENCE.

MR. ROLLS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Papers which have been placed before him have satisfied him that fines amounting to £800, equal to eight years' minimum rent, were exacted by a landlord, without any valid consideration, upon the transfer of mineral leases, although the last transfer was to tenants of very high standing, and adequate capital, one of such tenants having subsequently filled the office of Mayor of Derby; and, whether, having regard to the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury, on the 31st July 1883, that the question of protecting tenants of mineral and other properties from confiscation of portion of their capital touched a matter undoubtedly of very great importance, to which it would be the duty of the Government to give its attention, Her Majesty's Ministers are now prepared to recommend the appointment of a Commission or Committee for the purpose of considering in what way (with due regard to the rights of the landlords) tenants of mineral properties could be protected against confiscation of portion of their capital, by the enforcement, without any valid consideration, of fines, in many cases excessive, on the transfer of their leases, or in what other way Her Majesty's Government are prepared to give that attention which the First Lord of the Treasury has stated it is the duty of the Government to give to this question?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have examined the papers the hon. Member has sent me. But the former answers given by myself and the Prime Minister were that if any strong case were made out, we would have the matter investigated. But the hon. Member has only sent me one single case, which occurred seven years ago, where one person demanded a fine of £300. A single case of that kind is not a ground for the appointment of a Royal Commission. As far as I can see, the only remedy is

for speculators in coal mines to protect themselves by proper agreements, which would prevent owners from demanding improper fines on assignment.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS —SITES FOR CHURCHES.

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY asked the honourable Member for the Isle of Wight, Whether it is the general practice of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to require the intending donors of sites to them for church-building purposes to promise to pay all the legal expenses except one-half of those incurred by the Commissioners themselves; if so, whether this is a regulation dependent upon Statute, or simply as the regulations of the Commissioners; and, whether he will give his assistance towards getting rid of such a practice?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: It is the practice of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to look to the donors for payment of one-half of the law costs connected with the conveyance of sites, and this is done by them in accordance with their regulations, and not by virtue of any statute. There must evidently be some general rule in the matter. Up to within a very recent period the whole of the costs were payable by the promoters or donors; but the Commissioners, taking the matter into consideration, came to the conclusion that they might, consistently with their views, agree to undertake one-half. Apart from the very debatable question of how far the common fund could properly be employed for these purposes, experience convinces the Commissioners that it is necessary that the donors of sites should be liable for some considerable part of the cost, in order to secure in all cases a reasonable limit to the elastic and often excessive costs of solicitors and others engaged in carrying through transfers of land.

POST OFFICE—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Postmaster General, If he has considered the Memorial, for acceleration of the Irish Western Mail Service, addressed to him, under date the 1st October last, by inhabitants of the town and county of Sligo; whether, especially regarding the Day Mail Service, he has noted the facts that the Mail Train leaving Dublin at 9 a.m. does not reach Sligo, 134 miles distant, until 2·40 p.m., the service being thus at the rate of only 23 miles an hour, and that the Mail leaving Sligo at 11 a.m. does not reach Dublin till 4·55 p.m., the service in this case being only 22 miles an hour; whether he has considered the statement of the Memorialists that letters delivered in Sligo in the morning cannot be replied to by the Day Mail, as the boxes close at 10·20 a.m., and that letters reaching there by the Day Mail, and not delivered till nearly 5 o'clock, cannot usually be answered that evening with convenience, as the boxes close at 7·40; whether he will endeavour to meet the desire of the Memorialists that this state of things should be altered by timing the Day Mail from Dublin to start at 8·30 and reach Sligo about 12, and the Day Mail from Sligo to leave at 1·30 p.m. and reach Dublin, as at present, at 4·55 p.m.; whether the Midland Great Western Railway Company have stated their readiness to run Mail Trains at 40 miles an hour if adequately paid; whether it is the fact, as affirmed by the Chairman of the Midland Railway Company, that the Great Northern Company is paid £73 per mile per annum for Mail Service, the Great Southern £70, the Dublin and Wicklow £62, and the Midland only £41; and, whether the Department now propose to offer better terms to the Midland Company?

MR. FAWCETT: Since the arrangements for the acceleration of the mail service between London and Dublin, which took effect on the 1st instant, were finally settled, the attention of the Department has been given to improving the provincial services in Ireland; but I am unable to say at present what improvement will be practicable in the case of the Sligo day mail. I can assure the hon. Member that the points referred to in his Question shall be carefully considered. The degree of acceleration that may be found practicable must depend upon many considerations, which vary with almost every district. The question of remuneration to the Railway Company is one of these; but I may remark that no comparison obtained by a reduction of annual payments to mileage rates can show whether a Railway Company is adequately remunerated or not, as the payments to Rail-

way Companies vary according to the number of trains used and the amount of correspondence carried.

MR. SEXTON: Can the right hon. Gentleman give the concrete result of his consideration of the subject before the Post Office Estimates come on?

MR. FAWCETT: I will if I possibly can.

MR. VILLIERS STUART asked the Postmaster General, Whether the mails between Dublin and Cork will be accelerated by means of special fast trains leaving Dublin daily at 8 a.m. and Cork at 1.45 p.m.; whether, in order to give Waterford the benefit of this acceleration, he will cause the mails for Waterford to be dropped at Maryborough, and conveyed thence by the Waterford and Central Ireland Railway to that city, arriving at 11.30 a.m.; and, whether he will arrange that the up mails shall be sent forward through Maryborough by the up train leaving Waterford at 2.30 p.m., and reaching Maryborough at 4.30 p.m., and Dublin at 6 p.m., thus enabling merchants there to answer their morning letters, on the day of receipt, by return mail?

MR. HARRINGTON: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would be able to inform the House also whether he can comply with the request in reference to Kerry?

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Postmaster General, If he has considered the proposals of the Waterford and Central Ireland Railway, with a view to accelerating the mail service between Waterford and Dublin, in connection with the acceleration of the service between Cork and Dublin; and, if he can give any assurance that this important reform will be shortly carried out?

MR. FAWCETT: I may state that various proposals have lately been laid before the Department with the object of accelerating the day mails to Waterford along with the acceleration of the day mail to Cork, which, as I have already stated, I hope will come into operation on the 1st October next. Whether it would be better to adopt the route suggested by my hon. Friend or maintain the route through Kildare and Carlow will require careful consideration. Many complicated circumstances are involved. I should not like to give a positive answer without more consideration, because there are many questions of the towns on the route to be considered. The offer referred to by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) from the Central Railway Company has been received two days ago, and is now being considered. With regard to acceleration to Tralee, I hope some acceleration will be possible; but I cannot give an undertaking at the present moment.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN MONMOUTHSHIRE.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether application was made to the Education Department on behalf of the Catholics of Risca and Pontymister in Monmouth, for a grant in aid of the school at Pontymister, in charge of the Catholic pastor of the district; and, whether the application was complied with; and, if not, whether he will state the reasons?

MR. MUNDELLA: An application was made such as that described. The School Board objected, on the ground that the school accommodation was already provided, and the Department found itself unable to overrule the opinion of the Board; but a communication has been addressed to them for further information on the subject.

FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—ENNISCRONE PIER, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, about 1880, a breakwater was built by the Board of Works at Enniscrone, County Sligo, at a cost of over £2,000, three-fourths of the whole amount being supplied out of public funds, and the balance contributed from local and other sources; whether the breakwater was so designed and so constructed that, a few days after it had been transferred to the county authority, a large portion of the slip was torn away by the sea, and the harbour became so obstructed that boats could not get into it, and it proved to be quite useless; whether the Commission appointed under the Sea Fisheries Act of last Session held a public investigation at Enniscrone, and recommended a free grant of £6,000 for the construction of a pier at that place; whether the whole of the expensive structure of 1880, consisting of cut stone brought from a

distance, and costing above £2,000, will now be merely used as part of the filling-in of the body of the new pier; whether the local opinion is that the new pier, as designed by the engineer of the Board of Works, is not suitable, and will not give the requisite shelter; whether the members of the Piers and Harbours Commission approve of the design in question, or have suggested any alterations in it; and, whether an independent engineer of eminence will be consulted now, and due care taken that the pier shall be so designed and constructed as not to result in a further useless expenditure of the public funds?

MR. COURTNEY: This work was not injured as described, the fact being that slight damage to the amount of only £50 was done to it by the great storm last winter, 15 months after its transfer. Under the present scheme, the cut-stone formerly used will be available for new work, and the bulk of the breakwater will form part of the new pier; there will, therefore, be no waste of public money. No expression of local opinion on the new plan has reached the Government. The design was made by the Board of Works to meet the requirements of the Fishery Piers Commission; and if these two Bodies are agreed, there seems nothing to justify the expense of taking further opinion.

MR. SEXTON asked, whether the Piers and Harbours Commissioners disapproved of the work?

MR. COURTNEY: If they had disapproved, they would communicate with us.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 —COLONEL DIGBY, J.P.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will advise the Law Officers of the Crown to avail themselves of any further means still open to them to obtain the decision of a Court on the conduct of Colonel Digby; and, whether, considering the character of the evidence now in the hands of the Crown in this case, he will bring the conduct of Colonel Digby before the Lord Chancellor, and also the part taken by the local justices?

MR. TREVELYAN: The two legally constituted tribunals, having decided that there is against Colonel Digby no evidence of guilty intent, I am advised that there are no other constitutional means of further investigating the matter; and I see no ground upon which I could lay the case before the Lord Chancellor.

MR. HARRINGTON: Is it not a fact that there are still two cases pending against Colonel Digby—one of an attempt to defraud the Land Commissioners, and another in which a successful attempt was made to defraud them; and are not these cases going to be investigated?

MR. HEALY: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Government did not dismiss Mr. John Byrne from the office of Collector General of Rates in Dublin, a position worth £1,000 a-year; and what ground he has now for refusing to lay the case of a similar offender before the Lord Chancellor?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked if one of the magistrates who investigated this case was not a general officer who had served his country for many years, and whether the other was not 40 years on the bench?

MR. HARRINGTON: I would ask whether one of these gentlemen did not attend the local bench for two years until he came to do a job for a brother magistrate?

[No replies.]

IRELAND—CORK CITY POLICE FORCE.

MR. PARNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has received and considered the Report of the Law and Finance Committee of the Cork Corporation, made as a consequence of an interview between that Committee of the Corporation and Captain Plunkett, S.R.M., County Inspector Carr, and Sub-Inspector Starkie, in which an opinion is expressed that a force of one hundred and seventy constables is sufficient for the performance of the ordinary police duties of the city, and that the citizens are entitled to that number as a free force; and, whether he has yet decided upon the course which he will take in reply?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Irish Government has received the Report referred to, in which an opinion is expressed that the free force for Cork City should be 170 men. The case of Cork was carefully considered by the Lord

Lieutenant in 1882, when the last quinquennial redistribution of the force was made, and no addition to Cork City was found possible. By population, Cork is entitled to a free force of 150 men. Redistribution can only take place every five years. Therefore, there is no legal power to increase the free force. The present free force is 150, and the extra force from the Reserve is 39 men, nine having been added in April, 1883, to the 30 extra men then in the City. It is not proposed to charge for nine of these who are on detective duty. The Government is considering whether this force of 30 cannot be reduced by 10, which would bring the force to the number considered necessary by the Committee; but as, for the reasons stated, the free force cannot be extended from 150 to 170, it will be necessary that the City of Cork should pay the moiety of the expense of these 20 men.

MR. PARNELL asked whether the period of revision was fixed by Act of Parliament, or by a rule of the Irish Executive?

MR. TREVELYAN: My belief is that the Act of Parliament states that the Lord Lieutenant shall have a fixed period of revision, and he has fixed it at five years. That is only my belief.

IRELAND—SCIENCE AND ART MUSEUM, DUBLIN.

MR. GRAY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he can state approximately the compound interest at three per cent. on the sum now proposed to be granted for the erection of a Science and Art Museum in Dublin, calculated from the date of the original payments by the Treasury of similar grants for England and Scotland respectively; and by how much, in each case in this calculation, the accumulated interest thus realised by the Treasury in consequence of the delay in the erection of the Museum in Dublin falls short of or exceeds the excess of the estimate for its erection, according to the present selected plan, and the limit fixed by the Treasury?

MR. COURTNEY: I do not find it possible to make this comparison—first, because the Museums in London and Edinburgh are not yet finished; next, because a Museum in Dublin has been maintained for some years. But the best answer I can make to the hon. Gentleman's Question is to say that it is not yet three years since it was determined to build a new Museum in Dublin on a chosen site at the cost of £100,000; and if it could be admitted that there has been a delay of two years from causes for which the Treasury is not responsible, the accumulated compound interest would form but a small proportion of the excess referred to by the hon. Member.

MR. GRAY: Has it not been decided for 10 years to spend £100,000 on a Museum in Dublin, whether as a new building or an addition to the old; and what would the interest on the difference come to in those three years?

MR. COURTNEY: The 10 years is not within my experience.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) ACT—BONA FIDE TRAVELLERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that on Sunday week a party of bicyclists from Kilmallock, on arriving at Rathkeale (twenty-two miles off) about 5.30 p.m. were refused refreshment at the hotel by order of Captain Hatchell, R.M.; whether police were stationed to see that the order was carried out, on the ground that a meeting to be held earlier in the day had been proclaimed; whether the tourists then waited on Captain Hatchell, and begged of him to be allowed food and drink, as they had not come to attend any meeting; whether he at first refused, but, after being informed that they would report him, he detailed two policemen to allow them to get what they wanted; and, whether this stipendiary has any instructions to override the bonâ fide traveller clause of the Sunday Closing Act; and, if not, what notice will be taken of his conduct?

MR. TREVELYAN: With regard to the order made as to the public-houses, the facts are that there was some excitement in the town in consequence of the prohibition of a National League meeting proposed to be held there on that day, and informations were sworn that disturbance was apprehended. Under these circumstances, the magistrates thought it right to exercise the powers as to closing public-houses given to them by Section 21 of the Act 3 & 4 *Will.* IV., c. 68; and they caused copies

of their notice to be served upon the proprietors of licensed houses. I am advised that such an order for absolute closing, in the interest of the preservation of the peace, would, undoubtedly, override the provisions of the Sunday Closing Act as to partial opening for the supply of *bonâ fide* travellers. At the same time, I have already pointed out that when satisfied that a genuine case existed, the magistrates relaxed their order in the case of these tourists.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — APPOINTMENT OF JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many persons the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has appointed since the beginning of the year to act in the commission of the peace; what are their aggregate religious denominations; how many of them were appointed on the recommendation of lieutenants of counties, how many to act in counties without such recommendation, and how many to act in boroughs or cities; how many of those appointed on the recommendation of lieutenants of counties were so recommended, in pursuance of any public or representative expression of opinion by the corporations, boards, or inhabitants of any county or district, or otherwise; and how many by virtue of private representations, without reference to public opinion; how many of those appointed by the Lord Chancellor, without the recommendation of lieutenants of counties, were so appointed in pursuance of public recommendations; and how many in pursuance of recommendations of a private and personal nature; and, whether, in case of a public recommendation, the lieutenant of a county, or the Chancellor, explains, on being applied to, the cause of a refusal to appoint?

MR. GIBSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many Irish county magistrates has the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland appointed since his accession to office; how many of such magistrates were appointed by the Lord Chancellor without the recommendation of lieutenants of counties; and, does the Lord Chancellor of Ireland sanction the statement that such last-mentioned appointments amount to the number of two hundred?

MR. TREVELYAN: The expression I used—that a great number of magistrates were appointed over the head of the Lord Lieutenants of the counties is inaccurate, and it does not represent the facts of the case. The policy which the Lord Chancellor has adopted is vigorously and strenuously to encourage the appointment of proper persons to the Commission of the Peace; and in this policy, which he has carried out in a manner for which I must say I think he deserves great credit, he has very generally received active assistance from the lieutenants of counties. Since the beginning of the year he has appointed 208 county magistrates. Of these, as far as their religious persuasion is known, 99 are Roman Catholics, 64 Episcopalian Protestants, two Wesleyans, and one of the Jewish persuasion. Of these the Lord Chancellor has been memorialized with regard to about 50 gentlemen. In only four cases has the Lord Chancellor found it necessary to appoint gentlemen without the concurrence of the lieutenants of counties, who have in most cases shown themselves forward in meeting his wishes to have all religious denominations represented on the Bench. In no case does the Chancellor state his reason for not naming gentlemen unless they are disqualified by some existing rule. Since the beginning of the year, 17 gentlemen have been placed on the Commission of the Peace in boroughs, of whom nine are Roman Catholics.

MR. SEXTON said, that on the Vote for the Chief Secretary's salary he would endeavour to ascertain three facts—first, how many persons were publicly recommended for the magistracy; how many of these were appointed by the Lord Chancellor with the assent of the Lord Lieutenants of the county; and how many were appointed without their assent?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he had already stated that only in four cases were appointments made without the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenants of the county.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Has any complaint been made as to the unfitness of some of those appointed?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have no doubt that the Lord Chancellor, in making his inquiries as to whom he would ultimately appoint, in some cases received unfavourable opinions; but I have heard of no

complaint otherwise than in the shape of Questions addressed to me in this House.

MR. O'BRIEN: Of all these appointment, was there a single one of them the appointment of a Nationalist?

[No reply.]

LANDED ESTATES COURT (ORDERS).

MR. JOHN REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can account for the great delay which exists in the branch of the Landed Estates Court, presided over by Judge Ormsby, in the issue of Orders pronounced by the Judge; is it a fact that, notwithstanding daily applications, Orders have remained unissued after being made by the Judge, for months, causing serious prejudice to suitors and practitioners; and, will he have inquiries made on the subject with a view to ascertain who is to blame and to provide a remedy?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Registrar of the Landed Estates Court informs me that there is no reason whatever for delay in the issue of orders, and that if any suitor considers that he has cause for complaint he should bring his case before the Judge, by whom it will be at once investigated, and steps will be taken to prevent the recurrence of any such cause of complaint in future.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—CHOLERA HOSPITALS.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, in the event of the cholera travelling considerably nearer to us, the Local Government Board will take steps to have at least one portable or easily erected hospital ready; and, if, in the case of a violent outbreak of small pox in Athenry, about seven years ago, some delay was experienced in the erection of such a hospital?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am advised that the duty of providing hospitals is placed by law on the Boards of Guardians and Sanitary Authorities; and the Local Government Board has no power to take upon itself the duties devolving upon the Local Authorities, or to undertake to provide portable hospitals.

EGYPT—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD—TERM OF SERVICE AND SALARY.

MR. HEALY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with reference to certain charges brought by Takla Bey, in the *Journal des Debats* of the 9th instant, can he give the date of Mr. Lloyd's arrival in Alexandria, the date of his departure, and the amount of his salary on his appointment, and at his retirement on leave of absence?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Mr. Clifford Lloyd arrived at Cairo on the 14th September, 1883, and left Egypt on the 28th May, 1884. His salary on arrival was at the rate of £2,000 a-year as Inspector General of Reforms. From the beginning of January, 1884, his payment was at the rate of £2,500 a-year, as he filled the additional Office of Under Secretary in the Home Office.

BURGH POLICE AND HEALTH (SCOTLAND) BILL—BURGHS OF BARONY.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether Burgh of Barony Baillies and Councillors elected by a Feudal Hereditary Provost are recognised by the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill, inasmuch as hereditary feudal powers were abolished by Act of Parliament in 1747; and, whether Burghs of Barony are comprehended under the title of "Burghs not being Royal and Parliamentary," as defined in Clause 37 of the Bill?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The provisions of the Burgh Police and Health Bill are made applicable to all burghs, including burghs of barony. I think burghs of barony are only once specially mentioned—that is, in the Interpretation Clause—where they are included in the definition of burgh. They form a numerous class of burghs, including some of the largest towns, and in some few instances the constitution of the Governing Municipal Body is not representative. In all such cases provision is made in the Bill for making the constitution of the Governing Body representative if the inhabitants desire it.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—THE CREW OF THE "NISERO."

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

If he can now state what progress has been made in the negotiations of Her Majesty's Government with that of the Dutch for the purpose of promoting active operations on the part either of one or both Governments in obtaining the release of the captive crew of the *Nisero?*

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have received a despatch to-day from Her Majesty's Minister at The Hague, conveying the assent of the Netherlands Government to the proposals made by Her Majesty's Government to secure the release of the crew. The proposals are as follow:—That the Rajah should be told that unless the captives be restored on a given day, Great Britain and the Netherlands would hold him and his people responsible, and proceed jointly to punish them; but that, in the event of his complying with their demand, it should be intimated to him that his ports would be re-opened to trade. He will also receive a money payment. Steps are being taken to carry out this arrangement with the utmost promptitude. Papers will be laid on the Table of the House.

MR. GOURLEY: There are two Questions I should like to ask upon that. One is with regard to the payment to be made to the Rajah, and the other is as to the amount which the Government would agree to award to the wives, widows, and families of the captive crew?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot make any further statement with regard to details as to what sum may be paid under certain circumstances to the Rajah. That is a matter which really lies more with the Dutch Government. In regard to the other Question of the hon. Member, I have been in communication with the Treasury; but I cannot state what the decision of the Treasury is.

MR. BROGDEN asked what time would be given to the Rajah before steps were taken to secure the release of the captives?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The reply of the Dutch Government was only received to-day; but steps are being taken, and probably by this time have been already taken, to adopt measures on the spot with a view to the plan agreed on between the Netherlands Government and Her Majesty's Government being put in practice at once. A great deal must naturally be left to the Local Authorities, and I hope in a few days to be able to make a further communication to the House as to the particular steps taken.

SIR JOHN HAY asked why these steps, obviously so necessary, had not been taken sooner—before four of these unfortunate men had died?

MR. STOREY: Before the noble Lord answers that Question, I should like to ask him another. He states that one of the objects the Government had in view is to declare to the Rajah that his ports will be kept open. Do I understand that the British Government intend to give any guarantee to the Rajah that the ports will be kept open after they are opened?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not think it would be advisable for me to enter into any statement of what steps will be taken in future eventualities. I have communicated to the House all it is in my power to communicate now—namely, the proposal made by Her Majesty's Government to the Dutch Government, and the reply that has been received thereto. In regard to the Question of the right hon. and gallant Baronet opposite, I do not think that I could answer that without raising a debate. The question was discussed the other day on the Motion for the Adjournment of the House by the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Storey).

MR. STOREY: I do not think that the noble Lord apprehended the point of my inquiry. I asked him whether the British Government intends to give any guarantee to the Rajah that the ports shall be kept open, and for this reason—that, if I gather aright, the present proposals are exactly the same as those made by Mr. Maxwell in March, and rejected by the Rajah, because he would not take the word of the Dutch Government unless the English Government also gave a promise. I therefore wish to know whether it is proposed to offer to the Rajah the promise of the Dutch Government already rejected by him, or the promise of the English Government, which he desires?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I think that it would not be desirable, in the interest of the success of these delicate negotiations, that I should at this moment enter into statements in

regard to the details of the agreement between Her Majesty's Government and the Netherlands Government. These negotiations have been proceeding during the last few days, and the answer from the Dutch Government was only received by telegraph yesterday, and the despatch itself only a few hours ago. I do not in the least object to my hon. Friend asking this Question, which is very important, and which raises a point that will have to be borne in mind; but in the interest of the negotiations and of the captive crew I cannot undertake to answer the Question now.

MR. STOREY: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask what are the exact offers made to the Rajah; and whether the noble Lord will explain, if he can, the difference in the proposals made now and the late proposals?

MR. BOURKE: The Papers will be presented to-morrow?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes.

MR. BOURKE: Really, then, if the hon. Gentleman postpones his Question until the Papers are presented, I think it will be a good thing.

EGYPT (ARMY OF OCCUPATION).

MR. CHAPLIN asked the Secretary of State for War, It he can state to the House the total number of Her Majesty's troops now serving in Egypt; whether Her Majesty's Government have recently had under their consideration the making of any addition to those forces; and, whether Government have any intention, having regard to the increasingly grave position of affairs in that country, of sending any reinforcements to Egypt? He wished to supplement the Question by two other points, of which he had given private Notice. In the first place, he wished to know whether it was true that Her Majesty's Government had received any communication on the subject of the forces from the military authorities at Cairo; and, secondly, whether the Government had come to any decision as to the sending of an expedition to the Soudan in the autumn for the relief of General Gordon; and, if so, had they made, or were they making, preparations for that purpose?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The answer I have to give to the Question of which the hon. Gentleman gave Notice will include the first supplementary Question he has put to me. As to the second supplementary Question, I do not think it possible for me to add anything to the answer I gave in reply to the Question put to me the other day by the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett). In reply to the Question on the Paper, I have to say that I do not think it would be desirable to publish the exact number of the Forces now in Egypt. I may, however, state that at present there are in Egypt one regiment of Cavalry, one of Horse and one of Field Artillery, three garrison batteries of Artillery, two companies of Engineers, eight and a-half battalions of Infantry, and the necessary proportion of the administrative corps. With reference to the remainder of the hon. Gentleman's Question, and also to the Questions which stand in the names of the noble Lord the Member for West Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil) and the hon. Baronet the Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell), I have to say that Sir Frederick Stephenson has asked for a reinforcement of one battalion; but he makes the demand more as a matter of precaution than of actual urgency. The Government, having given full consideration to the matter, have decided to send a battalion of Infantry, now at Malta, on to Egypt. Another battalion in the Mediterranean will also be held in readiness to proceed immediately if its services should be required. With regard to a Supplementary Estimate or Vote of Credit, I stated the other day, in reply to the right hon. and gallant Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay), that I am obtaining information as the extraordinary expenditure which has been or is likely to be incurred in Egypt; and when I have obtained it I will, in consultation with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, consider whether a Supplementary Estimate will be required.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: I shall repeat the Question in a week's time.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Will the whole expenditure of these troops be borne by this country or by Egypt?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: So far as I am aware, the arrangement formerly concluded with the Egyptian Government will hold good, by which a capitation grant is given.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Does the right hon. Gentleman intend

to move a Supplementary Estimate in the present Session?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Some extraordinary expenditure has been incurred, and some more will have to be incurred, and as soon as I ascertain what the amount is likely to be, I will communicate with my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and see whether it will be necessary to present a Supplementary Estimate in the present Session.

MR. GOURLEY: What measures does the right hon. Gentleman intend to take in consequence of the mutiny of the Turkish troops at Assiout?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not see how that Question arises out of the one before the House. I am not responsible for the Egyptian Army; and such a Question should be addressed to the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or Notice of it should be given.

LAW AND JUSTICE—SENTENCE ON FRANK STOCKMELL, AN INFANT.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a case reported in *The Reading Observer* of the 5th instant, in which it is stated that Frank Stockmell, a child seven years of age, was tried before Baron Pollock,

"Charged with feloniously and maliciously setting fire to a certain stack of hay, the property of the Rev. T. H. Michell, at Shalbourne,"

and that the child was sentenced by the Judge to one month's imprisonment with hard labour, and ordered to be whipped twice during that period, six strokes on each occasion; and, if he can state whether the Report referred to is correct; and, if it is, whether he can and will interfere to mitigate the sentence, and to prevent the repetition of such severe sentences in the case of children of tender years?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; as soon as my attention was called to the question I wrote to the authorities, and upon the receipt of their reply the child was directed to be discharged.

INDIA—THE SALT TAX.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the fact that the poorest classes of the Native populations, in many of the up-country districts of India, complain that the reduction of the salt tax has been made an excuse by officials of the Salt Preventive Department to force people to give up the use of "spontaneous" salt, which rises to the surface in various places up-country; and, whether it is the fact that large numbers of Natives, too poor to pay for the taxed salt, are thereby compelled to give up the use of salt altogether, or to render forced labour, in order to procure Government salt manufactured on the coast?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I have already explained more than once that the use of untaxed salt in India is now, as it has been for many years, illegal. I hardly understand the second clause of the hon. Member's Question. Forced labour, in the sense of the *corvée*, does not exist in India.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENTS TO SURVEYORS' CLERKSHIPS.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Postmaster General, With reference to a Post Office circular, printed for general circulation throughout the service, which contained on July 1st an announcement of a vacancy in the following words:—

"Surveyor's clerkship for service in Ireland, salary £150, rising by £15 to £300, then by £20 to £350, with an allowance of 15*s.* a-day when absent from head quarters. Except in the case of those who have been temporarily employed as surveyor's clerks, the selection will be confined to candidates of not more than five years' service;"

and, if he would explain why officers of longer experience should thus be excluded from the candidature?

MR. FAWCETT: The question of the method of appointing surveyors' clerks has been for some time under the careful consideration of the Department; and I believe I shall soon be in a position to come to a decision on the subject. This being the case, I intend to defer making the appointment referred to by the hon. Member until the new regulations are settled, and they will apply to it.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—WATERWORKS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

MR. W. M. TORRENS asked the Secretary of State for the Home Depart-

ment, Whether the Government will afford facilities for the passing this Session of the Waterworks Act (1847) Amendment Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member knows very well the difficulties we are in; and, great as is the importance of this Bill, how much we can do I cannot say.

ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—THE MONCRIEFF GUN.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, considering the importance of the Moncrieff or disappearing system of gun-mounting, the Government propose to further avail themselves of its use, particularly with regard to hydropneumatic gun carriages for harbour defence; and, if so, when and for what class of guns?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: A hydropneumatic gun carriage for permanent works is under trial. The results as yet are not satisfactory, and no decision, therefore, as to the adoption of the system has been arrived at.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Have not the authorities refused the use of a gun carriage?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am not aware of that fact. The statement I have received is that it is now under trial.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS)—POLLUTION OF THE RIVER LEA.

MR. PICTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in consequence of the Report of Mr. Arnold Taylor, dated March 15th, 1884, on a complaint made by the Lea Conservancy Board, any action has been taken to compel an abatement of the nuisances condemned in that Report; whether he is aware that, during the recent hot whether, the inhabitants along the banks of the Lea have suffered great annoyance, and have been seriously alarmed by the dangers to health arising from the unsanitary condition of the river; and, whether he will insist on an immediate discontinuance of the pollution of the Lea by admittedly defective sewage works?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Under the Act of 1866 I was called upon to certify whether the water of the Lea was in such a state that the sewage should not be permitted to flow into it. In the month of March I appointed Mr. Arnold Taylor to consider the matter, and I gave my decision on his Report. I gave my decision that the water of the Lea was not in a satisfactory condition. By my so doing the Lea Conservancy Board were placed in the possession of the power to deal with this matter. All I could do was to enable the Board to act; but I have urged upon the Local Board also to inquire into it, and decide what they intend to do.

LAW AND POLICE—THE CLEATOR MOOR RIOTS.

MR. SYNAN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Catholic clergyman of Cleator Moor informed the magistrates some days before the 12th July that a large body of Orangemen were to assemble there on the 12th, armed, and whether he sent a similar communication to the Home Office; whether the large assembly of Orangemen, armed with swords, spears, and revolvers, on the 12th July at Cleator Moor, was a lawful assembly; whether the magistrates ought to have acted on the information they received, or called upon the informant to make sworn informations; whether the magistrates ought to have provided a sufficient force of police and military to deal with said assembly, and disperse it, if necessary; and, whether forty-nine policemen was a sufficient force for that purpose?

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What force, civil and military, could have been made readily available by the magistrates at Cleator Moor on Saturday last for the preservation of the public peace and the protection of life; whether the magistrates and the local police had been aware, for weeks, that a considerable Orange meeting would be held, on the 12th instant, at Cleator Moor, in the midst of an extensive Irish and Catholic population, and whether he will take official notice of the fact that the total force provided in view of such an occasion consisted of only forty-five policemen; and, whether it is understood that the coroner's inquest into the cause of the death of Henry Tamelty will include an examination of the conduct of all persons who used weapons unlawfully on the occasion, and of the statement that a member of the police force in-

cited persons to fire upon the people; and, if not, whether he will cause the institution of a public inquiry on oath as to the questions specified?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: With great respect to my hon. Friend, I must decline, in so grave a matter as this, which must become a matter of judicial inquiry, to give any opinion on the legal bearings of the case. I have not the facts before me, nor have I authority to declare the law on the matter. I am asked, with reference to the magistrates, whether they should have done anything different from what they did? I have not received a full Report, and therefore I cannot pronounce any opinion on their conduct; but on the facts as they are, and as they appear to me, I do not see anything whatever to blame in the conduct of the magistrates. They provided a force adequate to separate the two mobs. One of the parties came with arms; but it is clear that a mob four times more numerous than the Orange party attacked them.

MR. SYNAN: One party came with arms.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is true; but the mere fact of men having arms is not in itself a ground for a violent attack. The carrying of arms in this country is not unlawful; and because I am walking along a road carrying a gun under my arm and not using it, that does not justify another man in unlawfully stoning me. I wish, as strongly as anyone, to condemn and deprecate the carrying of arms on these occasions. I have received a letter from the Chief Constable, stating that he is endeavouring to collect all evidence necessary to proceed against the criminals, and to identify all persons implicated in the attack. The letter also contains an absolute contradiction of the statement made that the police had recommended firing.

MR. SEXTON: With the view of clearing up one important point, I beg to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman does he bear in mind the statement of the Chief Constable that the first collision was provoked by one of the armed faction thrusting his flag pole into the face of a Catholic?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The possession of the flag pole would not constitute an armed faction. I have not yet got the full Report. This is a very grave matter. A man has been murdered. The transaction must necessarily become the subject of a judicial inquiry; and I am sure hon. Members will feel that in a matter of this kind I ought not to be pressed too much for particulars.

MR. HEALY: The right hon. and learned Gentleman has stated that a man going armed does not entitle another man to attack him. I would ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether he is aware that it was not until Tamelty was killed that the unarmed people attacked the armed body?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: All the facts are in the Report.

MR. SYNAN: What is there to prevent the right hon. and learned Gentleman saying whether or not this was a lawful assembly? On Tuesday last the Home Secretary defended—

["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is debating the question.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I should like to answer the Question, because it is important. There is no authority which can answer the Question except a Court of Law. I have pointed out the extreme inconvenience that occurs from an opinion upon that subject given by successive Law Officers, and acted upon by successive Secretaries of State for 20 years, having been proved by a decision of a Court of Law to be incorrect. Certainly, after that experience I am not going to lay down the law.

MR. O'DONNELL: Can the Home Secretary state whether the magistrates were warned that a large body of armed men of the Orange Association intended to demonstrate in the centre of a Catholic population; and, were they warned of the consequence and took no precaution? And will the right hon. and learned Gentleman take this opportunity also of clearing away a misapprehension, as I trust it is, arising from one of his last answers? He now asserts that the conduct of the Catholic body, being more numerous, was worse than the conduct of the Orangemen. Will he state he had no intention of prejudicing the matter, nor of encouraging further bands of Orangemen to invade Catholic districts with the result of assassination?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think the House will agree that is not a Question which I ought to answer. I

have endeavoured, as far as possible, to avoid awarding the blame between one party and the other. ["No, no!"] I have endeavoured to do so.

INDIA—THE SALT TAX—SALT AS A REMEDY FOR CHOLERA.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been lately called to an article published in *The Madras Medical Journal*, in July 1870, entitled "Salt as a Preventive of Cholera," and describing various instances in which an extra supply of salt had preserved certain villages, settlements, or barracks in India from choleraic attack during the successive recurrences of the disease; and, whether the statements contained in that article do not seem to the Government a reason for taking steps for the still further reduction of the Salt Tax?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I have not been able to procure the number of *The Madras Medical Journal* for July, 1870, to which the hon. Member calls my attention. In reply to his Question, I can only repeat what I stated to the House on the 7th, that there is no reason to believe that want of salt has any connection with cholera in India, and that in the present state of the finances there is no immediate probability of a further reduction of the Salt Tax.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—REMOVAL OF PAUPERS—LISMORE BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY (for Mr. LEAMY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that a woman named Hackett, a native of Tallow, county Waterford, which place she left, over thirty years ago, for England, and who resided in Jersey for the last twelve years, was recently obliged to go into the Hospital at St. Heliers; if the General Hospital Committee of St. Heliers ordered her removal to Ireland, and caused her to be transported to Lismore Workhouse; if the Irish Local Government Board hold that there is no provision in the Poor Removal Acts for the removal of a pauper from Jersey to Ireland; and, if the Local Government Board is correct in its opinion, has the Lismore Board of Guardians or Mrs. Hackett any means of obtaining redress for the action of the St. Heliers Hospital Committee?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is, I understand, a fact that a woman has recently been removed from Jersey to Lismore. The Local Government Board for Ireland are not aware of any enactment permitting such a removal; and they have suggested to the Lismore Board of Guardians that they should communicate with the Hospital Committee of St. Heliers, and request them to state under what legal authority they acted on the occasion referred to.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the Jersey Guardians had been in the habit of sending people to England and Ireland for the past 40 years?

[No reply.]

EGYPT—ABYSSINIA AND THE SOUDAN.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any truth in the report published in *The Daily News* that 40,000 Abyssinians are now on their way to relieve Kassala; whether, in that case, their operations are to be limited to the relief of Kassala; and, whether their movements can be so far controlled as to prevent their ravaging and laying waste the country inhabited by the Shorkerizeh or other Soudan tribes, who, during the last twelve months, have remained loyal to the Egyptian Government?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: King John of Abyssinia informed Admiral Hewett that he should not allow Kassala to be held by the Arabs, so that on the retirement of the Egyptian garrison from that place it may be expected that King John will occupy it; but we have no positive information as to the number and disposition of his troops. We believe that the King also contemplates occupying Amedib, which is on the road from Kassala to Senbit. Her Majesty's Government have, from their recent communications with King John, no reason to suppose he intends adopting the course contemplated in the latter part of the hon. Member's Question.

MR. M'COAN asked whether the occupation of Kassala formed any part of the agreement between the English Government and that of the Khedive?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I should prefer the hon. Member seeing

the Papers which I have undertaken to lay upon the Table of the House on Tuesday next.

THAMES CROSSINGS—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. ARTHUR COHEN asked the honourable Baronet the Member for Glamorganshire, Whether the Select Committee on the Metropolitan Board of Works (Thames Crossings) Bill, after finding the allegations in the Preamble of the Tower Bridge Bill, and of so much of the Metropolitan Board of Works Bill as related to a subway, not proved, and before reporting in favour of a low level swing bridge, gave any and what opportunity to the owners of sufferance wharves and legal quays an opportunity of stating their objections, and adducing evidence against a scheme so deeply affecting their interests, and of proving that the requirements of traffic would be sufficiently provided for by a tunnel, and that thereby serious loss to the trade of the port of London would be avoided?

SIR HUSSEY VIVIAN: The Select Committee on Thames Crossings sat for 22 days, during which a vast amount of evidence was given as to the schemes which were then and had been previously proposed for crossing the Thames below London Bridge, and their bearing on all the interests concerned. Among others interested in the trade and shipping below London Bridge, the owners of legal quays and warehouses, and traders of the Port of London, appeared by counsel and cross-examined the witnesses who were called in support of the Bills. The rejection of both Bills on the termination of the promoter's case rendered it unnecessary that the counsel for the wharfingers should state their case, and call evidence in support of their contention. In reporting their decision to the House, the Committee deemed it advisable, in view of the public importance of the question, to make a special Report, and to embody in it the opinions they had unanimously formed as to how the wants of the public below London Bridge could be best served, based on the mass of evidence they had received. If the views expressed by the Committee should be acted on, either by the Corporation of the City of London or of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Parliamentary sanction must be obtained before any scheme can be carried into effect; and the wharfingers and all others who may consider their interests injuriously affected will have ample opportunity of appearing before the Committees of both Houses and defending those interests.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF FRENCH, LATE DETECTIVE DIRECTOR OF POLICE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what date ex-Detective Director French became sufficiently sane to justify his arrest; did the Government obtain a certificate of his condition before arresting him; and, have Doctors Eames, Curtis, and Gordon, who in April last made the following Report as to French, been since consulted as to his condition:—

"We are of opinion that he is suffering from mental disease, softening of the brain, and great nervous debility, with impaired bodily health; and, with this infirmity of mind and body, he is incapable of discharging the duties of his situation, and such infirmity is likely to be permanent;"

if not, has anything arisen to shake the confidence of the Government in their Reports?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am advised that Mr. French's arrest did not depend on any question of sanity, and that no fresh certificate was necessary or was obtained. The certificate given in April last was given solely in connection with the question whether or not Mr. French was fit for further service in the Constabulary Force; and it had no reference to any question whether or not proceedings should be taken against him.

MR. HEALY: As one of the main documents was this certificate, upon which a Court of Law acted, and upon which the authorities acted, which was signed by three doctors, one of them a Government doctor, whose name I will not mention, and they have made a Report that this man whom the Government have now indicted was—

"Suffering from mental disease, softening of the brain, and great nervous debility, with impaired bodily health; and with this infirmity of mind and body he is incapable of discharging the duties of his situation, and such infirmity is likely to be permanent,"

I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, after the slur thrown upon this doctor by the impugning of his Report,

he is to be retained in the service of the Crown?

MR. TREVELYAN: I did not impugn the Report of the doctor. I said the medical certificate was the document upon which it was decided Mr. French was unfit for further service.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY: Is alleged insanity any debarment to arrest?

MR. TREVELYAN: No bar whatever.

MR. HARRINGTON: Did not the right hon. Gentleman make it a bar to arresting Mr. French sooner?

MR. TREVELYAN: That may have been the case. I have had 70, 80, 90, or 100 Questions, counting extempore ones, addressed to me on this subject; and many of these should only be addressed to a person who holds a legal position. I only do my best to answer hon. Gentlemen; and perhaps I ought to be more cautious sometimes about answering some of the Questions addressed to me.

DIVIDED PARISHES ACT, 1876—REGISTRATION OF VOTERS.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, Whether any instructions have been or will be issued to overseers, in view of the ensuing registration, respecting their duty in the case of county electors whose qualifications may be, under the operation of the Divided Parishes Act, 1876, geographically transferred to a parish other than that in which they have hitherto been registered, or what steps will be necessary to be taken in order to save the franchise of the electors affected by such alterations?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: It has never been the practice of the Board to issue Circulars with regard to the registration of voters; and they do not deem it desirable to make an exception as regards the matter referred to in the Question.

EGYPT—BERBERA—RUMOURED ANNEXATION BY THE RESIDENT AT ADEN.

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true, as reported in the newspapers, that the British authorities at Aden have annexed Berbera, on the opposite coast; whether Berbera has for many years been an Egyptian possession, with an expensive system of water supply from the interior, constructed by the Egyptian Government; and, whether the alleged annexation has been made with the approval of the Egyptian Government or of the Porte?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; no annexation has taken place. Berbera has been for some time occupied by Egypt; but the Sultan's sovereignty over that part of the coast has never been formally recognized by this country. The food supplies for Aden being drawn mainly from Berbera, it became necessary, when the Egyptian troops were about to be withdrawn from the Province of Harrax, as is now intended by the Khedive's Government, that measures should be taken to prevent the supply being interfered with; and the Acting Resident at Aden was directed to enter into arrangements with the local Chiefs to secure that supply, and to guarantee them, in return, against interference from without.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—WESTMINSTER HALL—DR. PEARSON'S REPORT—PROPOSED APPENDIX.

DR. LYONS asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he will cause to be printed, as an Appendix to Mr. Pearson's very able and interesting Report on Westminster Hall, copy of the original indenture, De Fabrica Aula Westmonasterii Reformanda, A.D. 1395, under which the works were to be executed by Richard Washbourn and Johan Swalwe, masons, by the counsel of Master Henry Zeneley, and in which are given many interesting details of the state of the Hall, materials employed, prices paid, &c?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE, in reply, said, he would consider the matter and have a consultation with the Treasury on the subject.

IRELAND—CONTEMPLATED TRANSFER OF CUSTOMS WAREHOUSES.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If it is in contemplation to transfer the Customs Warehouses at the ports of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Newry, and Londonderry, to the Excise Department, and to place these ports for Customs purposes in charge of superintendents; and, if not, what is the cause of the

delay in applying the new warehousing regulations to the Customs establishments at these ports; and, if it is proposed to raise the status of Irish ports, which have been or will be made superintending ports of districts where the additional responsibility and amount of work call for it, as has been done with English ports?

MR. COURTNEY: The introduction of the new warehousing system at these ports has been delayed by the illness of the officer specially appointed to carry out these changes; but, as he has now recovered, the change will be made in due course. The Irish ports will be treated just like those in Great Britain, where there has been no change of status; but the salaries and staff have been proportioned to the work to be done.

PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—EXTRA POLICE, CO. WATERFORD.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, The reason why very heavy extra police taxation has been imposed upon the county Waterford, notwithstanding the extremely peaceable condition of the county?

MR. TREVELYAN: In consequence of the improved state of the county the number of extra police has within the past year been reduced from 106 to 66. There is, however, still a great deal of intimidation practised throughout this county, and much extra and special protection is required. That the county is not in a more disturbed state is believed to be greatly due to the number of police employed and the manner in which they discharge their duties.

MR. O'DONNELL asked what was the number of police which by law were required for the county Waterford?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he had not received Notice of the Question; but believed that about three-quarters of the present number was the usual percentage.

INLAND REVENUE (EXCISE)—COMPULSORY RETIREMENT OF OUT-DOOR OFFICERS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If the Board of Inland Revenue have, within the past twelve months, called upon a number of supervisors, clerks, and officers in the Excise Out-door Service, who were sixty years of age and upwards, to retire on superannuation; and, if so, why were not collectors and all other staff officers, who had likewise attained the age of sixty, also called upon to retire?

MR. COURTNEY: The Board have called upon certain of their officers who were above 65 (not 60) years of age to retire, where the efficiency of the service rendered this necessary; and collectors and other staff officers have been so treated as well as supervisors.

PARLIAMENT—RULES OF PROCEDURE —LEGISLATION.

MR. MONK asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to submit any proposals to the House for amending the Rules of Procedure, with the view of facilitating the progress of Public Business; and, if so, when?

MR. BROADHURST said, that before the Prime Minister answered the Question, he would like to ask whether, in considering the proposals for facilitating the progress of Public Business, the Government would include among them the demand made almost universally for the abolition of the House of Lords?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not think that a grave question relating to the Constitution of the country can very easily be brought within the same category as that which is familiar to us under the name of "procedure." If that question comes forward at all, it must come forward in some other form than as a matter of procedure. In relation to the Question of my hon. Friend behind me, as far as I am concerned—and, I believe, as far as my Colleagues are concerned—we are of opinion, strongly of opinion, that it is a matter of importance and urgency that there should be further reforms in the procedure of this House; but there is no time available for this purpose at present, and I cannot say when there will be time.

MR. HEALY asked whether these reforms would include the abolition of the *clôture*, which had never been used?

MR. GLADSTONE dissented.

EGYPT — THE CONFERENCE — PROROGATION OF THIS HOUSE.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether

it is intended to defer the Prorogation of Parliament until the termination of the sittings of the Conference; and, if so, what course will be adopted if those sittings are prolonged without the Conference arriving at any decision requiring action on the part of Parliament? The hon. Baronet explained that he had put down this Question before he made his remarks on Tuesday with reference to the Conference; and he asked it now in the hope that the Prime Minister might have something to add on the subject. He also desired to supplement his Question by asking whether any date had been fixed by the Plenipotentiaries for the resumption of the labours of the Conference; whether the Plenipotentiaries would then be enabled to give a decision on the objects of the Conference without referring to their respective Governments; and whether there was any reasonable prospect of Parliament being able to discuss the decision of the Conference before the approaching Prorogation.

MR. GLADSTONE: I think I may answer the hon. Gentleman with perfect safety. Though we have no right to pronounce authoritatively as to what time the Conference will take in completing its labours, yet I have seen no occasion whatever, down to the present time, to consider the question in connection with the Prorogation. We do not expect any such question will arise. If it should arise, the House will have the very earliest intimation of it. The exact state of the case as to the progress made is this. The bulk of the labour of the Conference had to be performed by gentlemen to whom that task was delegated—gentlemen conversant and experienced in the matter of finance, and who would be able thoroughly to prepare the whole of that subject for discussion and decision in the Conference. That was done by a Body who have been called informally a Commission appointed by and under the Conference. That Body has completed its labours to-day; and that is, I think I may probably say, as far as we can judge, the bulk of the work that has to be done. The decisions that have to be come to are exclusively matter for the Conference. We have no reason to believe that they are likely to occupy a long time. It is not for Lord Granville to fix authoritatively any day for the meeting of the Conference; but he will give his attention to that subject immediately; and our expectation is that the Conference will meet upon a very early day indeed. With respect to the question of the Plenipotentiaries referring to their own Governments, that is a matter of which we cannot possibly have any official cognizance, inasmuch as it depends entirely on confidential communications between the Governments and the Ambassadors. But I take the possibility of such reference into view when I say we have no reason to anticipate a postponement or any indefinite prorogation of the labours of the Conference.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman aright—that the Commission has completed the preparatory work, so that it is now ready for the Conference to take it up? Is it not, therefore, necessary that the Conference should immediately re-assemble, and with whom does it lie to fix the meeting?

MR. GLADSTONE: These matters are always regulated when the Powers of Europe are assembled. I have no doubt that the initiative lies with Lord Granville, but it is not an authoritative initiative, and he will use it immediately and in general terms. I should say to the right hon. Gentleman that it is necessary that the Conference should re-assemble at once, and I believe they have every intention of doing so. I do not absolutely say to-morrow, as that would be driving the matter rather too hard, but at once when they are prepared to meet.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the right hon. Gentleman whether there was any reasonable prospect of Parliament being able to consider the decision of the Conference before the approaching Prorogation?

MR. GLADSTONE: I took that contingency into view when I said that we had seen no occasion to entertain the question of the exact time at which we shall be able to prorogue. I hope, with reference to what I have said on former occasions, that after the meeting of the Conference there will be an opportunity either for us to make a proposal to the House of Commons or an opportunity will be given for raising the question in the House itself.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I shall ask to-morrow whether a day has

been fixed for the resumption of the Conference?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether, supposing the discussions of the Conference were prolonged, the Prorogation of Parliament would take place before any discussion in that House was held?

MR GLADSTONE: We are under a pledge to this House to give at least an opportunity for such a discussion. Everything I have said about the Conference must be understood without prejudice to that pledge.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN inquired whether, in the event of the Conference not coming to a decision on the financial questions, it would be empowered to deal with the political questions generally relating to Egypt?

MR. GLADSTONE: The Conference has been called for financial purposes only, and not in regard to the general condition of Egypt.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked, with reference to the communications which had been made to the Powers in regard to the Anglo-French Agreement, whether the Powers had sent any reply?

MR GLADSTONE: No, Sir. Provisional replies alone have been given by, I think, most or the whole of the Powers to the effect that they found no occasion to take specific objection to the Agreement; but they appeared to contemplate matters on which they might fairly hold over their judgments till after the close of the Conference.

MR. BOURKE: In these circumstances, the Anglo-French Agreement will not come before the House for discussion?

MR. GLADSTONE: I did not say that. I think our pledge is that the House shall have an opportunity, either by a proposition from us, or, at all events, an opportunity for a discussion which will involve the whole matter.

MR. BOURKE: I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Powers did not think that the Anglo-French Agreement would come under their notice in the Conference.

MR. GLADSTONE: No; certainly.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—THE ZULU VOTE.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can now state on what evening he proposes to take the Zulu Vote in Civil Service Estimates?

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member is aware that we are endeavouring to go through the Estimates in their order. I am not able, therefore, to give a positive answer to this Question. But I hope that by Monday I may be able to give a positive answer; and we should take care to take the Zulu Vote at the commencement of a Sitting. That is the pledge that we have given, and we must adhere to it.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he wished to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question, of which he had given him private Notice, respecting the position of General Gordon. Yesterday he drew attention to certain reports that had appeared in the newspapers, bringing down the news in regard to General Gordon to a later date. He wished to know whether the noble Lord could give the House any information as to the accuracy of those reports?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he thought it was only fair that when a Question, especially of such a large and far-reaching character, was going to be asked, it should be placed upon the Paper. So far as he recollected, the various reports which had appeared in the newspapers, and which had been referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, the Government had no information bearing upon them. It might save some trouble if he stated that if there was any information in regard to General Gordon which was of a sufficiently authentic character to be worth communicating to the House it would be communicated. But he did not think it would be respectful to the House that he should come down from day to day and make statements as to whatever gossip might be current.

MR. J. LOWTHER explained that he had given a Notice generally, because it was no use putting down a Question upon newspaper reports, which might be contradicted next morning. His object was to obtain information from the Government, in order to relieve the intense anxiety which prevailed in respect to General Gordon.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR, on taking the Chair, said, that his hon. Friend the Chairman of Ways and Means (Sir Arthur Otway) had been called away from London, in consequence of the dangerous illness of a member of his family, and had requested him to take the Chair.

CLASS IV. — EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(1.) £315,413, to complete the sum for Public Education, Scotland.

MR. MUNDELLA: I have been requested by several Scotch Members to make a short statement with respect to the Scotch Educational Estimates, to supplement the remarks I made in introducing the English Estimates. Therefore, in moving the Vote, I propose to give a very brief outline in explanation of the Estimates the Committee are asked to vote to-night. The sum now asked for for 1884-5 amounts to £475,413, being a net increase of £9,690, as compared with the sum granted for 1883-4. The Estimate for annual grants for day-school scholars shows an increase of £8,734. This is explained by the addition of 12,658 children to the average number of children in attendance in the schools to which grants are to be made during 1884-5; but the increase in the grant scarcely shows the true difference between the grants of this year and last year, inasmuch as we estimated the rate of the grant last year at 17*s.* 11*d.*, which was higher than the result; and, consequently, the estimate for 1884-5 is 17*s.* 10*d.*, or 1*d.* less than the estimate for 1883-4. I may explain that, when we took the grant last year, we had only seven months of the financial year before us, and we made as near a calculation as we could; and, as the result, it has turned out that, though we overestimated the amount of earnings, the number of scholars was greater than our anticipation, and the total grants came out almost precisely what we estimated. There is an increase of £1,410 in the grants to school boards under Section 67 of the Education Act, 1872. That, as hon. Members know, is the 3*d.* rate, which gives something less than 7*s.* 6*d.* per child. There is a decrease of £1,000 in the grants for building schools; and it is thought the £1,000 now provided for will almost entirely close up the amount of building school grants. The expenditure in 1883-4 was as follows: — The sum granted was £465,723, and the expenditure was £465,092, leaving a surplus of £631. The only variations of any moment between the Estimates and the expenditure for Scotland were in the annual grants. The grants to scholars show a decrease of £1,651; the grants to school boards, under Section 67 of the Education Act, a deficiency of £1,505; and the grants for school buildings a saving of £2,653. The deficiency in the annual grants to day and evening scholars was caused by an under-estimate of the average number of scholars in attendance at schools to which grants were paid. The Estimate was £393,778, and the expenditure was £395,329. We estimated an average attendance of 433,695 scholars, at 17*s.* 11*d.* per head; whereas the results were 438,952, at 17*s.* 9¾*d.* per head. There are a few interesting figures which, I think, Scotch Members will be glad to hear, with respect to the progress of the past year. The schools inspected were 17 more than in the previous year, and the accommodation increased by 15,000 places. The scholars on the register rose from 556,000 to 569,000, showing an increase of 13,000, or 2·14 per cent. The scholars in average attendance rose from 421,000 to 433,000, an increase of 12,000, or 2·9 per cent. The scholars individually examined rose from 320,700 to 330,700, an increase of 10,000, or 3·1 per cent. The percentage of average attendance rose from 75·8 to 76·1, and the percentage of passes in the Standards of examination rose from 88·9 to 89·6, which was a very satisfactory increase indeed. But a few more satisfactory figures follow. The scholars examined in Standard IV. and upwards rose last year from 117,700 to 121,900, an increase of 4,200, or 3·6 per cent. The proportion of scholars individually examined in Standard IV. and upwards rose from 36·69 to 36·86, or, as near as possible, 37 per cent of all the scholars examined. The percentage of passes

now stands at the high rate of 89·6, very nearly 90 per cent, as compared with England and Wales, where the rate is 82·9. The expense of the maintenance of schools per scholar to the end of September was — for public schools in Scotland, £2 2*s.* 1¾*d.*, an increase of 3*s.* 4*d.* per scholar. In voluntary schools the increase rose from £1 16*s.* 2¼*d.* in 1882, to £1 16*s.* 10¼*d.* in 1883, or an increase of 8*d.* per scholar. Voluntary schools are steadily diminishing in number in Scotland, and they are becoming very few under the operation of the school boards. The grants per scholar were 17*s.* 10¼*d.* in the public schools, and 17*s.* 1½*d.* in the voluntary schools. There are two or three figures that are very suggestive, which I think I ought to bring before the Committee. One is, that the percentage of the population in schools in Scotland is something lower than it is in England. In England, there are 15·87 per cent of the population on the register; in Scotland, 14·92, or very nearly 1 per cent less. This is accounted for as follows:—I have been examining the children's attendance in the two countries, and I find that in England and Wales over 39 per cent—you may say, roughly, 40 per cent—of the children on the registers are 7 years of age and under; whereas, in Scotland, only 23 per cent of the children on the registers are below 7 years of age. I think that this difference is, to a considerable extent, owing to the habits of the people in the two countries, to the difference in climate, and very much to the nature of the country, as, consequent upon the scattered districts, children have in many instances to go long distances and over very difficult ground to school, thereby entailing great difficulty as to the regular attendance of infants. Beyond that, I must also point out the fact that infant school teaching has not quite reached the same perfection in Scotland as in England. I have had two Scotch senior Inspectors in England, and I thought it would be a very good thing that they should see all we are doing in England, in order that they might familiarize themselves with the English schools, and compare the results of the two systems. There are, no doubt, some infant schools in Scotland, in the large cities, that are exceedingly well managed and quite equal to the English schools; yet, taking them as a whole, the generality of the English infant schools are much better and higher in their teaching, and much better adapted to their work, than those in Scotland. Indeed, one of these Inspectors said to me that the infant schools in England were quite a revelation to him. We propose that the senior Inspectors of Scotland shall make a prolonged visit of examination to the higher elementary schools in this country, and see what we are doing in the way of technical teaching and manual teaching in some of the best English schools, and of ascertaining if anything can be learnt. I think both countries may learn a good deal from each other. I have said that the children in the English schools are very much younger than they are in the Scotch schools. In the English schools, there are 40 per cent under 7 years of age; whereas, in Scotch schools, the number is only 23 per cent. The proportion of children over 14 years of age of the school population on the registers is only 8 per cent in England and Wales; whereas it is 16 per cent in Scotland. That is a proof of the greater appreciation and more readiness on the part of Scottish parents to make sacrifice to keep their children at school. The total number on the register in Scotland is 569,241, against 4,273,304 in England and Wales. I stated, in introducing the English Estimates, that the total number in the schools in the United Kingdom, including the industrial, reformatory, and the pauper schools, amounts just now to about 5,090,000. There is one other point which will interest the Scotch Members. That is the marvellous progress in the quality of the work that has been done under the Education Act of 1872. There have been at times doubts expressed as to whether Scotland was making progress under the Act of 1872—whether, really, education was as solid and as good as under the old parochial system. I stated, on a former occasion—and I quoted from an address of Principal Caird, of St. Andrew's; but since that time I have had the advantage of hearing from the lips of Sir Alexander Grant and Principal Caird, and from the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh—that increasing numbers of the pupils came from the public schools of Scotland to the Universities every year,

and that every year they came better and better furnished. But this is the best test I think that can be given—that in 1875, when the number in attendance at the schools were somethiug like half of what they are to-day, the percentage of scholars above 10 years presented in the upper Standards IV. to VI. was only 34·83. From that date, although the number of the scholars had been largely increasing, the percentage of scholars in the upper Standards of 10 years of age has been increasing in a larger ratio. It went up, in two years, from 34 to 43 per cent; in 1879, it reached 57 per cent; in 1881, it was 67 per cent; and in 1883 it stands at 72·25 per cent. That is a most satisfactory indication of progress. We have in England and Wales 29 per cent of the scholars in Standard IV. and upwards. In Scotland, the percentage may be roughly stated to be 37, being actually 36·9. There are still some indications in our Returns of defects, both in the average attendance and with regard to scholars, that have escaped much earlier even than the statute permits. I will give one illustration. Out of 56,000 children presented in Standard IV. in 1882, as many as 12,000 disappeared from our schools in 1883. There is some evasion, therefore, of the labour test, and the children undoubtedly went away from the want of the Act which was passed last year; and we believe we remedy this very largely by drawing the line at Standard V. At present, undoubtedly, children do leave school at too low a Standard. From all I hear of the working of the Act which was passed last year, it is very satisfactory; and I believe that a better average attendance and higher attainments are likely to be the result. There are one or two other points to which I should like to advert for a moment. One is the increasing number of male students at the Training Colleges who are attending the University classes. It does not appear that there were nearly so many on the Return of last year; but I know that is so to-day from Dr. Wilson, our senior Inspector, who has been recently examined. All the masters are enjoying advantages from the University classes. I am glad, also, to be able to report that the Scotch Endowed Schools Commission is doing its work very vigorously, and that they are rapidly sending us up their schemes. Many of these schemes will, I believe, be of great advantage to the country, both in respect of secondary and technical education, but especially technical education. The schemes which have come up from Glasgow—the Hutcheson and other schemes—seem admirably adapted for the promotion of these ends. I can only say that, on the whole, everything connected with Scotch education is very satisfactory. I think there has been a great improvement in the past year over the previous year; and if my anticipations are realized, that the Act of last year will produce a better average attendance in the present year, I think that next year we shall have a still better tale to tell. I can only say that I was in Edinburgh and Glasgow at the beginning of this year, and I never came away from any two cities more gratified or encouraged than I did by the excellent work that is being done by the school boards there, and the wonderful manner in which some of the members of both boards are devoting themselves to the work, almost giving their whole lives to it. These boards have to deal with a population of nearly 1,000,000, and I believe the work is admirably done. There is no doubt they have great difficulties in Glasgow with a large immigrant population, and with the poverty, misery, and squalor with which they have to deal; but by means of industrial schools and day-feeding schools they are doing a great deal to overcome the difficulty. There is another point to which I wish to advert, and that is the Act passed last year. There is no doubt there has been some neglect in some places in Scotland, more especially in Dundee; but under the stimulus of that Act I hope I shall be able to report before long that the school boards have effectually and efficiently done their duty, and have overtaken the deficiency of the school supply. I have nothing to say but words of congratulation for what has been done in Scotland; and I trust that in the course of the coming year, considering we have the obligation upon us to inspect the endowment schools, we shall be able to frame a scheme by which we shall not only be able to inspect endowment schools, but also the high schools of Scotland, which, I think, will be a great advantage. I beg to move the Vote.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, he was sure the statement of the right hon. Gentleman must be very gratifying to the whole of the Scottish Members, and to all others who were interested in the cause of education. The figures quoted by the right hon. Gentleman, especially as to the increase in the average attendance to 76·1 per cent, in the presentations in the higher Standards to 37 per cent, in the number of children over 14 years of age to 16 per cent, and also that the passes were nearly 90 per cent—all showed a marked improvement on former reports, and were, therefore, most gratifying. The right hon. Gentleman had reminded the Committee of one point in which the people of Scotland were decidedly behind England; and he hoped that his remarks as to their comparative deficiency in regard to infant school teaching would not be lost sight of in Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed the gratification he had derived from his visit to Scotland last year; and he (Mr. Campbell) thought he might say that the visit of the right hon. Gentleman had been gratifying to Scotland as well as to himself, and had been of great benefit to that country. The managers and teachers of schools, not in Edinburgh and Glasgow only, but all over the country, had been greatly stimulated and encouraged by the right hon. Gentleman's visit and the addresses he had delivered. The visit was not a long one, but, with the energy and enthusiasm the right hon. Gentleman had thrown into it, it was made a very busy one. Although he only visited two cities, the effect of his visit might be said to have been felt throughout the whole of the country. The teachers and managers now knew that the Education Department was not a thing of Code and inspection only; but that it was a Department which was in real sympathy with them in their work. There had been a good deal less said in Scotland than in England on the subject of over-pressure. From the inquiries he (Mr. Campbell) had made, he felt sure that in Scotland, at least, if there was over-pressure at all, it was felt almost exclusively in the lower Standards, among the youngest of the children; and this might be a proof that they were not so far wrong in not sending children too early to school in Scotland. He did not believe there would be over-pressure if they had good infant schools to send the children to; but in the ordinary schools there was no doubt a liability to overstrain in the case of nervous young children, when they had to be prepared for the presence of Inspectors and examiners. The cure for over-pressure was to be found in what was most necessary for promoting the efficiency of schools for all classes of children, and this was acknowledged and admitted to be—in addition to the exercise of kindness and common sense on the part of teachers, and care on the part of managers—attention to four particulars—first, having an efficient and sufficient staff in the schools; secondly, having regular attendance; thirdly, an equal pressure in the school all the year round, leaving no leeway to be made up when the time for inspection approached; and, lastly, attention to the health of the children. With regard to the health of the children, they had some conversation last year on the subject of school dinners. There was another point which was also worth noticing—namely, attention to physical exercises. He only wished that all the teachers in Scotland had an opportunity of seeing what all might see in the Health Exhibition twice a week—the physical exercises conducted by Miss Bergmann, which gave an illustration of what might be done in most of our schools. On the subject of regular attendance, he would ask the permission of the Committee to state the results of an experiment which had been most successfully tried for some time by the School Board of Glasgow—an experiment which might be followed by school managers everywhere. It was, in addition to having the compulsory clauses of the Education Act put in operation through school board officers, to offer, as an inducement to children, small prizes to those who never missed a single attendance. The Session lasted for nine months, and every child who had not been absent at a single attendance during those nine months received a prize. It might seem to be a simple thing, but it had had a very good effect. Prizes were also given to those who made their passes regularly. The advantage of the system was that the prizes were given, not for anything which the children were not otherwise expected to do—not for any extra work, but simply for regular attendance at school, and for passing the Standard

examinations, which was expected of every scholar. Another advantage was that the prizes were given on a principle which did not throw any responsibility upon the teachers. Accordingly, there was no room for favouritism. The result of the system had been more satisfactory than the Committee would probably be prepared to expect. Last year, with a roll of from 40,000 to 50,000 children, no fewer than 4,880 scholars were never once absent, and accordingly received prizes.

MR. MUNDELLA: How many?

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL: 4,880 received prizes for perfectly regular attendance.

MR. MUNDELLA: In Glasgow alone?

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL: Yes. It might be thought that this must be somewhat expensive; but the prizes were of small intrinsic value, ranging from a few pence—from 8*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* He would give the particulars of one school, where there were 174 prizes awarded; these cost, on an average, 1*s.* 6*d.* each, the cost for the whole school being £12 12*s.* In return for that expenditure of £12 12*s.* the school had a much more regular attendance than it would otherwise have had, and it had better work done, and, therefore, earned more money in grants—much more than the £12 12*s.* expended in the prizes. The average attendance at the schools under the Glasgow Board showed the good effect of the measures adopted. He had the Returns for the month of May. This was an unfavourable month for attendance, because in Scotland it was the month for changing residences, and as this caused a good deal of interference with ordinary domestic arrangements, it was consequently a bad month for school attendance. But in the month of May last the average attendance was 78 per cent, which was above the general average in Scotland. In April it had been 83 per cent. On another subject he would again say that one of the very few remaining grievances that Scottish educationists had was, that the Department had not yet seen its way to put into operation the provision for the examination of higher class schools contained in the Education Act of 1878 in Clauses 19 and 20. It was a very small matter as regarded money. He believed it would not cost the Treasury more than from £300 to £400. It was an examination, at the public expense, of only 11 public schools; and it seemed a pity that, for so small a sum as that, the great advantage of a uniform public examination should be missed, and the intentions of the Legislature, when the Act of 1878 was passed, should not be carried out. No doubt, these schools were now inspected and examined at the cost of the school boards; but the great advantage of acting upon the provisions of the Act of 1878 would be that, along with these public schools, other higher class schools in Scotland would apply for the same examination, although at their own expense; and thus the whole of the secondary schools of Scotland might be brought under the same system of examination, which would give the country greater confidence in the teaching of these schools. The object was not to have different examiners from the present, where examiners were employed, but to have them sent down by the Department. There was another subject which had not been mentioned of late years, but which certainly demanded consideration, especially in view of the fact that there would be a school board election next spring. It was too late, he was afraid, to have any improvement made in the regulations affecting school board elections, for this occasion; but the sooner the matter was spoken of the better, as there were some things which certainly called for reform. The cumulative vote had often been objected to. He thought the principle of the cumulative vote was a defensible one—["Hear, hear!"]—and it would be impossible to depart altogether from that principle; but he thought it was generally admitted that they had the cumulative vote in too extreme a form—in a form that subjected school boards to considerable inconvenience, and it would be a great improvement to modify the system in some way. There was another point—the school boards in Scotland were required to draw up a separate register of persons qualified to vote, which, in the case of school boards extending over a populous area, entailed very considerable expense. For instance, in the case of Glasgow, which had the most populous area of any school board in the country, there was, at first, considerable doubt

as to how to go about the work of making up the school board register, and at the first two elections the expense was very great. He believed the register for the first election cost £720. Some changes were then effected; and at the second election, in 1879, the register only cost £516. As the work became more familiar some additional improvements were effected, and at the last election, in 1882, it cost less; but still it cost £390. That was a great tax for a work which, when they came to think of it, could scarcely be said to be needful. In Glasgow, at the present moment, the difference between the school board roll and the municipal roll was simply this. The school board roll consisted of all persons who were assessed to pay poor rates, and the municipal roll consisted of all persons who had paid their rates. It was difficult to see why they should not accept the municipal roll for school board purposes, which, in a burgh like Glasgow, would save nearly £400. The simple substitution of the ordinary municipal roll would, in the case of parishes which were burghs, do away with the present vexatious and expensive anomaly. He hoped the matter would receive attention from the authorities, and that before long there would be some remedy found.

MR. ANDERSON said, he had very little to say, beyond expressing his congratulation to the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) on the statement which he had been able to make; and adding, also, that the benefit he had done to Scottish education by his visit last autumn was very great indeed. Nor was it in Edinburgh and Glasgow alone that it had done a great amount of good. The good had spread all over the country. If, next year, the right hon. Gentleman would go to Dundee and Aberdeen, and visit some other parts of Scotland, he might, probably, produce as great an effect as he had done in Edinburgh and Glasgow. He (Mr. Anderson) was very much gratified with many of the figures the right hon. Gentleman had given; but regarding what he had said about infant schools he must confess that he was rather sceptical. He did not believe in infant prodigies, and he agreed with what the hon. Member for the University of Glasgow (Mr. Campbell) had said in regard to over-pressure. He did not believe there was over-pressure in Scotland; but, still, while on that subject, he would say that he looked upon infant schools as dangerous. They might be better organized in England than in Scotland; but he was afraid that complaints of over-pressure really originated greatly in England through the infant school system, or that it had a tendency to do so. He entirely agreed with what the hon. Member for Glasgow University said about the Government inspection of higher class schools; but he hoped they would not stop there, but would extend the inspection to the schools for girls. The higher schools for girls were not inspected; and he was informed that the teaching in such institutions was of the most wretched description. In these seminaries there was too much aiming at attainments which were of no practical value as compared with those of a more solid nature. Young ladies received too little of a really good and substantial education. He did not think they would get any uniform system until they had Government inspection. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of technical education. The Commission upon Technical Education had lately reported, and hon. Members who had read the Report must have been highly satisfied with the labours of Sir Bernhard Samuelson and the other Members of the Commission, who undertook the inquiry entirely at their own expense, going over this and foreign countries, diligently making their own examination, and paying their own travelling expenses. He had never heard any opinion expressed on the subject, except that it was extremely shabby on the part of the Government to allow them to conduct the inquiry at their own expense. Nevertheless, they had done the work, and all the more credit to them for having done it. Those hon. Members who had read the Report of the Commissioners upon that question must have been highly satisfied with the result of their great labours, and very glad indeed to hear that the Government had appreciated those labours; but what he was anxious to say was that one or two of the recommendations contained in that Report were capable of being applied to elementary schools—for instance, to the extension of drawing in

the elementary schools, and the establishment of school workshops in such schools. These were two points that were greatly dwelt upon in the Report of the Commission upon Technical Education; and he thought it was within the competency of the Department of the right hon. Gentleman to stimulate and encourage efforts in this direction. In Glasgow they had made one or two attempts in that direction, such as in the Glen School. The work there was of the most satisfactory and wonderful character, and had been attended by the most excellent results. It was not a board school; but, speaking from experience, he did not see why workshops should not be introduced into a great many of the board schools, if not into all of them, in the country. The result would be to give the children a taste for manly skill. The great deficiency in the educational system now was that it tended to make all the boys desire to be clerks. All they thought of was to walk about the streets in fine clothes, and have a pen behind their ear. They must be clerks, and they desired situations of that kind as best things for them. They had an utter contempt for manual labour. What he wanted to see was the time when they could go back to the old plan, when manual labour, and skill and dexterity in manual labour, were considered a thing to be desired; and he felt satisfied that when once this feeling was properly engendered in boys at the elementary schools, a wholly different sentiment would be found growing up among our youths; for once a boy learned dexterity in work, he felt no degradation in working at a craft. He knew many gentlemen who delighted in dexterity in manual exercises, such as turning, but they were exceptions; and he should like to see the taste encouraged and become more general. He would not detain the Committee longer, as there were many hon. Members who desired to speak upon the Vote. He would simply thank the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council for the visit he had paid to Scotland, and for his appreciation of the work they were doing there.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK said, he joined with the hon. Member who had preceded him (Mr. Anderson) in congratulating the right hon. Gentleman on the very satisfactory report he had been able to make to the Committee. He thought it was highly satisfactory in a double sense. It was satisfactory because it showed that very special progress had been made in the work of education, and it was satisfactory also because it had correctly indicated one or two defects which it was of the highest importance to those interested in Scotch education to amend. He was glad to think that, in one respect, they might be congratulated upon having come to a certain pause in regard to their labours—he meant in regard to the building of schools. He gathered from the right hon. Gentleman's remarks that, so far as the schools for elementary education were concerned, they were now nearly sufficient for the wants of the population of Scotland. He thought that was a very satisfactory result; and he would ask the attention of the Committee to a short account of the progress which had been made in that particular. He found that in 10 years the accommodation in elementary schools in Scotland had been increased by nearly 120 per cent, the number of scholars upon the register by more than 108 per cent, and the average attendance by more than 97 per cent. He thought those facts were of very great importance in showing that the increased results were due to obtaining proper and adequate accommodation. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to one figure which, at first sight, might afford them some dissatisfaction—namely, that the percentage of children attending board schools in Scotland was less than in England. He quite agreed with the reasons the right hon. Gentleman had given; but there was also another reason which he thought might help to account for the difference. He believed it would be found that a desire existed among the people of Scotland to send their children to schools that were other than elementary schools. That desire was much more strong in Scotland than in England, and he knew that in his own neighbourhood, it was the case. People sent their children to higher-class schools, often at very great inconvenience and expense, because they believed the education imparted was better. If the right hon. Gentleman had the means of ascertaining the number, he believed it would be found that it would more than account for the dif-

ference which had been explained to the Committee. Then with regard to the irregular attendance. No doubt, that was a great evil, and a defect which ought to be remedied. He was afraid it proceeded, in the first place, from illegal employment; and he was glad to hear that that had, to a certain extent, been provided for by the Act of last year. It also arose, in many cases, from the difficulty of getting the children to school, owing to the distance which existed between the homes of the children and the nearest schools, and the difficulty experienced in getting the legal compulsory steps put in operation. He did not know if it were possible to put into operation any efficient method by which that object could be obtained. He believed there was a statement in the last Report, which showed the extraordinary difficulty that was experienced in many Highland districts in getting the compulsory clauses of the Act put into operation. He wished to point out to the Committee, with regard to irregular attendance, that there must always be, even among the best scholars, a certain amount of irregular attendance in the case of children who were detained at home on account of ailments. If they took into account the large number of children who were upon the school books, it was evident that the average attendance must always be affected by the number who were laid up with children's ordinary ailments. It would be found that a large amount of the irregular attendance every year was accounted for by the fact that many were absent, not from any desire to shirk the school attendance, but simply from unavoidable causes. In regard to over-pressure, he did not propose to deal with that subject at length; but it was obvious to anyone who had listened to the speeches which had been made on that occasion that the question of over-pressure in England was complicated by considerations such as the difficulties between the board schools and voluntary schools which did not exist in Scotland to the same extent. They were enabled, therefore, to discuss the question of over-pressure upon its intrinsic merits. He was not one of those who at all believed in the existence, to any extent, of an evil of that kind; but he did not think that upon that account it would be wise to overlook it altogether, because it was an evil of a kind which did not depend upon the production of facts, but rather on the nature of the difficulty itself; and it would be the greatest possible misfortune to Scotland, which had achieved its high educational position by the interest which the whole mass of the people had taken in education, if any cause, however trifling or absurd, were allowed to impair that position. Therefore, he said at once that while his own experience, extending over a considerable number of years, in dealing with education, satisfied him that the cases were not very numerous, still the matter was one which ought not altogether to be overlooked. He agreed with what his hon. Friend the Member for the University of Glasgow (Mr. Campbell) had said; and he thought, if the question were carefully attended to by the various boards, a very good effect would be produced. He also agreed with the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) that they escaped over-pressure to a great extent in Scotland, by the fact that they did not send the children to school at quite so early an age. He did not mean to say that they were not educated at that early age; but they were not sent away from home to be herded together in school. It was very difficult to lay down how any remedy should be brought into operation. It could not be brought into operation by Parliament, except indirectly, by means of the Education Department. The school boards were powerless to deal with the question. Everybody who knew the working of the school board system in Scotland knew that it was to a great extent administrative, and it was impossible to take up time in dealing with particular cases. The people most interested in the question were the parents themselves. It was they who first detected the symptoms of over-pressure; and whatever it arose from, whether from the state of the child's physical health, or from the more dangerous form of mental pressure, it ought to be dealt with at once. The right hon. Gentleman would remember that when he visited Edinburgh he found that there was a lady who took an active part in the work of the school board. The advantage of having a lady member upon a board of that kind was very great indeed. It was not always possible to get the assistance of ladies; but when they did become members of the board, com-

plaints of this kind were at once dealt with and easily remedied. It appeared to him that it would be wise, if possible, to have along with the school boards a committee of ladies belonging to each district, with some sort of official recognition, to superintend such like matters, in which case he was of opinion that many of the difficulties now heard of would be satisfactorily dealt with. There was, however, another point—namely, that the over-pressure was likely to be very much greater in regard to the teaching staff than in the case of the children. All the really serious cases of over-pressure he had been made acquainted with had existed in the teaching staff, and more especially among the pupil-teachers. He thought it was of very great importance to know how a difficulty of that kind was to be met. It might not be possible to remedy it altogether; but he thought that a general recommendation from the Department, if brought under the notice of every school board, would have a beneficial effect. He was quite sure that the statement which the right hon. Gentleman had made on that occasion would be a source of great gratification to a large number of people in Scotland who were interested in the cause of education.

MR. RAMSAY said, he felt bound to express his hearty concurrence in what had been said by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) with regard to the inspection of the higher schools in Scotland, by persons appointed by the Education Department, or by the Universities, as the case might be. But there was one point which, of all others, was likely to be overlooked—namely, the necessity of taking care that the persons who received certificates as teachers were really qualified to give instruction in the higher branches of education. He was pleased to learn from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that 50 per cent of those who were attending the normal schools at the present time, and becoming qualified to act as teachers, were receiving the advantages of University training. He was not satisfied, however, that the University education at present given to them was complete or adequate. The fact was, that the Department had altogether ignored the Report of the Endowed Institutions Commission of 1880. It was four years now since that Report was presented, and he believed it had never seriously received consideration. In respect of the rural districts of Scotland, he knew the right hon. Gentleman would tell him that the Department had sent various circulars to the school boards throughout Scotland, directing their attention to the necessity of having teachers qualified to give the higher education. The suggestion contained in the Report of the Endowed Institutions Commission was that the number of teachers qualified to give instruction in the higher branches of learning should be increased, and that teachers who attended the Universities at all should remain in them for a sufficiently long period to enable them to take their degree in Arts, as a stamp of their fitness for giving instruction in the higher branches of education. Nothing had been done in the matter. He believed it was not altogether the fault of the Department that the delay had taken place; but that it was owing to the unwillingness of the Treasury to furnish any addition to the grant for education in Scotland. Considering the limited number of students who were able to go up to the Universities in order to fit themselves for the position of teachers, he thought the time had come when the Department should press the Treasury as to the necessity of this as a means of providing higher instruction in the rural districts. It was a subject of great importance. In Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other large towns, the gentlemen who were members of the school boards were persons of influence, who had the means of obtaining and were glad to take the trouble of acquiring information as to the personality of the most promising scholars, whom it was desirable to provide with higher instruction. In the rural districts, however, there was nothing of the kind, and, as those districts formed a large portion of the total population of Scotland, it should be remembered that the population of the towns of Scotland was sustained by immigration from the rural districts. Therefore, it was of the last importance that the education of the inhabitants of those rural districts should be attended to. If heed were not given to the matter, he believed that the falling away which was complained of in some of the Highland parishes would be aggravated. The school-rate of many of the Highland parishes was so heavy as really to be a

serious burden to the ratepayers, and it ought to be as far as possible alleviated by providing a more efficient staff of teachers, although he could not say at inconsiderable salaries. There was one other remark he desired to make. The right hon. Gentleman who, in some of his remarks, had drawn attention to the great increase in the number of scholars attending the schools and receiving an efficient education within them, seemed to forget that the Education Act had only existed since 1872—or only a dozen years. But he was glad to say that they had had a system of education existing in Scotland for more than 300 years prior to the constitution of the Education Department. One of the advantages they had derived from that was that Scotch parents regarded it as a moral duty that they should educate their children; but until the Act of 1872 was passed, the national system was totally inadequate, being altogether incommensurate with the number and wants of the people, and it would be in the recollection of the Committee how the numerous measures brought in to improve it were defeated. Several Bills brought forward, one after another, by a right hon. Gentleman, now a Member of "another House," but who enjoyed a seat in the House of Commons for many years, for the purpose of promoting education in Scotland, were rejected under the miserable pretext that sectarian differences existed. That pretext did great injury to the cause of education, and delayed the passing of an Act until the Government of 1872 passed the Act which had proved so great a blessing to the country. He hoped his right hon. Friend would give heed to what he (Mr. Ramsay) had said in regard to the Report of the Endowed Institutions Commission, and that he would be able to persuade the Treasury to provide the small sum that was requisite to give a complete University education to those who were suitable for it, and securing that they should take a degree in Arts before they left the University. He hoped that that might be done at an early date, and that the right hon. Gentleman might thereby confer still greater benefits than he had yet done on the people of Scotland. He would not enter into any question as to the way in which the right hon. Gentleman had administered the Act, because he had no desire to say anything which might give rise to a controversy.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH said, he joined in congratulating the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on the statement he had made in regard to Scottish education; but he was sorry he had omitted to refer to one point which was regarded as of very great importance by the country, and that was the state of education among the Gaelic-speaking population of the Highlands. The Committee was aware that a Commission recently sat to inquire into the grievances, or alleged grievances, of the people who inhabited the Islands and Highlands of Scotland, and one of the subjects which came under its observation was the educational system and the state of education in those parts. That matter was fully gone into, and the Report of the Commissioners was now upon the Table of the House. He had hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would have made some reference to it on the present occasion, and very much regretted that he had not done so. As he (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) had himself been one of the Commissioners, it was not for him to say anything either for or against the Report, but the document spoke for itself. This, however, he would say, that all the Members of the Commission were more or less connected with the cause of education, and two of them were immediately connected with and had special knowledge of educational matters in the Islands and Highlands of Scotland. The grievance now felt was this—that in places where Gaelic was the mother tongue, it was entirely ignored by the Education Department, and no use whatever was made of it. There were two classes of people in the Highlands who held different views in regard to the teaching of Gaelic. The more advanced class wished it to be made a special subject like Latin and Greek, and in this he personally concurred; the more moderate section would be satisfied to utilize the Gaelic language, for the purpose of making the children, to whom it was the mother tongue, thoroughly good English scholars. When the right hon. Gentleman was in Edinburgh at the beginning of the year, he (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) introduced to him a deputation who urged the latter view upon him, and he expressed his approbation.

The members of the deputation, which was a very influential one, were now disappointed that nothing had been done in the way they were led to expect. If the Committee would allow him, he would mention one fact which would illustrate the position better than any lengthy statement. On one occasion, when the Commissioners were going among the Western Islands, they visited the picturesque Island of Raasay, and held their meeting in a board school, which was a charming building decorated with maps and pictures, altogether as clean and nice as any building could be. In that room were 30 or 40 children of both sexes, and of ages ranging from 6 to 10. Not one of these children could speak a word of English; whilst the teacher was a lady from Aberdeen, who could not speak a word of Gaelic. How was it possible, under those circumstances, for the teaching to be of the slightest use to those children? The whole thing was a perfect mockery. The children were intelligent in the main, as was easily ascertained when they were spoken to in Gaelic, their own language; but they knew nothing whatever of what they were being taught. He considered it an intolerable hardship, and one which he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would not allow to exist very much longer, because the school and other rates in some of the Western Islands were excessive. In Lewis they amounted in one year to as much as 8*s.* in the pound, notwithstanding the fact that many of the inhabitants were poor crofters, paying something like £2 a-year for rent, and yet being compelled to contribute their proportion of the school rates. The consequence was that they regarded the operation of the Education Act as a burden and a hardship; and instead of being glad to send their children to school, as was formerly the case, the necessity of sending them to school was regarded as a serious tax. Another hardship was the great distance the schools were from the abodes of the people. In the winter the streams were flooded, the roads blocked up, and the children were only able to attend at the hazard of their lives. With the little food and clothing they possessed, it would be starvation from hunger and cold combined while in attendance at school. What he wanted to press upon the right hon. Gentleman was this—that the more moderate friends of the Gaelic-speaking people by no means insisted that Gaelic should be taught and paid for by the Education Department as a special language; but as long as it continued to exist, and was necessary in order to make the children properly understand the English language, the Government ought to utilize it for the purpose he had mentioned, and pay for results.

SIR EDWARD COLEBROOKE said, he would not have risen but for the observations of the two hon. Members who had preceded him—the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) and the hon. Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick). Those observations, if allowed to go forth without any challenge, might do something to discourage the efforts which were being made in Scotland to bring up the training of infants to the same standard as existed in England. He did not himself believe in the existence of over-pressure in the schools in Scotland, or even in England, except in a very limited degree. He had seen something of the management of board schools, both in Scotland and in England, and the manner in which education was being carried on was very encouraging. He did not know whether the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) spoke from his own observation; but he did not think he had realized the full extent to which infant education was being carried on in England and Scotland. Formerly, there might have been some ground for the complaints of the hon. Member. The first time he had ever visited an infant school was in the city now represented by his hon. Friend; and he put the question to the teacher—"What do these children know?" The answer he received was—"They know something of everything." That was going a little too far; but that was not the way in which infant schools were conducted now. The aim of these schools was to give to children of the poor the same advantages which children of the same age among the upper classes received in their own homes. When that object was properly carried out, with tenderness and due regard to the age of the children, it was a powerful aid to the education which they received elsewhere afterwards; and it was in itself most invaluable for training

the minds of the children. He denied that the manner in which infant education was now carried on caused the strain it was said to produce; and he was quite satisfied that if something were done in this direction in Scotland, the advantages, so far as progress was concerned, which it would confer would be readily recognized. In reference to the Highlands, it was impossible to carry out infant schools in agricultural districts, or in the Islands; but they could certainly be carried out in the large towns, where the subject was now in its infancy, to a greater extent even than at present. He would like to refer to a remark which had fallen from the hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for the University of Glasgow (Mr. Campbell), and which was received with some cheering. He alluded to what the hon. Member had said about the cumulative vote. Now, he stood there as being himself answerable for the introduction of that system of voting into Scotland, and he was proud of the fact. He trusted the Committee would pause before listening to any proposal to abolish it, and he was glad that his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council had advocated nothing of the kind. Up to the present time, the system, although frequently attacked out-of-doors, had not been openly assailed in that House; and he could not allow the occasion to pass without expressing his opinion very strongly as to the advantages Scotland had derived from it. He had watched the matter carefully, and the only complaint he had heard against it was that it brought to the top of the list those who would sometimes have been lower down if the old method of voting had been used. That was an anomaly, no doubt; but it was a very narrow point on which to judge the matter, and it ought not to be made a matter of reproach. He remembered that, at the first election for a school board in Glasgow, a Unitarian was placed at the top of the poll, and every one held up his hands with horror at the idea of a Unitarian being at the head. [An hon. MEMBER: No!] His hon. Friend corrected him on that point; but, at any rate, the cumulative vote had had the effect of enabling the representatives of the different religious communities to sit side by side on the same school board. The Roman Catholic, for instance, had a seat on the same board with his Presbyterian brethren. That was a great advantage, not only to the Roman Catholics, but to the Presbyterians themselves; for he considered it to be a great thing to get Roman Catholics to join with their fellow-Christians in a common system of education. Looking back upon these results, he felt proud of having taken part in securing the adoption of the cumulative system, of which the Committee would probably hear a good deal when it came to deal with the redistribution of seats. He again congratulated the Vice President of the Council, and he thought that, after his masterly performances, hon. Members would hesitate before proposing to transfer the administration of the Education Act from his able hands, even to place it in the hands of a Secretary of State.

MR. R. P. BRUCE said, that the hon. Baronet the Member for North Lanarkshire (Sir Edward Colebrooke) had very emphatically declared that he had no belief in the existence of over-pressure; and the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), speaking not only for himself, but for Scotland generally, had said that the Scotch people did not believe in it. That might be the general opinion; but he (Mr. R. P. Bruce) thought it could not be denied that a good deal of attention had been aroused on the subject, and notice taken of it in Scotland. He considered, therefore, that hon. Members on the Conservative side had been quite justified in calling attention to it. It was also, he believed, quite true, as had been said, that the question, so far as it existed in Scotland, was totally different from the position of the question in England. There was in Scotland no jealousy of high-class education in the board schools; nor, on the other hand, was there any party, such as, perhaps, existed in England, interested in picking holes in the board-school system. That being so, he wished to call attention to the fact that in Scotland a good deal of discussion had taken place on the subject, and that there was a natural desire to avoid anything of the kind. Of course, there was a danger lest the system should be too rigid, and lest there might be a few cases where an attempt to pass weakly children through the same curriculum as the stronger children might have injurious effects. It had been remarked that cer-

tain provisions had been introduced into the English Code as precautions against over-pressure, and that no similar provisions had been introduced into the Scotch Code. He referred, for instance, to Article No. 109 in the English Code, which directed that the Inspectors, in reporting upon the organization and discipline of schools, should satisfy themselves that the teachers had not unduly pressed the dull or delicate scholars in preparing them for examination. There was also a provision defining a reasonable excuse for the withdrawal of a child from examination, which had been introduced into the English Code as a safeguard against over-pressure. No similar provision had been introduced into the Scotch Code. Of course, he was aware that the two Codes were different; but he was not able to see that they differed in such a way as to render such precautions more necessary in the case of the English Code than in the case of the Scotch Code. He would take the opportunity of asking the right hon. Gentleman whether he thought it desirable to apply to Scotland the principles of the new English Code? When the new Code was framed for England, the notion was that similar principles would, after a time, be applied to Scotland. He would be glad to know whether the experience of the Vice President of the Council on Education of the working of the new Code in England allowed him to retain his former opinion in favour of applying the principles of that Code to Scotland? When the right hon. Gentleman introduced the Education Estimates, he said, in the course of his speech, that the grant per head of scholars in England had increased to the extent of 2½*d.* in consequence of the changes in the Code. It seemed to him to follow from that statement of the right hon. Gentleman, that if the English and Scotch Codes were fair and equal formerly, Scotland was now at some disadvantage in having the old system in operation there; while the English enjoyed a Code under which 2½*d.* a-scholar additional could be earned. He was quite aware that he had no reason to be ashamed of the amount of the grant earned in Scotland under existing arrangements; but it was well to see that Scotland did not, if it could be prevented, get less than her neighbours in matters of this kind.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he had a few remarks to address to the Committee in connection with this Vote. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on Education had told them that an expenditure of £5,000 would close the grants for building new schools. His hon. Friend the Member for North Ayrshire (Mr. Cochran-Patrick) had referred to that statement with satisfaction, and said he was glad to hear that the Department was about to pause in the process of school-building. The right hon. Gentleman also said that 17 schools had been erected during the last year, and that 15,000 school places had been supplied. Now, it would be in the recollection of the Committee that it was stated in the Report of last year—they had no Report this year—that what was then needed to complete the supply of school accommodation for the whole of Scotland was 10,141 school places. The calculation was made upon the basis of population as follows:—The estimated population in 1882 being 3,775,364, on the principle that there should be school seats provided for one-sixth of the population, the number of school places should be 629,277, whereas the actual supply was 619,086, leaving the actual deficiency mentioned of 10,141 school places. With reference to the supply of that deficiency, the Report of last year stated that when the outstanding building grants had been paid, and several schools then in course of being erected without such aid were occupied, it was believed that the school supply of the country would be virtually complete. But that would not be so; because in seven of the counties of Scotland—namely, Bute, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, Forfar, Lanark, Selkirk, there was, he found, a deficiency of 54,402 school places; and, as there was only a total shortcoming of 10,141 school places over the whole country, it followed that the remaining counties had an excess in respect of school accommodation of 44,261 places. Or the matter might be stated otherwise from the point of view of population. The seven counties he had named, with a population of 1,951,737, had a deficiency of 54,402 school places; while the remaining counties, with a population of 1,823,627, had an excess of school places amounting to 44,261. He wanted to know how the wants of the whole coun-

try were to be supplied by providing 10,000 additional places, when, in the seven counties he had mentioned, there was an actual deficiency of 54,000 school places? In connection with this subject, he wished to point out the position of the Highland counties. The six counties of Argyll, Elgin, Inverness, Orkney and Shetland, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland, with a population of 378,000, had, according to the basis of calculation mentioned, school places for 75,800 children; whereas the attendance was only 39,000, or a little over half the supply, while the number of children on the register was 54,000. He was anxious to point out that in these counties, where there was an excess of school accommodation, in some cases the enormous rate of 8*s.* in the pound was levied; while, in every county, the rate was high. He thought there had been too much pressure put on the counties in question to provide the necessary school accommodation, and he traced so much of the dislike and unpopularity into which school board education had fallen in the Highlands, to the fact that this heavy burden had been laid upon them. However, it had been done, and could not be mended; but the result would be that it would take 14 years to fill up the school places already provided in the counties named. He trusted that great care would be taken in future not to provide school accommodation, unless it was absolutely certain that it was wanted. So much for the counties in which there was an excess of accommodation; but how with regard to those in which there was a deficiency? It was very well to say that the accommodation to be provided this year would fill up the school accommodation required in Scotland; but the fact still remained that in the seven counties he had named, there was a deficiency of 54,402 school places, as against the excess in the other counties of 44,261 places, which, according to the growth of population—that was to say, one in 10 per annum—it would require, as he had already pointed out, 14 years to occupy. It must be evident that they could not make the school accommodation complete by having a certain number of school places, unless those places were in the right localities. Finally, there was another point to which he desired to allude—namely, the position of the Gaelic population of the Highlands. He wished to express his entire concurrence with all that had fallen from his hon. Friend the Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh), who held that something ought to be done for the Gaelic-speaking population to enable them to acquire instruction in English through the medium of Gaelic-speaking teachers, or in some such way.

Mr. BUCHANAN said, he desired to say a word or two on the subject which had been alluded to by the hon. Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh), as well as by the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Dick-Peddie). He had often been told by schoolmasters in the Gaelic-speaking parts of the Western Highlands that the children, when they first came to school, were quite unable to speak the English language. He knew, therefore, from actual experience, the necessity of the teacher having a knowledge of Gaelic, in order to teach children English when they first went to school; and he thought that the people in the Highlands had a right to demand that teachers should have a competent knowledge of Gaelic for that purpose. In his opinion, however, English should remain the staple and standard subject to be taught. There was another matter in the Report of the Commissioners, which had not been so much as alluded to by the hon. Member for the Inverness Burghs, but which was a very grave one—namely, the financial position of some of the Highland parishes. It appeared to him (Mr. Buchanan) that the financial condition of those parishes was perfectly alarming, and the Royal Commission had not recommended any remedy, except the drastic remedy of wiping out the debt which had been incurred by them in providing educational means. Take the case of the Lochs. In the Island of Lewis, there was a population of 6,284, with a rental of £4,670 paid by 152 ratepayers, of whom 107 paid rents under £7. In that place, £20,311 had been expended in building 12 schools, towards which sum the Government had advanced on loan £12,428, of which £893 still remained unpaid. The school rate there was 4½*d.* in the pound. What, he asked, was to be done in a case of that kind? The problem was a difficult one, and the Commissioners, as he had said, recommended the wiping out of

the debt. He hoped that, in the course of another year, the right hon. Gentleman would be in a position to suggest some remedy for this prospective bankruptcy. But what he principally wanted to refer to was the question of day industrial schools. The right hon. Gentleman had, in the course of his statement that evening, alluded to the advantage which Glasgow enjoyed in the possession of industrial schools; but he (Mr. Buchanan) would point out that Glasgow had the power of establishing those schools under a Private Act, and that the rest of Scotland had not the powers in that respect which English boards possessed. In the Report of last year on Scotch Education, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on Education, in describing the provisions of the amending Bill of 1883, when referring to the proposed introduction of the Attendance Orders, said—

"We should have been glad to strengthen this provision of the Bill"—that was, relating to the Attendance Orders—"by allowing repeated offenders to be committed to industrial schools, and by giving power for the establishment of day industrial schools, which are working so satisfactorily in reducing truancy in some of the large towns of England. But we have postponed dealing with this part of the question, as these institutions are at present under consideration by a Royal Commission."

Well, the Commission had since reported, and had made, amongst others, this specific recommendation—that Scotch school boards should have conferred on them the powers and duties that English boards enjoyed under the Education Act of 1876 for the establishment, &c., of day industrial schools. He had asked a Question of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, earlier in the Session, with regard to the prospect of legislation for the carrying out of this recommendation of the Commission, to which the right hon. Gentleman replied that the prospect, owing to the pressure of Business, and the shortness of time at the disposal of the Government, was exceedingly bad. He (Mr. Buchanan) had no doubt that the answer of the Vice President of the Council of Education to-day would be to the same effect. He recognized that there was a difficulty in carrying a new Industrial Schools Act, as recommended by the Commission; but he desired to impress on the right hon. Gentleman that this particular power was given to English boards by the Education Act of 1876, and not by the Industrial Schools Act; and that, similarly, it could be conferred in the case of Scottish schools by an amendment of the Education Act, which might be effected next Session, if it could not be done in this, by the passing of an amending Bill. The right hon. Gentleman, in his triumphal progress through Edinburgh and Glasgow last winter, had this matter brought before him; and he knew that the right hon. Gentleman was aware of, and fully appreciated, the way in which self-denying members of the School Board in Edinburgh had, in recent years, endeavoured to meet the difficulty. But those provisions had been merely temporary, in prospect of a permanent legislative settlement of the question. In conclusion, he must express an earnest hope that next Session the right hon. Gentleman would introduce a measure conferring this power on Scottish board schools; and he would add that, looking at the success which had attended the right hon. Gentleman's attempts in carrying amending Acts through Parliament, the carrying of an Act of the kind to which he now referred would make his great work more effective.

DR. CAMERON said, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on Education had referred to the inspection of high schools. The matter was a very trifling one. The hon. Member for the Glasgow University (Mr. J. A. Campbell) said that this inspection would not cost more than £300 or £400 a-year; and that, notwithstanding that, the question had been hung up for six or seven years. When the Bill of 1878-9 was before the House there was a provision contemplated for the inspection of the higher class schools; it was proposed that the expense should fall on the rates, but that clause, he believed, his hon. Friend (Mr. W. Holms), then Member for Paisley, succeeded in getting struck out; the consequence of which was that when application was made to the Treasury they refused to bear the expense, and a correspondence between the Treasury and the Education Department had been going on ever since. For his own part, he (Dr. Cameron) did not think that such a paltry sum as that which was involved in this question of inspection

was worthy of so lengthened a correspondence; and he trusted the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), whose tenacity of all public funds they well knew, would make up his mind either to do away with all hope of the £300 or £400 being obtained, or to give it at once, with the best grace he might, when called upon to disgorge the money. The right hon. Gentlemen the Vice President had also referred to the increase of £1,400 in the Estimates for this year, on account of those school board districts in which a rate of 3*d.* yielded less than 7*s.* 6*d.* per head of the population. He (Dr. Cameron) was glad of that increase, because it showed a more satisfactory state of things. The state of educational affairs in the Highlands was most unsatisfactory; there could be no doubt of that. The fact was evident to all who read the Report of the Royal Commission. The other night, when that Report was brought before the House, the Secretary of State for the Home Department said that the Government had not yet had time to make up their minds on the propositions brought forward by the Commission which involved legislation; but he stated that a number of reforms that were purely administrative would be considered and given effect to more or less speedily. Members of the Government had been questioned with regard to several of those proposals, one of which was to increase postal facilities, and the Postmaster General had been engaged on that point; and there was another paltry concession to the views expressed by the Commissioners. Now, the most important administrative recommendations of the Commission were those which related to education, and they were proposals which the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State to the Home Department said could be carried into effect by a stroke of the pen. One of them, which his hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had referred to a few minutes ago, was to wipe out all the school debts—a plan which would, of course, involve legislation, and would require consultation with the Treasury. Still, he hoped that next Session his right hon. Friend would have allowed his kindly feelings towards Scotland to take a practical shape, and that he would be able to inform them that this recommendation of the Commission would be carried into effect. The population of the counties to which the scope of the inquiry extended embraced 80,000 children of school age. Those children could not, from the circumstances of the country, attend school regularly; the Commissioners pointed out that it would be inhuman to compel them to walk many miles in bad weather to attend school the number of times necessary to enable them to obtain the grant. Well, the Commissioners recommended that a modification should be made in the case of the counties in question with respect to the exaction of regular attendance, and he asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he would give effect to that very sensible and reasonable recommendation? He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to answer that question in the affirmative. With regard to the instruction of the children in the Highlands by means of a language which they could understand, it was, to his mind, preposterous that this matter should be shunted from year to year. Now, they had it again recommended by this Commission, and he urged the right hon. Gentleman to give that recommendation effect. It was not a fad; it was not a proposal advocated by men who, from sentimental motives, wished to see the Gaelic language perpetuated; it had been recommended by all sorts and conditions of educationists, and was a matter of very old date. The hon. Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) had just told the Committee of a school in which there were some 40 children who understood nothing but Gaelic, and who were being instructed by a schoolmistress who understood only English. Why, everyone must perceive that education attempted in such circumstances must be a perfect farce. It was very well to speak of high Standards in specific subjects, and so forth; but what progress could possibly be made with the elements of education by means of a teacher who did not understand the only language understood by the children to whom those elements were to be imparted? As he had said, this recommendation as to the use of Gaelic for the instruction of Gaelic-speaking children in English was a matter of very old date. As far back as the year 1824, the Society for the Propa-

gation of Christian Knowledge, reporting on this subject, said that so long as children talked no language but Gaelic, it was a mere waste of time and entirely vain to burden their memories for a few years with a vocabulary of dead and unmeaning sounds. Again, in March, 1849, an educationist of great authority, Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, Secretary to the Committee of the Privy Council, addressed a communication to the then senior Inspector of Schools in Scotland, to the effect that the Committee of Council on Education were convinced that it was expedient that better provision should be made for the education of Her Majesty's subjects in the Highlands of Scotland by promoting the employment of the Gaelic, as well as the English language, as a means of instruction in the Highland schools; that the Committee of Council on Education were satisfied that to instruct the children of a Gaelic population by means of lesson-books written in the English language alone, and by means of teachers not familiar with the written and colloquial idiom of the Gaelic language, must fail to give the scholars in the Highland schools a grammatical knowledge of the Gaelic language, as well as any useful acquaintance with the English language. That was the recommendation of Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth in 1849; and the Crofter Commission, speaking of that recommendation, said they knew not why it had not been followed by any practical result. But the Commissioners might have known why. Nothing of the kind was ever followed by practical results, as far as he was aware, unless the strongest pressure was brought to bear upon Her Majesty's Government. The Scotch Members had been pressing Her Majesty's Government to adopt this principle for years, and he feared that nothing would result for many years to come. Again, in 1865, the Scotch Education Commission, a very competent and practical Body, reported in the same direction, saying that it must be obvious that in districts where Gaelic alone was spoken, the teacher should be able to communicate with his pupils in a language the meaning of which they could comprehend, and that it was a mistake to overlook the difficulties of the scholar, in learning what to him was a foreign language, without having first acquired the art of reading his own. Well, that recommendation, which appeared to him (Dr. Cameron) an eminently sensible one, was made in 1865; but, as far as he was aware, nothing had been done to give it effect; and, although there had been several other recommendations of the same nature, all that had resulted was the introduction into the Code, in 1878, of a paragraph which allowed Gaelic to be taught during the ordinary school hours by an English teacher employed for that purpose, the effect of which was to place Gaelic on the same footing as drill and cookery. We had abandoned the practice of instructing boys in Latin through the medium of that language; they were now taught Latin by means of English, and it must be obvious to the Committee that the same means must be adopted in the case of Gaelic; that where the children did not understand a language in which they were to be instructed, a language which they did understand should be employed for the purpose, because it was the only way in which such instruction could be imparted. ["Hear, hear!"] His hon. Friend the Member for the Inverness Burghs, who had visited the Highland schools in the capacity of Commissioner, assented to what he was now stating. There was, he believed, some prejudice against Gaelic, which he was afraid was shared by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President. [Mr. MUNDELLA: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman was asked a Question a short time ago, when, after saying that no encouragement was given in the case of Wales, he mentioned that, in the case of Ireland, bad rather than good results had followed. However, he was glad to find that he had misapprehended the right hon. Gentleman. He thought that everyone who had any acquaintance with languages must admit that the knowledge of a second language was of the very greatest importance as a means of education. He cared not whether that language was Gaelic, Welsh, Hebrew, Hindostanee, or any language not generally known. As a philological study, it could only be satisfactorily imparted on the principle applied to the teaching of Latin in our schools, and he thought that consideration was of sufficient weight to justify this appeal on behalf of the Gaelic-speaking population of Scotland. Certainly, it was much more

important, as a matter of training, that children should be taught a language they had a chance of learning thoroughly. Here they had a specific subject that could be learned thoroughly; whereas he was afraid the knowledge of French, German, Latin, and Greek, which could be given in a board school in the Highlands, must be of an absolutely useless and rubbishy description. He did not wish to discourage the teaching of those subjects; but he maintained that a thorough knowledge of the language with which children were familiar was of infinitely more advantage as an educational training than a knowledge of foreign languages such as they would acquire in the Highlands. What he wished to insist upon was the carrying out of the recommendations of the Education Commission and of Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, that the children in the Highland parishes should be taught Gaelic; and he trusted that, at length, the matter would be settled by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) stating that the Government intended to give effect to the repeated recommendations made in the matter.

Mr. WEBSTER said, there was one branch of the Estimates which was only glanced at by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), and on which nothing had been said by any subsequent speaker—he referred to the very large sum which was devoted annually to the Training Colleges. This was a subject which excited considerable attention in Scotland; and he was going to submit to the right hon. Gentleman and to the Committee; whether the present system of distributing the whole of this large amount of national money between three or four churches ought not to be replaced by a better and more liberal system? At present, the whole of the grant, which amounted to no less than £27,000, was distributed—no doubt it would be said by some people for the benefit of the country—between four denominations—the Established Church, the Free Kirk, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Episcopalians. See how unfairly that bore upon those denominations whose principles precluded them from receiving anything in the shape of religious endowments from the State. For instance, the United Presbyterian Church had a great objection to receive any State grants in connection with religion—in fact, they were absolutely prevented from having any institution of their own similar to the Training Colleges which the other persuasions he had mentioned had. From all he had heard and seen he could quite believe that, in their practical working, the Training Colleges were as free from any religious bias as under such a system they could be; but, still, the odium of the system attached to the institutions. They were all, more or less, under the control and possessed the authority of the Bodies with which they were connected. The teachers of Scotland were dissatisfied with the existing system, and the proposal had been made by them that it should be discontinued. He supposed the Board had been urged, if not, it would be urged, by the teachers to consider whether the present system, which, after all, was a sectarian and denominational one in appearance, and which had all the objections attached to it which such a system naturally raised, could not be replaced by a freer and more national system. It had been proposed that, as there were Chairs at present in St. Andrew's and Edinburgh Universities, so there might be Chairs in the other Universities, which might be free from the present denominational difficulty, and might be a far more efficient system of affording the benefits of Training Colleges to all who were desirous of benefiting by them. He submitted that proposal to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) and to the Committee as one which was seriously engaging the attention of the teachers in Scotland, and as one which would free the present system of Training Colleges from the difficulty and objection with which it was surrounded. Before he sat down, let him refer to the question of the cumulative vote in school board elections. The question was not directly raised by anything in the present Vote; but the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council referred to it. The hon. Baronet the Member for North Lanarkshire (Sir Edward Colebrooke), very naturally, defended the system of which he was the founder and promoter in the Education Bill of 1872; but he (Mr. Webster) maintained that, whatever might be said to the contrary, the system was one against which a strong current of opinion had set in. When

the hon. Baronet said that the advantage of the system was that the representative of a small and, perhaps, religious body was enabled to obtain a seat on the school board, it seemed to him (Mr. Webster) that such a state of things was the reverse of an advantage. Undoubtedly, in Scotland, the system tended to engender a sectarian feeling in the school board itself. The election of a school board was very often the scene of the rivalry of the various Churches. He considered it a very great disadvantage indeed that a man should be elected to a school board by a comparatively small class in opposition to the votes of the great majority of the ratepayers. This very often gave rise to bitter sectarian animosity. The cumulative vote produced a state of things which was opposed to the common feeling of the people of Scotland—namely, that a school board should be as free as far as possible from any infusion of sectarianism. He had only to say, in conclusion, that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had great cause to be pleased with the reception his statement had received. He agreed with the hon. Baronet the Member for North Lanarkshire that that reception was a proof of the general feeling in favour of the system under which one Central Authority managed the primary and secondary education in Scotland.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was glad the hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster) had raised the question of Training Colleges. It had always appeared to him (Sir George Campbell) an extraordinary thing that while we had a common school system, our Training Colleges should be purely sectarian. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) had reminded the Committee of the fact that there were voluntary schools; but we were unmistakably coming to a general common school system of education, and, under such circumstances, it was an extraordinary thing that we should have these sectarian Training Colleges. He should have thought that, of all things, it was most necessary that teachers should be educated in non-sectarian Colleges, and be free from sectarian principles. He hoped his right hon. Friend would see his way to adopt the good advice of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen, and in the interests of economy, efficiency, and justice, put the Training Colleges on the same unsectarian footing as the common schools now stood on. He had thought it right to allude to this matter; but on the general subject, in common with all who had spoken, he was very gratified by the very pleasing and favourable account of education in Scotland which the right hon. Gentleman had given. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman was gratifying in every way. The new system of education had been a great success—they had lost nothing by it; but they had gained a great deal. At the same time, he was free to confess that, although they had such an old and successful system of education, they must not be too proud to learn from others—they ought not to be above learning from England, or from other countries. He was much impressed by what had been said on this, as well as on former occasions, with regard to infant schools in Scotland. It was quite true that the Scotch educational system was a somewhat higher class than that which existed in England, and the right hon. Gentleman was quite right in saying they had not learned to manage infant schools as well as the English had. He quite agreed with the Vice President of the Council, that if infant schools were managed on judicious principles, on the Kindergarten principle—if they made it an education, not only of the mind, but of the body—they would be an unmixed good. They would relieve the parents of the care of the children, and they would do very much benefit to the children themselves. He hoped, therefore, that Scotland would be willing to take a lesson from England in that respect. Then, again, he thought that what his hon. Friend the Member for North Lanarkshire (Sir Edward Colebrooke) had suggested with regard to the variety of education in infant schools chimed in with what the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had said. In his (Sir George Campbell's) opinion, overpressure resulted, not so much from the quantity of education, as from the want of variety in the education. It seemed to him that, if mental education were mixed with physical or manual education, in the way suggested, the benefit derived would not only be greater, but

the fear of over-pressure would be avoided. He hoped that something would be done in the direction of providing a variety of education. He did not know whether England was above Scotland with regard to bodily lessons; but he thought Scotland had a good deal to learn on this subject from other countries. The only other subject to which he wished to allude was that of the working of the Endowed Schools Commission. He had no doubt people in England heard something of the subject with regard to the Charity Commission, which, be believed, had charge of endowments, and he had no doubt that they would hear something more of it with respect to England, and perhaps to Scotland also. When the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) said that the Endowed Schools Commission in Scotland was doing a great deal of very good work, he quite agreed with him; but, at the same time, he wished to repeat a warning which had been very often given, and that was, whether it be in England or in Scotland, in the arrangements which had been made for seconding education, there had been, and there was, a tendency to shift the benefits of endowments upwards, and in some shape or other to shift them up to such a considerable extent that the poorer classes received comparatively little benefit from them. The poorer classes received nowadays very little benefit indeed from endowments, a great portion of which were appropriated to the benefit of the higher classes. That was very much the case under the system of competition which now took place. As a matter of fact, where there was free and open competition, the poorer classes could not, as a rule, enter. Why, the great school of Eton was originally a Charity foundation. It was not so now. He hoped that, in Scotland, there would not be any of this shifting upwards; and he quite sympathized with the object the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had so much at heart—namely, the creation of a ladder which the poorer boys would be able to mount, and by which they should receive the full measure of the benefits of the endowments left for them. He spoke with some warmth upon this subject, because there was a very large and handsome endowment in the borough he represented, which, according to the will of the donor, was most especially and most particularly intended for the benefit of the poor, and a proposal had been made by which the benefit of that endowment should be shifted upwards. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give them the assurance that he would take care that, in Scotland, at all events, there should not be any of the shifting up to which he had referred.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he might be allowed to express the hope that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) would endeavour to do something to remedy the defect of the 60th clause of the Act of 1872, which dealt with the removal of teachers who were appointed before the passing of that Act. That clause provided that—

"No teacher appointed before 1872 can be removed from his office except for cruel treatment of the children, immoral conduct, or inefficiency."

A case had occurred where the schoolmaster was a most able teacher, thoroughly efficient, not immoral, and not guilty of any cruelty, yet he was negligent, and he remained. There was no power to remove such a man if the School Board wished to do so. The man would not fill up the returns, the managers of the school could not get any Government grant; indeed, everything was at a deadlock. It was not a theoretical objection he was raising; there was a case in point, and if the right hon. Gentleman would do something to remedy this defect in the Act, he would confer a great boon upon the country.

MR. RAMSAY said, he was prompted to say a word or two in consequence of what fell from his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell). He did not know the particular endowments to which his hon. Friend had referred; but he could assure his hon. Friend that no body of men could be more anxious to give the poor the benefits of any endowments than the Educational Endowment Commissioners were. He was persuaded that, on an examination of the scheme proposed by those Commissioners, the hon. Gentleman would be disposed to give them full credit for having carried the Statutes out faithfully in the interests of the poor. The hon. Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Frazer-Mackintosh) and others had referred to the question of teaching

Gaelic in the schools in the Highlands. As a matter of fact, one of the chief difficulties in getting Gaelic taught in the Highlands, was that parents would not allow their children to occupy their time in acquiring a knowledge of their mother tongue. School boards had full right at the present time, to appoint teachers possessing a knowledge of Gaelic; but only a very small number of the persons who had taken to the profession of teaching had acquired a knowledge of that language. What, therefore, could the school board do? He fully sympathized with the object his hon. Friend (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) had in view, and he was much struck by the case which had been cited of a school in the Western Highlands, in which not one of the children in attendance could speak a word of English, while the teacher was not able to teach a word of Gaelic. The truth was, that the Gaelic School Society, which was established more than a century ago for the purpose of teaching the children of Gaelic parents to read the Bible in their mother tongue, had been obliged to discontinue their operations in consequence of the failure of the children to attend — the parents would not allow them to attend. A school board he had in mind desired to elect the best teachers; but, in the election, they failed to secure the services of one who had a knowledge of Gaelic. There was an undoubted difficulty in getting teachers who spoke Gaelic; and, therefore, he thought that when the school boards in the Highlands found they could not get a teacher possessing a knowledge of that language, they did well to select one of the best acquirements. Where the rates were so high, as the hon. Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) had stated, school boards begrudged anything that could possibly add a further burden to the rates. No one could be surprised at such a feeling on the part of a school board whose rate was 1*s.* or more in the pound. If anything else was required to be done, it should be done at the expense of the Imperial Treasury. [Mr. COURTNEY dissented.] His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) shook his head very gravely at that suggestion; but he (Mr. Ramsay) felt that, as the State had regarded it as its duty to provide education for the whole of the population, there should not be a case in which the school rate was so high as it had been represented to be in some places in the Highlands. One of his hon. Friends had pointed out that the rates were unnecessarily augmented by the class of schools built. He had seen a well-taught school, where the teacher was acting under an umbrella. That was not a desirable state of affairs; but then the Department did not take into consideration the circumstances of the population who had been taught in the schools. On the contrary, they had laid down a hard-and-fast rule that all board schools should be of a certain construction and afford certain accommodation—in short, it was held that what was suitable for Middlesex was suitable for Ross-shire, or any other part of the Highlands. That was wrong. He thought it was wrong when the scheme was before the Board of Education, of which he was a member, and he then suggested that the circumstances of the population should be taken into account in deciding what sort of a school should be erected. That was not done, and the consequence was that a great deal of money was expended by the State in the erection of buildings which were in character very different, indeed, to the dwellings of the children who were educated in them. A good deal of money might, with advantage, have been saved; but that matter, however, was now past, and it was needless to cry over spilt milk. As he was acquainted with the Highlands, and took an interest in the education there, he thought it was due to the Committee that he should point out that one of the chief difficulties which beset the teaching of Gaelic was the unwillingness of the parents to allow their children to learn the language.

MR. MUNDELLA said, the debate had not been long; but it had been very practical and interesting. He thanked hon. Members, not only for the very interesting discussion that had taken place, but also for the personal references that had been made to his visit to Scotland. He was well satisfied with what he saw during his visit; but he agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Falkirk (Mr. Ramsay), that there was a great deal still wanting in the rural districts. He was anxious to know what could be done in those districts. His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow University (Mr. J. A. Camp-

bell) gave them an excellent example of what could be done in the way of securing regularity of attendance; but he (Mr. Mundella) did not know how his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) relished the reference to the success which attended the movement the hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. A Campbell) described. The hon. Gentleman showed that 4,880 children in Glasgow had never missed a single attendance in the year, owing to the fact that little prizes were given for regularity. He told them that for the small expenditure of £12 12*s.* they largely increased the average attendance; but he did not tell them how much they increased the grant. He (Mr. Mundella) had no doubt that the £12 12*s.* produced an increase in the grant from the Treasury of, at least, £50. He could not object—and he was sure his hon. Friend (Mr. Courtney) did not object—if the grants were much increased by these means; because grants were automatic, and their increase depended upon the good management of the schools and the regular attendance of the children. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. A. Campbell) complained of the great expense arising from the difference between the Municipal and School Board electoral roll. That difference was to be regretted, and if the Session had not been so far advanced, he (Mr. Mundella) would certainly have introduced a measure for the assimilation of the two electoral rolls in question. His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) spoke of the Technical Commission, and of the desirability of adopting their recommendations. That very valuable Report would require to be carefully considered; and it must be remembered that it had only been presented within the last few weeks, long after the Code was laid on the Table. It was a Report which ought not to be dealt with hastily—teachers, themselves, would not like it to be dealt with hastily, because it recommended, for instance, that drawing should be compulsory in every child. Subjects of that kind required very carefully weighing before they were finally adopted. He could promise that whatever was done for England should be done for Scotland at the same time; he should establish no distinction between the two countries in that respect. His hon. Friend the Member for Falkirk (Mr. Ramsay) complained that they had not already carried out the recommendation of the Committee of which he was a Member—that a teacher should be found in every parish capable of teaching the higher subjects. He (Mr. Mundella) had a good deal of sympathy with the recommendation; but it was one which was not very easily carried out. They had sent very strong circulars to the school boards; but they had not met with that ready response it was hoped they would. Some of the school boards said—"Oh! we have no demand;" others said—"We are well satisfied with our schoolmaster, and we cannot afford to have another; it would largely increase our rates." All these were matters for careful consideration, and he was of opinion the recommendation could only be carried out by a gradual improvement in the quality of the teacher. It would be a great thing if every young teacher in Scotland would avail himself of the facilities which the a Scottish Universities afforded to obtain degree. He passed now to the remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for the Inverness Burghs (Mr. Fraser Mackintosh), who spoke, as did also the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), about the teaching of Gaelic, or rather about the instruction of the Gaelic-speaking population. He (Mr. Mundella) took exception to the statement of both his hon. Friends as to the desirability of making Gaelic a specific subject. He did not believe that was what was really required. It had been said that Irish was a specific subject in some schools in Ireland. Yes; but he had inquired how many children had been taught Irish. Twenty-five children had been taught the language. That was the net result. Undoubtedly, the capability of speaking two languages was most important; it was almost an education itself. There was no greater education than the mastery of a second language. But the folly of attempting to teach children, who only understood Gaelic, English through an English schoolmaster or mistress, was too apparent to need any comment. But what was to be said of the school board that did that? Here was a Highland parish; it was its own local authority; it had a Gaelic-speaking population, and yet it engaged a schoolmistress who could not speak a single word of Gaelic to teach children who

could not speak a word of English. Surely, if the local authority were so deficient in common sense as to take that course, how was the Education Department in London to bring them to their senses? Long before the Report of the Crofters' Commission was published, he made inquiries as to the state of affairs in Wales; because, in the Principality, there was a large Welsh-speaking population. There was a vast and varied literature in the Welsh language, daily papers were published in Welsh, and some of our best standard works were written in that language. What did he find? From the Report made last year, with respect to Education in Wales, he found that 95 per cent of the persons who taught the Welsh-speaking population could themselves speak Welsh. No grant was given for Welsh; but not only could the teachers speak Welsh, and examine the children in Welsh, but the Department required the Inspectors to examine the children in their own language, and to see that the children could translate from the one language into the other. That seemed to him to be what was wanted in the Highlands. It was not wanted that the Gaelic-speaking population should be tied to one language; it was not wanted that the people should learn English as mere parrot-talk; but that they should be able to understand it, and translate English into Gaelic, and Gaelic into English, and thus get the mastery of the two languages. But where were they to get the teachers from? That was the first difficulty. The second difficulty was, how were they to get school boards to teach Gaelic? He would, however, give the matter careful attention. He felt bound to remind the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) that the Crofters' Report had only been out a few weeks. [Dr. CAMERON: I spoke of two other Reports.] Neither of the other two Reports the hon. Gentleman spoke of recommended Gaelic; they only said Gaelic should be the medium through which the Gaelic-speaking population should be taught, and in that he fully and heartily concurred. Well, now, he agreed with every word which fell from the hon. Baronet the Member for North Lanarkshire (Sir Edward Colebrooke) with reference to infant schools. He was bound to say that some of the best infant school teachers in England he had known had been trained in Glasgow and Edinburgh. He did not think that the cheerful, joyous life which children of seven or eight years of age could and ought to enjoy in infant schools, had anything but the most beneficial effect in after years. If children were properly trained in infant schools, they never failed to pass their subsequent examinations; they were much better disciplined, and the progress of education was much easier for them during the rest of their lives. His hon. Friend the Member for Fifeshire (Mr. R. P. Bruce) made some reference to the question of over-pressure. His remarks were very wise; he (Mr. Mundella) quite agreed with him. They must expect exaggerated statements. Those statements were often made from conflicting motives. Some of the persons who made the statements did not care for education; they rather disliked it, and would do anything to make it unpopular. Some of the persons were teachers who wished for less work to do, and more to be paid for doing it. The belief in over-pressure was prompted by a variety of motives. No doubt, some of the doctors were very sincere in regard to the question; but he (Mr. Mundella) should be very sorry to be under the doctors in everything. He was afraid that, like Sacho Panza in the Island of Barataria, we should get nothing at all if doctors were to have all their own way; if they were to govern us altogether, a very bad time we should have. The hon. Member for Fifeshire asked if the Department were prepared to apply the new Code to Scotland? The old Code was in existence in Scotland; indeed, there had been no change at all in the application of the Code to Scotland. He believed that Scotland would benefit enormously, educationally and financially, if the new English Code were properly applied in that country; but they could not apply anything new, either in Scotland or elsewhere, without encountering some opposition. The men who were doing well under the existing Scottish Code, did not desire to make any change. The Department, however, were familiarizing the Scotch Inspectors with the working of the English Code, and they were taking some of the best of the English Inspectors down to Scotland, to examine what was being done there and to see

how the English Code would apply. He knew the jealousy—he might almost say the fear—which Scotch Members entertained of contamination from contact with England in educational matters; so that he should be on his guard against wounding their susceptibilities. He could assure them that he was as eager as they were that nothing should be done to lower the character of the Scottish education. His hon. Friend the Member for Kilmarnock (Mr. Dick-Peddie) referred to the question of school-building. What he (Mr. Mundella) said was, that it was believed £5,000 would cover the building grants. The 31st of December, 1873, was the latest period for application under the Act of 1872 for building grants, and it was his opinion that £5,000 would complete the grants. That was all he intended to convey. Glasgow, Dundee, and other great centres had to provide for an increasing population, and the Treasury would have, no doubt, to lend their money for the purpose.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he referred to the Report of last year, which stated that only about 10,000 school places were required in Scotland, and he went on to ask how the right hon. Gentleman could reconcile that statement with the fact that there was a deficiency of 54,000 places in seven counties.

MR. MUNDELLA said, the calculation was one he had not had an opportunity of looking into. He could quite understand that there might be an ample supply for all who attended, without meeting the ideal supply which was in the mind of the Department. His hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) questioned him as to the extension of the day industrial school system in Scotland. He should be very glad to extend the system to Scotland. He thought it ought to be extended to Scotland; but the initiative must come from the Home Office, or he must have from the Home Secretary, under whose charge this matter had hitherto been, power to extend the system to Scotland. He had been in communication with his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Hibbert), and he hoped that, during the Recess, an arrangement would be completed by which the Education Department would have power to deal with the wants of Scotland with respect to day industrial schools. His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) dwelt upon another point, arising out of the Report of the Crofters' Commission, respecting the debts of the Highland parishes. To deal with those debts was not the work of the Education Department; he could only administer the Acts as he found them. As a matter of fact, the debts were incurred before the present Government came into Office; the provision made, was made and sanctioned before they came into Office. He was bound to say, from the evidence laid before him, that so far from there being undue pressure, there had been an anxious endeavour on the part of his Predecessors in Office to restrain expenditure in the Highland counties. Those counties were told that cheaper schools than they were putting up would suffice; but they were eager to spend money. His hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster) drew attention to the Scottish Training Colleges, and he sketched out what had already been placed before him (Mr. Mundella) by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities (Mr. J. A. Campbell)—namely, the unwillingness on the part of some Universities to undertake the training of teachers. The training of teachers in a University implied that they must have practice in school, that they must be taught the science of teaching, and that they must be under proper moral control. He was bound to say, knowing what he did of Scotch Training Colleges, that they were less sectarian than other Training Colleges; in fact, in England we took teachers from Scotch Training Colleges into all our schools—board schools, and other schools—and we were glad to get them. Scottish teachers did honour to their profession, for they included in their number the very best teachers in Europe. He knew that their qualifications were becoming higher and higher. He believed the Glasgow School Board appointed no one head-master who was not a graduate of a University. They were right in doing it, and he should be glad if more school boards would follow the example of Glasgow in that respect. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) complained of the inability of school boards to remove

teachers appointed before the Act of 1872. He (Mr. Mundella) was aware of the difficulty. A schoolmaster might not be culpable; but he might be somewhat inefficient, he might be inert; yet it was not a very easy matter to deal with him. Where the inertness was not very serious, it was a question of time alone; the matter would cure itself, and they must be patient. Of course, a schoolmaster must not be allowed to stand in the way of the education of the children. He believed that, as to the case to which the hon. and gallant Gentleman referred, the school board had consulted the Education Department. [Sir ALEXANDER GORDON: We have twice consulted the Department and failed.] Of course, it was requisite in such cases to prove that the master was culpable. The Department would be very glad to help the school board in question, as far as they could; but they could not go beyond the statutes, and he did not consider it a case in regard to which it was necessary to bring in a new statute. He expressed his thanks to the Committee for the patience with which they had listened to him, and hoped he had not failed to reply to any point which had been raised during the discussion.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he was willing to admit the clearness of the statement which the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) had laid before them; he was willing also to admit that the right hon. Gentleman had replied to most of the points raised in a very satisfactory way; but he thought the Committee had reason to be dissatisfied with the answer of the right hon. Gentleman with respect to the recommendations of the Crofters' Commission. The Report of that Commission was brought before the House some time ago, and he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) then understood from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) that several of the recommendations of the Commission, particularly those relating to education, would be taken into the serious consideration of the Government. He, therefore, expected that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would have told them something definite to-night as to what was to be done by his Department with regard to the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on the subject of education. The right hon. Gentleman had referred, he thought, to only two of the recommendations; one of which was the recommendation as to the teaching of Gaelic. He was not prepared to differ from the views of the right hon. Gentleman on that subject; but he wished to know from the right hon. Gentleman what pressure his Department, or if his Department had not power, what pressure the Treasury had put on the school boards which indulged in the absurd practice of employing a teacher, who could speak nothing but English, to instruct children who could speak nothing but Gaelic. These absurdities were not the fault of the people, because, in almost every case, the landlord, or his factor, was chairman of the school board, and by means of the cumulative vote only those people were elected to the board who were acceptable to him. He was very desirous to know whether the Department could not prevent school boards throwing away the ratepayers' money in the way described? The right hon. Gentleman had rather unkindly put upon the Local Authorities in the Western Highlands the responsibility of incurring great expense in the erection of school houses. Upon this point the right hon. Gentleman was directly at variance with the Crofters' Commission, who reported thus—

> "These Highland and Island school buildings were erected under the stringent regulations of the Scottish Education Department, in a style and on a scale often beyond the requirements of the people, and at an expense quite disproportioned to their means, at a time when building was exceptionally costly."

Such was the statement of the Royal Commissioners. He supposed they had good authority for the statement, and he had no doubt his hon. Friend (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh), who was one of the Commissioners, would be able to refer them to the authority on which the statement was made. It seemed to him (Mr. J. W. Barclay) that the Treasury ought to have made up its mind, and that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) ought to have been able to inform them whether the Government really intended to relieve the ratepayers in the Highlands of part of the enormous charge placed upon them by the erection of schools. He thought it was probable

that if something was not done to relieve them, some of the districts would break down under the load of the education rate, which now amounted, in some cases, to 6*s.* 9*d.* in the pound, and threatened to swallow up the whole rental of the parish. [Mr. MUNDELLA: Only in one case.] Was the right hon. Gentleman not prepared to do something for this one case? There were many cases in which the rate was over 1*s.* and 2*s.* in the pound. He asked the right hon. Gentleman to consider the uproar which would be raised in the House and the country, if any school board in England were charged anything like 2*s.* in the pound. Complaints were now made by the ratepayers of London —by the wealthy ratepayers of London —where the school board rate was not more than 8*d.* in the pound. No sympathy was extended to the poor people in the Western Highlands, where the school rate amounted to 1*s.*, 2*s.*, 3*s.*, and in one case to as much as 6*s.* 9*d.* in the pound. If there was only one case in which the rate was so high, it deserved the serious attention of the right hon. Gentleman. Then, again, the Royal Commission recommended that some alteration should be made in the average attendance grant. It was quite clear that in parishes broken up by arms of the sea, the average attendance could not be so great as that in large towns. It was only right that some action should be taken upon the recommendations of the Crofters' Commission. It might not be a large matter; but if the right hon. Gentleman would say he would do what he could to carry out the recommendations, and to relieve the ratepayers so far as it was in his power, he would show that he had some practical sympathy with the Highlanders of Scotland. There was also the recommendation made by the Royal Commission to the Department to make an increased grant under Section 67; but upon that point the right hon. Gentleman had said nothing. In point of fact, he (Mr. J. W. Barclay) thought the right hon. Gentleman had not considered the Report of the Crofters' Commission at all, or he could hardly suppose that he would have overlooked these important points. The Commissioners further recommended an increased supply of teachers to the Western Highlands; and he should like to hear what the right hon. Gentleman had to say upon that point. They also recommended the more extensive employment of women as school teachers, and commented upon the absence of higher class schools in the Western Highlands. These were points to which he thought they ought to invite the attention of the right hon. Gentleman with some persistency. The Highlanders on the West Coast had been, and were still, looking anxiously forward to see what was going to be done, to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission. They had already been informed that there was to be no legislation during the present Session of Parliament; but they still entertained some hope that, as far as it was in the power of the Government, the recommendations of the Royal Commission would receive careful consideration, and that some attempt would be made to carry them into effect. The right hon. Gentleman was only asked to state, for the information of the Committee, and of the people who were so deeply interested in the matter, what the Department really intended to do, or if it intended to do anything. He (Mr. J. W. Barclay) was told that there were about 80,000 children on the West Coast of Scotland who were comprised in the Report of the Crofters' Commission, and that was a very considerable number. The right hon. Gentleman had shown himself very desirous to promote the technical and higher education of Scotland, and he deserved the thanks of the people of Scotland for the interest he had taken in the matter. At the same time, he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought not to neglect these poor people on the West Coast of Scotland. It seemed to him that they had special claims upon the attention of the Government. They had been very much neglected; they had very little ability to do anything for themselves; and in such a case as this it was naturally incumbent on the Department to stretch out to them a helping hand. They were looking forward now with considerable anxiety to what the Government would do; and he should have thought they would take advantage of the power they possessed to carry out to the fullest extent practicable the recommendations of a Royal Commission appointed by themselves. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to give the Committee some satisfactory assurance upon the matter.

DR. CAMERON said, he wished to place before the Committee exactly what it was the Scotch Members asked for. The Royal Commission had reported in favour of certain proposals requiring legislation, and also certain administrative proposals. The matter had already been brought before the House, and the Government told them that they could not deal legislatively with the recommendations of the Committee this Session; but they might give effect to some of the administrative proposals. They had also been told that certain concessions had been made in reducing the guarantee, which was in itself a trivial matter, and not worth talking about.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not within this Vote.

DR. CAMERON said, he was only going to show that the administrative proposals had been refused, as well as those which were legislative. In the matter of education, the Crofters' Commission made six administrative proposals; and he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) to say whether he intended to carry out any one of them. Those six proposals were the remission of school board debt in the Highland parishes, where the fees were excessive or abnormally large. The right hon. Gentleman had given an answer to them upon that question to the effect that he would not deal with it, and that he did not intend to remit the debt. [Mr. MUNDELLA: I did not say so.] Then, would the right hon. Gentleman do so, or would he not? He asked for something like a definite answer. As he had said, there were six recommendations. He had explained the first. The next was for an increased grant under Section 67. That would require some legislation. Did the right hon. Gentleman propose to give legislative effect to it? He did not ask the right hon. Gentleman to legislate this year; but he simply wanted to know whether he would legislate at all or not? He understood that the right hon. Gentleman did propose to legislate, and he hoped the Committee would be told something about it. The third suggestion of the Commissioners was that an increased grant should be given for average attendance, in order to meet the exceptional circumstances of the Highlands. [Mr. MUNDELLA: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman cheered that statement. Now, that was purely an administrative reform which could be effected by a stroke of the pen; and he asked the right hon. Gentleman if he intended to carry it out, or not? The next proposal of the Crofters' Commission was, that there should be a graduated grant for additional teachers. That was an administrative proposal, and could also be done by a stroke of the pen; and he would like to hear the right hon. Gentleman answer "Yea" or "Nay." The next proposal related to the establishment of high class schools. That, he imagined, was a subject which would require some consideration, and a reform which could not be carried out by a stroke of the pen. Therefore, they might fairly allow the right hon. Gentleman more time for the consideration of it. He now came to the last recommendation, which was that Gaelic should be made a specific subject, and be taught in the schools. Other Commissions and educational authorities had recommended the teaching of Gaelic as a means of instruction in the schools. The right hon. Gentleman said that this Commission alone had recommended it as a specific subject; but it must be remembered that this was the only Commission which had sat since specific subjects were introduced into the Scotch educational system at all; and, of course, it was the only Commission which had made any recommendation upon the matter. But Sir John Kay-Shuttleworth had lived and written long before the appointment of this Commission, and he had strongly recommended the adoption of this system. Long before the Commission was appointed, even early in the century, similar views were expressed; and in 1844 the absurdity was pointed out of teaching English to people who only understood Gaelic, by teachers who only understood English. Well, then, the six recommendations of the Commissioners were the remission of school board debt in Highland parishes; an increased grant under Section 67; an increased grant for average attendances, to meet the exceptional circumstances of the Highlands; a graduated grant for additional teachers; the establishment of high class schools; and, lastly, that Gaelic should be made a specific subject, and used as a means of teaching by

Gaelic-speaking teachers. There ought to be a definite answer given by the right hon. Gentleman as to whether it was the intention of the Government to carry out any, or the whole, of these recommendations. He wanted to know whether the Government intended to give effect to any of the recommendations of the Highland Commission; or whether they intended to consign the Report of the Commission to the lumber basket, where slumbered so many Reports of Commissions on Scotch subjects?

MR. MUNDELLA said, he thought he had said all that was necessary upon this subject, and he was sorry he had not satisfied his hon. Friends the Members for Forfarshire (Mr. J. W. Barclay) and Glasgow (Dr. Cameron). He had read the Report of the Crofters' Commission many times over, so far as that part of it which referred to education was concerned. The recommendations of the Commission, on that matter, were quite familiar to him; but with regard to the rest of the Report, he should be sorry to be required to pass an examination in regard to it. He had studied the Report with a great deal of care during the Easter holidays; but there had been very little time either for conference or action upon it. He had already explained to the Committee that the Code was obliged to be laid upon the Table of the House within a month after the meeting of Parliament, and that Code was the law for the present year. It was not easy to make all the changes which his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) asserted could be made with a stroke of the pen. Not a single one of those changes could be made, as the hon. Member appeared to think, by a stroke of the pen, or by the Lord President of the Council, or by the Lord President of the Council and the Vice President combined. There was not one of them that did not involve the consent of the Treasury, because it would lead to expenditure. He would run over them. The first was the remission of school board debt in the Highland parishes. What power did the hon. Gentleman suppose the Privy Council on Education had to remit debt? It was no more in his power to do so than in that of the hon. Gentleman himself. The second recommendation was for an increased grant under Section 67. That was a Statute Clause; and, as it did not come within the limit of the existing grant, it would require a new statute. The third recommendation was for an increased grant for average attendance to meet the exceptional circumstances of the Highlands; and that also could not be done without the consent of the Treasury. He would ask the hon. Member what kind of Report would come from the Audit Department, if the Privy Council were to allow increased grants for the Scotch schools? That recommendation also involved increased expenditure, and would require the consent of the Treasury. The fourth recommendation for a graduated grant to additional teachers was in the same position; and the fifth proposed the establishment of a high class school.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, that, of course, the Scotch Members understood that, as far as the Education Department was concerned, it could not carry out these recommendations of itself; but the right hon. Gentleman appeared there that night, as he understood, to answer for the Education Department, and they would expect from his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) an explanation of the views of the Treasury when those of the Vice President of the Council had been given.

MR. MUNDELLA said, the propositions contained in the Report of the Crofters' Commission were all matters to be considered by the Government, and sanctioned by the Treasury. It was for the Government, as a whole, to say whether, in the Highlands, there should be a larger expenditure of money in connection with educational purposes. If they came to that conclusion, nobody would be more happy to administer the grant than he would. The establishment of a high class school he could not deal with; but with regard to the introduction of Gaelic as a specific subject, he hoped to be able, and intended to deal with it. The matter, however, was not so easy as the hon. Gentleman seemed to think. Something must be done, in the first instance, to teach Gaelic to the teachers, it being a condition precedent to teaching Gaelic; and it should be understood by persons who also understood English. He should be most happy, as soon as he possibly could, to deal with the whole of the recommendations of the Commission.

DR. CAMERON said, the Committee had had nothing like a definite answer upon these points. His desire was to let the people of Scotland understand whether anything was to be done, as was promised the other night, or nothing at all. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), since he assumed that position on the Treasury Bench, had become an adept in referring to other officials before he made an answer. He (Dr. Cameron) had asserted that these reforms could be done by a stroke of the pen; and if they could not be carried out by one stroke of the pen, it was quite certain that they could be carried out by two—one on the part of the right hon. Gentleman, and the other on the part of his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury. Let them put their heads together, and tell the Committee what was going to be done. The Government might depend upon it that the Report of the Commissioners would not be allowed to rest until the people of Scotland knew whether it was going to be acted upon, how far it was going to be acted upon, or whether it was to be pitched overboard altogether. Unfortunately, when they asked what the Government intended to do, there was always a put off, which was precisely what he protested against. He did not know whether the Secretary to the Treasury could give the Committee any definite information upon the subject or not; he had certainly not given anything towards instruction in the higher class schools. As a matter of fact, they never got anything for Scotland, but were put off from pillar to post; and that was what he complained of. The Government had told them that they meant to do nothing legislatively — only administratively; and he wished to know what they intended to do? They were constantly expressing their desire to do everything, and were proposing to do everything, and consider everything; but they invariably ended by doing nothing. He trusted the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to give them a satisfactory explanation.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he really thought the Scotch Members were entitled to some more definite statement from the Treasury, or from the right hon. Gentleman, upon that question. As his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) said, they had been put off from time to time. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department addressed pleasant words to them; he had told them the matter was going to be looked into, and they naturally expected the Vice President of the Council would have been able to tell them what was intended to be done. It appeared to him that the Government had not yet considered whether they would do anything or not; and he thought the most convenient course would be to postpone the Vote in order to give the Treasury an opportunity of consulting the Education Department with regard to the carrying out of the recommendations in the Report of the Crofters' Commission. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman and his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury that the question was one of very considerable interest in the Western districts of Scotland; and not only there, but among a great many people who took an interest in the place of their birth, and who had left the Highlands many years ago. If it was competent for him to do so, he would move that the Vote be postponed, in order to afford an opportunity to the Education Department for explanation, and to the Treasury for making some statement as to their intentions in regard to the recommendations of the Crofters' Commission.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not competent for the hon. Member to move the postponement of the Vote; he can only move its withdrawal.

MR. COURTNEY said, that appeals had been made to him as to what the Government proposed to do with reference to the Report of the Crofters' Commission. The Report of the Crofters' Commission ranged over a great variety of subjects, and contained a considerable number of recommendations of great importance. They required to be considered carefully, not by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella) alone, nor by the Treasury, of which complaint had been made, but by that select Body called the Cabinet. Until it came before the Cabinet collectively, it was impossible for him to say anything upon it; nor did he think that it was possible to consider the question in the present state of the Session, although, probably, it ought to be considered in the Recess. He should have thought that his hon.

Friends would have understood that that was the state of the matter.

DR. CAMERON said, that the explanation of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) was perfectly satisfactory. They now knew that nothing would be done, and they fully understood the position of affairs. The explanation was perfectly satisfactory to this extent, that the people of Scotland knew exactly how they stood in the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £22,811, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission of England and Wales."

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, he had ventured to place on the Paper an Amendment in reference to this Vote, in order that he might again bring the action of the Charity Commissioners before the Committee. In almost every part of the country where the Charity Commissioners were acting the greatest possible discontent prevailed. He should say nothing about the Allotments Act, or the Charitable Trusts Act, because the working of those two Acts had been referred to a Select Committee, who were making inquiries with respect to them; but with regard to the Endowed Schools Act, the administration of which was by far the most important part of the work of the Charity Commissioners, that had not been referred to a Select Committee. It was quite true that there was a rumour that it was to be so referred; and one of the objects of his Motion was to obtain, if possible, an official statement that it was really the intention of the Government to refer the working of that Act to a Select Committee—and not only to a Select Committee, but to the same Committee, or to some Committee which should have the Members of the present Charitable Trusts Committee upon it. He hoped, in any reply the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) might make, he would give a public and positive assurance that that should be done. He proposed now to turn to the manner in which he hoped his Amendment would be met. He trusted he would not be again charged with wasting the time of the Committee, which charge he had been surprised to hear made by his right hon. Friend on a previous occasion. Was the right hon. Gentleman aware that the whole of the cases quoted on a former occasion referred to this action of the Commissioners in respect of the Endowed Schools Commission, which, as he had already stated, was not referred to the Select Committee, and only one case under the Charitable Trusts Act was touched on incidentally—namely, that of Lenche's Trust. Not only was he desirous of urging on the Government to promise this inquiry, but he asked them to suspend the schemes which the Charity Commissioners had prepared until the result of that inquiry could be made known. He was quite aware that reforms in many of the charities of this country were necessary; but what he complained of was that the schemes of the Charity Commissioners inflicted great hardships upon the poorer classes. They almost invariably inflicted great hardship upon the poorer classes of the country, being framed in the interests of the wealthier classes. He also complained of the manner in which the Charity Commissioners ignored the expression of public opinion. They absolutely took no notice whatever of the local opinion of the various districts, whether it assumed the form of action by the Town Council, or of opinion expressed at public meetings. He had there a case which he had mentioned a day or two ago, because it was pressing — namely, the case of Kendal; and he would read a few lines from a letter he had received upon the case from a gentleman who happened to be a strong Conservative. He had also received one or two letters of a similar character from gentlemen who were on the other side of politics. This letter said—

"The question of the Endowed Schools Commissioners confiscating the property of the poorer classes, and transferring the same to the rich, is, I trust, a matter in which you will persevere. It is one of the greatest scandals of the age—the way in which these Commissioners have robbed the poor. There are few cases more flagrant than their attempt to rob the poor of Kendal."

The writer went on to describe the free schools in that neighbourhood, one of

which was a Bluecoat School founded in 1670. He said—

"Until this day, it has been one of the greatest blessings to the poor. There have been no complaints against the efficiency of the school; not a word of complaint as to any maladministration; and yet the step in process of being adopted seeks to upset the endowment, and to create a high school or boarding school for the benefit of the middle and upper classes, in return for which they give 14 Foundation Scholarships to boys who have been three years in any elementary school. That is the plea on which the property is taken away, or the compensation given for taking the endowment from the poorer classes. As an alternative, they coolly refer the children to the parish, if they are unable to pay the fees. In case of poverty, the fees are to be paid out of the rates—and thus these poor children will be converted into outdoor paupers."

There had been a great stir in the town; every kind of remonstrance had been made by all classes in the town; and this gentleman concluded his letter thus—

"But all this is persistently ignored, and they still seem determined to thrust their scheme upon us in spite of our protests."

He stated in another letter, as the result of this action—

"I may mention that a lady of my acquaintance, a day or two ago, on hearing of the scheme of the Commissioners, immediately went to her lawyer and struck out of her will a bequest of £500 which she had made to the schools, and for the truth of this statement I can vouch."

In the school there were something like 80 children, who were not only clothed, but educated. Whether that was the right form or not he would not say; but it was a positive possession, belonging to these children, who certainly ought to have some compensation for being deprived of it. There had been a town's meeting convened by the Mayor, at which there was a strong expression of local feeling, although it had been passed over by the Charity Commissioners as of no account whatever. At that meeting the scheme of the Charity Commissioners was almost, if not quite, unanimously condemned; and he was told that nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the borough had signed a protest against it. The Town Council had protested against it, and had formed a Committee in order to get the scheme amended, but with no effect. The right hon. Gentleman stated that he ought to name the cases which he complained of. Now, he (Mr. J. Collings) complained of every scheme, without exception, which these Commissioners had forced upon the people. He complained of all of them on the same principle—namely, that nearly every scheme substantially deprived the poorer classes of their rights for the sake of the wealthier classes. He could assure his right hon. Friend that he had made somewhat too light a matter of this complaint; and he would find that it could not be settled, and would not be settled, unless some alteration was made. For instance, on a recent occasion, he had ventured to bring forward the case of Tunbridge Wells. He mentioned that, because he saw his hon. Friend the Member for Colchester (Mr. Causton) there, who knew the circumstances of the case well. The reply of the Vice President of the Council was most unsatisfactory; and he thought that the right hon. Gentleman had been very much misinformed with respect to the facts of the case. He would, therefore, state them again. The original draft scheme of the Charity Commissioners was published in 1875; and they proposed in that draft scheme that out of the accumulation of the surplus funds of the high school established in Tonbridge there should be a middle or lower class school for the benefit of the people of Tonbridge. [Mr. MUNDELLA dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman dissented from that statement, and he had refused to accept it when it had been mentioned on a former occasion; but he (Mr. Jesse Collings) had a copy of the draft of the scheme published in 1875, in which it was stated—"A school in or near the town of Tonbridge." Now, on the faith of that, the Skinners' Company spent £20,000—£10,000 out of the corporate funds of the Company, and £10,000 out of certain other funds which stood as trust funds of the Company, so that altogether £20,000 were given by the Skinners' Company. That sum was accepted by the Charity Commissioners; and a supplemental scheme was issued embodying that proposal, and in that supplemental scheme the words "in or near the town of Tonbridge" were altered into "in or near the parish of Tonbridge." The inhabitants of Tonbridge objected to the alteration at the time, because the parish extended for five or six miles; but they heard nothing of the final intentions of the Charity Commissioners until 1882,

two years after the scheme was finally settled. In that year, in a communication to the people of Tonbridge, the Charity Commissioners for the first time declared their intention of establishing these middle-class schools in the town of Tunbridge Wells, five miles off. The people of Tonbridge regarded that as a great grievance, because it practically deprived them of the benefits of these middle and lower class schools, and they considered it a breach of faith in this respect—that the £20,000 they had obtained from the Skinners' Company had been given on the distinct understanding that these middle and lower class schools should be established in or near the town of Tonbridge. Then there was another scheme which required to be stopped immediately—namely, the scheme for Rochdale. In the borough of Rochdale there was an agitation going on amongst all classes against the scheme of the Charity Commissioners, which proposed to destroy the free school which had existed for a very long period; and it was a curious fact that this scheme was almost identical with one which had been for some time propounded by the Vicar, and rejected by the Trustees. The existing school gave free education to the poorer classes, with a preference to orphans and the children of those who had large families. It might be said that persons in that condition might go to the parish to have their education provided; but the children had been supplied for a long period with these privileges in regard to a free school; they had enjoyed them for something like 100 or 150 years; and it was only in the present day, without a word against the conduct of the school, for he believed the Inspector had reported favourably in regard to it, but simply because it was a free school, which seemed to be the object in all cases of the positive hatred of the Charity Commissioners, that the privileges enjoyed by these poor children were to be taken away. The Charity Commissioners had but one policy respecting a free school, and that was to destroy it as soon as they possibly could. He knew of several cases in Rochdale in which the right of the poor to send their children to this school, not as a matter of charity, but in the enjoyment of their own absolute rights, made all the difference between applying to the parish and maintaining themselves in their decent poverty. Then, again, the Commissioners said to these poor children —"We take away your endowments, and we convert the school into a middle class girls' school, for the benefit of the middle classes; and you, if you cannot pay, must apply to the parish." A more demoralizing or more pauperizing proceeding could not possibly be conceived. Then they had the case of the village of Scarning, in Suffolk, about which he had received a very unsatisfactory reply. What were the facts of the case? In the village of Scarning there had been a free school for 250 years. It was founded with positive instructions from the donor that it should always remain a free school; and up to three years ago it had not only been a free school, but a very flourishing free school, for the income had really met the expenditure. Three years ago the Charity Commissioners decided that the free character of that should be destroyed. They imposed a fee of 1*d.* a-week, and the money so raised was to be expended in scholarships, which scholarships were offered to various parishes round, and which it was obvious the children of the agricultural labourer would have very little chance of obtaining. There had been meetings of the labourers in the parish, and the opposition to the scheme he could only describe by stating that the entire village and neighbourhood had been placed in a state of riot. The inhabitants felt themselves aggrieved; they refused to believe that half-a-dozen men sitting in London, or any central power, could come down, without their consent, and, sweeping these schools away, deprive them of privileges which they regarded as theirs as much as the houses they lived in. So greatly was their just indignation manifested, that these poor people refused to send their children to the school at all if they were to pay a fee. They had sent them on several occasions, as a test, without the fee, and they had been turned back, and for two years the children had been taught in a Methodist Chapel by a volunteer teacher. He did not think that was a satisfactory state of things to introduce into the parishes of England; and, undoubtedly, a strong sense of hardship and injustice had been created among the poor in a variety of cases. He was aware that by making strong representations they

might induce the Charity Commissioners to hold their hands. He had just been told that they were going to stop the schemes for Kendal and for Stroud; but there ought not to be a system which rendered it necessary in each case to bring this strong pressure to bear. This he knew had been done in some cases; but where the poor in the poorest districts had nobody to help them their remonstrances had been disregarded, and they had simply to suffer. He knew it would be argued by his right hon. Friend that the Charity Commissioners had no option; that they were simply to carry out the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. The complaint he made was against the unfair administration of the Act of 1869. Clause 11 of the Endowed Schools Act—and he asked the particular attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council to this clause—provided that—

"It shall be the duty of the Commissioners in every scheme which abolishes or modifies any privileges or educational advantages to which a particular class of persons are entitled, and that whether as inhabitants of a particular area or otherwise, to have due regard to the educational interests of such class of persons."

What had happened in the case of Tonbridge? The original grant was "in or near the town," not "parish;" and, in spite of that, the Charity Commissioners had signified their intention to put the school at Tunbridge Wells. [Mr. MUNDELLA: It was the decision of the Court of Chancery.] No matter what the decision of the Court of Chancery was, the right hon. Gentleman would not dispute that it was done under the scheme of the Charity Commissioners, and that the Commissioners intended, against the wishes of the people in the area, to remove the school to Tunbridge Wells, five miles off. Then as to the class of persons entitled to the benefits of the endowment. Clause 12 provided that—

"In framing schemes under this Act, provision shall be made, so far as conveniently may be, for extending to girls the benefits of endowments."

Take the case of Kendal; the girls, under the new scheme, had no advantages. In Rochdale they received advantages in the free school; but, by destroying the schools and putting the funds to the strengthening of existing grammar schools, girls were deprived of every atom of advantage which was bequeathed to them, and which they enjoyed for so long a time. Then, again, if they turned to the 30th section of the Act, they found that—

"In any scheme relating to such endowments, due regard shall be had to the educational interests of persons of the same class in life, or resident within the same particular area as at the commencement of this Act," &c.

He maintained that the spirit of these instructions had been violated. He was quite aware what the answer was—namely, that by the establishment of a certain number of free scholarships in the grammar schools the interests of the poorer classes were secured. Never was anything more illusory. As a matter of fact, the interests of the poorer classes were not secured in any way; and he would prove the position he took up. Let him take, as an example, what the Charity Commissioners considered one of the most liberal schemes—that was, the Birmingham scheme, under which he (Mr. Jesse Collings) was one of the Governors. It was quoted as a very liberal arrangement on the part of the Charity Commissioners to secure the rights of the poorer classes. The school had, at the present time, an income of £30,000 a-year. For 300 years it was a free school—it was free until the Charity Commissioners insisted upon making it a paying school. The school had been divided into one high school, and a certain number of grammar or middle-class schools. For the high school the Commissioners had imposed a payment of £9 a-year, besides books, which formed a very considerable item, and an entrance fee. Now, in 1883, to what extent was the advantage of the school enjoyed by anyone below the middle class? There were two scholars admitted free from the elementary schools into the high school in that year; and that, he thought, might be taken as a rough test of the extent to which the poorer classes were benefited, so far as the high school was concerned. There were a good many children who were not poor in the grammar schools, and he admitted that they had got some benefit from those schools. The annual fees for the middle class grammar school were £3; there was an entrance fee, and the charge for books amounted to a considerable sum in the course of the year.

Now, in 1883 there were 58 children who came from the elementary schools, and were admitted free into these grammar schools. So there were 60 children of the poorer classes in the borough of Birmingham who were admitted free, and that was the whole advantage these classes received out of the income of £30,000 a-year. Most of those who were admitted free were children who were at private schools, or boarding schools, or who had private tutors. To the children of the poorer classes, the elementary school children, whose parents were willing to make sacrifices in order that they might enjoy the advantages of the education of a middle class school, the Governors had been under the painful necessity of saying—"No; you cannot come, unless you can pay £3 a-year and provide books." He had taken the trouble to ascertain the reason why more of these children did not attend the school, and some of the parents had admitted that it was on account of their poverty. Of course, many people would not give any reason. He maintained that the poorer classes, who had as much right to a fair share of the foundation as any other class, had, practically, but very little benefit. That was the opinion of the people of Birmingham generally. The matter had been before the Town Council, and on several occasions a resolution had been passed condemning the scheme as being contrary and opposed to justice. So strong was the feeling in the borough, that if any Town Councillor out of the 64 were to attempt to defend the present grammar school scheme, he would not have a good chance of being returned to the Council. Was it not monstrous that Birmingham, which could manage its own concerns, which had a debt of £7,000,000 sterling, and over £300,000 income, should not be allowed to disburse £30,000 a-year in the manner in which the town required it to be spent? If they wanted the smallest thing done by the Board of Governors, they had to go to London to get the consent of the Charity Commissioners. On a recent occasion, he (Mr. Jesse Collings) complained before the Town Council of the enormous increase of the legal charges. The answer was—"We cannot help it; there is such expense in going to the Charity Commissioners, and dealing with them, that we cannot avoid an increase." Of course, it would be argued that the result of the fees was to increase the education. [Mr. BRYCE: Hear, hear!] His hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets cried "Hear, hear!" The income had been increased by fees to the extent of £2,000, £3,000, and even £4,000; but what effect had there been on the education? If the grammar school did not exist there, the education of the children of the well-to-do parents would be attended to. In consequence of the fees, however, the poorer children could not take advantage of the grammar school; they lost their education; so that this £4,000 really meant a barrier to the education of the children of the town; many children were shut out from the advantages of the school; and, as a consequence, the general culture of the town, the general education of the town, was far lower than it would be if the fees were removed. He contended that their object ought not to be to produce a few University men, a few giants in education; but it ought to be to lift the whole educational condition of the borough. They wanted the factories and offices to be filled with well-educated men; and it was his opinion that if every exhibition were abolished to-morrow, and masters were forbidden to concentrate any efforts on this or that special point, but told that their business was to lift the whole educational status of the school, the cause of education would be greatly advanced. For what did he find? Why, that parents in sending their children were only too apt to ask—"What is to be won?" or—"What exhibition is to be got?" Imbued with this miserable commercial spirit, their children ground away at some exhibition; but when they had got it, and when they had passed at the University, Heaven knew what became of them. If they advertised a situation with a salary of £50 or £100 a-year, how many University men, out of work, would they find to apply for it? He turned to the Report of the Charity Commissioners themselves for 1883, and what did they say? Why, that the endowments with which they had been called upon to deal might be taken mostly to have been given for the benefit of the poor. What was the argument of the Charity Commissioners in promoting these schemes? They argued—and he was sorry to say there were a number of people who agreed

with them—that free schooling was demoralizing to the poor. They ought to discard the word "charity;" because, if a man left money in trust for somebody else, and that somebody else received money, he received it as a right. At Birmingham they were giving an education which cost the foundation £35 a-year — they were giving it to the wealthy classes for £9. Was there no demoralization there? They were giving the wealthy people £26 per annum. Not a word was said about demoralization in that case; but the moment they began to pay 2*d.* or 3*d.* a-week for the poor, paid really out of their own money, there was great demoralization. The whole of the poorer classes, and a large number of the other classes of England, were with him in saying that the present state of things was monstrous. He had only one other argument to advance, and that was that the action of the Charity Commissioners tended to perpetuate the present abuses. He knew many cases where Trustees of endowments, knowing the weaknesses in the Trust they were administering, would gladly make improvements and do away with abuses; but they say—"No; we dare not apply to the Charity Commissioners, for what they will do is to take the Trust away altogether." He contended that that fear was the cause of the perpetuation of a large number of the abuses which existed. He put it to the Committee whether this confiscation was wise? Was it right to teach the people that for no cause, and without their being consenting parties, there could be taken away what they had believed from generation to generation to be theirs? If ever the people did get absolute power in this country, a very bad example was being set them; they would say—"There are other classes who possess property which we do not think is put to as good use as it might be; therefore, we will turn it to some better and proper use." Rightly or wrongly, they were giving the people an idea—and they felt the wrong bitterly—that they were taking away something which was theirs. He was no advocate for keeping things as they were; but if reform were brought in, let it be reform in accordance with modern ideas. He protested against the Commissioners going down to a place, and, in opposition to the whole public opinion of the borough or locality, saying—"We will take away the Trust and set up an institution, not in the same place, but miles away." The grievance to which he had given utterance would not sleep; it was gaining ground every day. Some definite declaration was required from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella). It was not enough for the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Endowed Schools Act imposed certain duties upon the Charity Commissioners; his (Mr. J. Collings's) contention was that it was the administration of the Act that was to blame in the matter. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £17,811, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission for England and Wales."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

MR. BRYCE said, that no one who had listened to the earnest speech of his hon. Friend (Mr. Jesse Collings) would dispute the great importance of the question he had raised. He thought, however, his hon. Friend had not taken the best means of raising the question. His hon. Friend had not been content to call the attention of the Committee to the importance of granting an inquiry; but he had asked them to follow him in the details of a great number of cases which Members of the Committee, and he dared say even the Member of the Government who represented the Charity Commissioners, had not come prepared to deal with. The hon. Gentleman's complaint was one that could not properly be made on this Vote. It was not a complaint against dereliction of duty on the part of the Charity Commissioners, but it was a complaint against the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, itself based upon the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission. He (Mr. Bryce), therefore, could not ask the Committee to listen to him while he went through the clauses of that Act, or called attention to the various points of the Report on which that Act was founded. But hon. Members who had read the Report of the Committee of the House which sat, he thought, in 1873, would see that the questions to which his hon. Friend referred really belonged

to the policy of that Act. He was far from saying his hon. Friend had not an excellent case for inquiry; but the matters to which he had referred were not matters for which the Charity Commissioners could fairly be either blamed or commended, inasmuch as the Charity Commissioners had done nothing but give effect to the Act of 1869, and the Report on which it was based. He should not attempt to follow his hon. Friend into the cases he had cited; in the first place, because there was not time; and, in the second place, because he was not prepared to do so. He had, however, a passing observation to make in respect of one of the cases. His hon. Friend referred to the case of Tunbridge Wells. He could not understand his hon. Friend's anxiety that, in the interest of the poor, that endowment there should be confined to the particular local area in which it had hitherto existed. Anyone who knew Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells knew that Tonbridge was a small and stagnant place, while Tunbridge Wells had grown up rapidly of late years, and that, having so recently grown up, it had got no endowed school. The Commissioners finding, under the terms of the will, that it was not only legal, but just as legal, to have the new school in Tunbridge Wells as in Tonbridge, thought they were doing the best for the community in establishing a school at Tunbridge Wells. He submitted, however, that, whether they acted rightly or not, it was a question of policy, which was, at any rate, totally distinct from the ground on which his hon. Friend had made a charge against the Commissioners. He believed the Commissioners were right in what they did, and that, so far from quarrelling with their conduct, the Committee would do well to enlarge their discretion and administration in such matters, and to require them to make the endowments follow the population, because in that way they would do more for those whom the testators intended to benefit than they would by confining the endowments to small local areas. There were far more people in Tunbridge Wells than in Tonbridge. Tunbridge Wells was growing every day, whereas Tonbridge was standing still. The effect of the argument of his hon. Friend would be to confine the £120,000 available in the City of London for charitable purposes to the City of London itself, instead of distributing it, as Parliament had last Session directed should be done, for the benefit of the population of the Metropolis generally. [Mr. Jesse Collings: My argument tends in exactly the reverse direction.] His hon. Friend referred to Birmingham. He (Mr. Bryce) was not sufficiently conversant with the facts to follow him into that case; but the enormous majority of the cases in which free grammar schools existed in the country showed that, at the time the Endowed Schools Commissioners commenced their labours, the schools were used by the wealthy classes. The poorer classes had left the schools because the education was not one suited to their needs; and the Charity Commissioners, and the Endowed Schools Commissioners before them, had conferred infinitely greater benefit on the poorer classes of the country by their schemes than any rights they might here and there have lost. His hon. Friend had frequently said that the poorer classes were under the impression that these endowments were theirs. He would like to know what his hon. Friend meant by "theirs." The hon. Member would say, he (Mr. Bryce) supposed, that if in a parish bread to the value of £100 was given at the church doors every year to the poor, the dole belonged to the poor. The hon. Gentleman would say that if it was the property of the poor, the poor had a right to say in which way they would receive it. But it was not the property of the poor in the same sense in which a man could say of £1,000 he had invested in the public funds that it was "his." It was rather in the nature of public property, and the State had accepted it, on the tacit condition that it should have the right to dispose of it from time to time. He (Mr. Bryce) thought it ought to be applied to the purposes of the poor, because they needed it most; but not because it was theirs. The public opinion of a neighbourhood ought not to be the guide of the Commissioners; but they ought to be empowered to apply the property in a way in which it was calculated to do the greatest good to the poor. He could not deny that the hon. Member for Ipswich had made out a strong case as to the need of an inquiry into the working of the Acts. There could be no doubt that what his hon. Friend said did represent

a large feeling in the country, and that there was a considerable amount of dissatisfaction with the working of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869. He believed, and he hoped his hon. Friend would agree with him, that the dissatisfaction was confined to the working of the Endowed Schools Act. He did not think it was any breach of Order to say that the evidence taken before the Committee which had been sitting upstairs on the Charitable Trusts Acts had convinced the great majority of the Committee that no charge could fairly be brought against the Commissioners as to the spirit in which they had administered those Acts; and that, therefore, whatever the complaint was, it was founded upon the working of the Endowed Schools Act. He willingly adopted the argument of his hon. Friend that the Government ought to institute a searching and complete inquiry into the working of the Endowed Schools Act. The Committee upstairs——

MR. E. STANHOPE: I rise to Order. I ask you, Sir, whether it is in Order for an hon. Member to refer to the proceedings of a Committee which has not yet reported to the House?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is not in Order in referring to the proceedings of the Committee now sitting.

MR. BRYCE said, he had no desire to pursue a subject which would carry him out of Order. He merely wished to show that the evidence laid before the Committee was such, that the inquiry advocated by his hon. Friend was desirable with regard to the Charity Commissioners. He did, at any rate, admit that before the work proceeded further it was desirable that there should be an inquiry of this kind. He had lately seen cases in which the schemes of the Charity Commissioners under the Endowed Schools Act had been disputed; and things were alleged to have been done which ought to be fully sifted before a Select Committee; and, therefore, he hoped the Government would promise to appoint a Committee of Inquiry. He thought the Government would do well to consider whether it would not be desirable to give the Charity Commissioners direct representation in that House; for he was convinced, if that were done, such complaints as his hon. Friend had brought forward would be far less likely to occur; and if they did occur, they could be much more satisfactorily disposed of if the Charity Commission were a Department of the State, which could be approached in that House whenever it was necessary to call attention to their proceedings. He wished to refer to another subject in connection with this Estimate, and that was the branch of the Vote which concerned the City of London Parochial Charities. Last year an Act was passed to add two Commissioners to the existing Charity Commissioners, for the purpose of dealing with the Parochial Charities of the City of London, whose present income amounted to about £120,000 a-year. If he were wrong, he should be glad to be corrected; but he believed it was a fact that a room could not be found in the house occupied by the Charity Commission for these additional Commissioners and their staff, and that, in consequence, they had to be, so to speak, boarded out in an office in Craig's Court, a constant expense being incurred in that way to the amount of something between £700 and £800 a-year. It was true that this expense had to come ultimately out of the funds of the charities; but he pointed out that, in the first instance, it came out of the public Revenue; and he said, therefore, that a more satisfactory arrangement was desirable. However, there was another reason, still more important, why the two Commissioners should not be separated from the rest of the Charity Commissioners—namely, that the operations of the Charity Commission were delayed by that separation. It was a fact that there existed a good deal of information on the files of the Charity Commission relating to the London Parochial Charities, which it was necessary that the two additional Commissioners should obtain, and the effect of their being separated from the rest of the Office was that much time was lost in going to and from Gwydyr House to get that information which, under a better management, would be saved. He could not help hoping that the Government would see their way to meet this evil; and, for his own part, he thought that the best way of doing so would be to increase the accommodation at Gwydyr House by adding to it another storey, and by charging a portion of the expense thereby incurred on the funds of the Parochial Charities—an arrangement which would be per-

fectly fair, because that portion of the expense would represent the rent and other charges which had to be met now in providing other accommodation. He believed it would be necessary before long to increase the whole of the staff, and accommodation for the staff, of the Charity Commission; and that it would be found that a great deal more work could with advantage be undertaken by the Charity Commission if its staff, as well as its premises, were increased. He did not think his hon. Friend would object to that, because the expense would be naturally incidental to the already existing Office; and there could be no doubt that this action of the Commission was the means of saving a large sum of money every year to the charities. As a matter of fact, a great deal of work was done by the Commission which otherwise would have to be done by the legal advisers of the Trustees; and that had the effect not only of preventing the loss of endowments, but also of saving money in the working of the Trusts. Therefore, he said that the country would receive ample value by an extension of the staff and the premises of the Charity Commission. He quite admitted that the expense was one which the charities ought to be called upon to pay. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had intimated that the charities might be taxed to pay the expenses of the Commission. He (Mr. Bryce) could not help hoping that that promise would be redeemed, and that before long they should see the public Revenue freed from any charge for the management of these charities, which ought, so to speak, to pay their own way.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he was sorry to intervene between the Committee and hon. Gentlemen who rose to address it; but, at the same time, he thought that a very short statement from him would probably be to the convenience of the Committee, and tend to shorten its labours. There were three different branches of the work of the Charity Commissioners—first, Charitable Trusts; secondly, the Allotments Act, passed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Jesse Collings); and, thirdly, the work of the endowed schools. With regard to the first two branches, he would point out to the Committee that they were now the subject of inquiry and investigation by a Select Committee of that House, which they might reasonably expect would present its Report shortly; and he thought it would be hardly fair to occupy the time of the Committee by either discussing the action of the Charity Commissioners, or rebutting charges against them with reference to the matters referred to by the hon. Member for Ipswich; while, as a matter of fact, the whole question at that moment was *sub judice*. His hon. Friend had entered, in some detail, into the question of endowed schools; and he referred, amongst others, to the school at Rochdale, and the mode in which the Commissioners were dealing with that school. But he pointed out that the Commissioners had not yet dealt with the school; and it would be improper for him to express any opinion on the case to which his hon. Friend had adverted until the schemes of the Commissioners had been brought under the attention of the Department, and until they had been considered by that Department. His hon. Friend did not seem to be aware that the schemes of the Commissioners had to be advertised for two months, that they might be petitioned against by a single individual, and that they would have to be laid upon the Table of the House, where they could be challenged by any hon. Member.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I referred to the right hon. Gentleman, not only as presiding over the Department, but as a Member of the Charity Commission. I refer to him in both capacities. He is the only Charity Commissioner whom we can get near.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he did not sit on the Commission; it would be impossible for him, as Vice President of the Education Department, who had to supervise the work of the Commission, to do so. He might add, that no Vice President of the Council on Education had ever taken any part in the work of the Charity Commission. Therefore, he said it would be improper for him to pass any opinion upon the work of the Commission at that moment. He repeated that the question was now before a very able Committee of that House; and he expected that, in a very short time, they would have before them a complete Report upon the evidence laid

before that Committee. He did not complain of the action of his hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich; but twice during this Session he had brought this question before the House, and on the last occasion he spoke on the question at considerable length. He had given him no Notice that he was about to make any complaint, and the very next day the witnesses in the case of the Birmingham Trust came before the Select Committee, and gave their evidence upon the whole question. Surely, it was hardly fair—he must say it was not fair—that, while this matter was before the Select Committee, the hon. Member should come before the House and complain of the conduct of the Charity Commissioners. His hon. Friend was aware—he (Mr. Mundella) had told him over and over again in public and in that House, and he repeated it then as publicly as he possibly could—that he was quite resolved that the whole policy and administration of the Endowed Schools Act should be referred to a Select Committee next Session. For his own part, he was quite satisfied about the matter; and that because his hon. Friend had indulged in doctrines which he believed, when they were sifted before the Committee, would hardly bear the light of day. They were the most antiquated and Conservative doctrines that he had ever listened to. The ideas of the hon. Member were up in the clouds; and he believed that, so far as the poor were concerned, they would be the most unfortunate that could be carried out; but the hon. Member was not alone in his views. There were many people in the country, who, he believed, had forgotten what had taken place; they had forgotten the Schools Inquiry Commission, appointed at a time when a mischievous state of things existed; that had been forgotten by many, and insufficiently realized by others; and they had no knowledge of what would result from such a system of education as that advocated by the hon. Member for Ipswich. Therefore, he hoped the whole subject would come before a Committee of the House, and that some Gentlemen who were serving on the present Committee would again serve on the Committee of next Session, so that there might be something like continuity of inquiry. Finally, being anxious that there should be a complete inquiry, and because he understood that his hon. Friend, in moving the reduction of the Vote, did not intend to cast any slur on the manner in which the Commissioners had discharged their duties, he hoped the discussion would be allowed shortly to terminate, and that the Vote would be agreed to.

MR. CAUSTON said, that in the remarks he was about to make he must not be understood to say that all the schemes of the Commissioners were bad; because his right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella) would know that, on a recent occasion, he supported one of their schemes, when his hon. Friend (Mr. Jesse Collings) divided the House upon the question. His object in addressing the Committee on the present occasion was to say a few words before it was too late as to the ancient school of Sir Andrew Judd, at Tonbridge, and to the proposed Middle School for Boys, established by the Skinners' Company, who were the Governors of Tunbridge School. His hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) spoke of the Tunbridge scheme as if he knew all about the matter. He (Mr. Causton) did not know whether his statement was the result of inquiries made; but it was not a question with him whether Tunbridge Wells was or was not a larger place than Tonbridge. The question was, what object had Sir Andrew Judd in view when he founded the Tonbridge School; and he (Mr. Causton) asked if it was his intention to benefit the townspeople of Tonbridge specially, or that the town and the people in the adjacent country should be benefited? And, again, he would inquire whether there were sufficient boys in the town of Tonbridge who were qualified to be educated at the proposed second grade school? He did not know whether Mr. C. I. Elton was the Gentleman who now sat in that House, or whether he was one of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners referred to in the course of the discussion; but, at any rate, he went down as one of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners to Tonbridge, and, as the result of his inquiry into the Judd Charity under the powers of the Endowed Schools Act, he said—

"It would, no doubt, be a good thing for the town if a Middle School could be established in connection with the Grammar School."

When the Charity Commissioners drafted their first scheme for the Grammar

School, in 1875, they made careful provision for giving effect to this suggestion, and accordingly directed, in Clauses 67 and 68—

"67.—The residue of the income of the School shall . . . . be treated as unapplied surplus . . . . and shall be invested . . . . but placed to a separate account to be called 'The Middle School Fund.'

"68.—When the amount standing to the credit of the Middle School Fund shall be considered sufficient for the purpose, the Governors shall apply for a Supplemental Scheme, which the Charity Commissioners shall have power to frame, for the application of such fund in or towards the establishment and maintenance of a Middle or Lower School in or near the Town of Tonbridge."

This suggestion for a Middle Class School for Tonbridge came first from Mr. Elton. There was also a suggestion in the new scheme that the then Governing Body should be altered. The Governors objected very much to that, and it became a question as to how much would be given if they were allowed to remain as they were; and a resolution was passed to the effect that if the Charity Commissioners would consent to a sum of £10,000—an accumulated loan trust—being applied for the purpose of the school, the Skinners' Company would supplement it with another £10,000. The draft scheme was framed, and, on being sent back to the Commissioners, it was returned with the suggestion that before the scheme was published the words relating to the locality should be made less vague than they were in the draft; but the Governors, without giving up the intention which they had held from first to last, of benefiting the town of Tonbridge, expressed their willingness to allow the word "parish" instead of "town" to remain in the scheme, because they did not wish to bind themselves to any particular spot; for they knew, as men of business, that it was most undesirable, when intending to purchase land, that they should allow it to be known that they had fixed on a particular spot, because, as the Committee would be aware, the price of the land under such circumstances would be greatly increased. As he had before stated, the original intention of Sir Andrew Judd was to benefit the town of Tonbridge. The school originally established there was a free school; but, early in the century, fees were instituted, amounting to £10 in the case of boys living within a radius of 10 miles, and £20 for boys living at a distance of between 10 and 20 miles. Since then the fees had been again raised. With regard to the second grade scheme, the Governors would most certainly have insisted upon the words "in or near the Town of Tonbridge" being retained, had they known the way in which the Commissioners would act towards them. There was no doubt that there were a sufficient number of boys in or near the town of Tonbridge to justify the Commissioners in allowing the school to be placed there. A Return had been furnished in 1878, which showed that within a radius of 10 miles of Tonbridge there was a population of 104,115; whereas the similar district round Tunbridge Wells had a population of 83,631. If his hon. Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets, who had referred to this subject, objected to a 10 miles' radius, he would give him a six miles' radius, which gave the population of Tonbridge at 51,560, and the population of Tunbridge Wells at 46.912; from which it was clear that the argument with regard to population was in favour of the town of Tonbridge. All he would say further was, that the action taken by the Charity Commissioners with regard to this second grade school would force the Governors to place it at Tunbridge Wells against their will. The purchase for the land selected had not yet been concluded; and it appeared to him that, unless the Governors and the Charity Commissioners could agree, further difficulties would arise, and the Governors would have to come again to Parliament. He would add that the Commissioners had vetoed every proposal with regard to a suitable site for the school which the Governors had made to them. Under the circumstances, the Governors had given up the matter in despair, in the belief that it was of no use to attempt to come to any arrangement with the Commissioners, who were going against their wishes, and against the intentions of Sir Andrew Judd. He hoped that in this case, if opportunity arose, the right hon. Gentleman would use his influence with the Charity Commissioners to bring about a satisfactory settlement of this question.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he considered the Committee were under an obligation to his hon. Friend the Mem-

ber for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) for having brought this question before them. The topic was one of very pressing interest. He believed he was not wrong in saying that there was a general impression throughout the country that every single endowment which could be got hold of was being taken away from the poor, and put into the hands of the rich. The City Companies were once the property of working men. [Mr. Alderman W. LAWRENCE: Never.] He repeated, that they were; but now one saw tailors who did not know how to cut out a coat, and spectacle makers who did nothing but make spectacles of themselves, and a variety of persons who had got into their hands property which did not belong to them. Did anyone mean to tell him that people who called themselves carpenters 400 years ago were not carpenters; and that those who called themselves tailors were not tailors? Everyone knew that the foundations of the City Companies were laid before the Reformation, and that they were in the hands of working men. He knew a College at Oxford, the Charter of which declared that no one should be in the College who had more than £5 to spend. Why, a servitor of that College was a noble Earl a few years ago. And the same sort of thing might be said of a number of such institutions. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on Education (Mr. Mundella) said that the endowments of the grammar schools were in a scandalous condition 40 years ago; but, whatever their condition was now, he (Mr. T. Rogers) did not believe that they had been set straight by the action of any Commission or by any Act of Parliament. The first move in that direction was taken by the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Thomas Acland), who was one of the first persons who started the Oxford scheme of examination, which was shortly afterwards copied by Cambridge. The scheme of local examination had done what the Charity Commissioners ought to have accomplished. He contended that there was throughout the country a strong impression that every one of the schemes of the Charity Commissioners, so far as education was concerned, tended towards appropriating the money of the poor, and putting it into the pockets of the rich. They were told that the poor were demoralized by free education. They had free education in America; but there was no demoralization there. The middle class was not demoralized by free education. Were the rich demoralized by being able to get hold of old endowments? It was high time that this ridiculous cant came to an end. He was perfectly ready to admit that when they gave doles at the church doors to poor persons, they were doing them an injury in a certain sense; but it was absurd to say people were injured by free education. For his part, he felt sure there was a growing feeling among a large number of working persons that the whole tendency of the Acts of both Houses of Parliament was to make the lot of the poor man worse, and the lot of the rich man better. They were told constantly that they could not discuss what was going on in a Commission, and they must, therefore, treat the Commission as not existing; but these were great grievances, and they ought to be redressed. There was another instance. In his borough there was a grammar school, which was one of the most admirably managed schools in the county. He had been a member of the Oxford Board of Examiners ever since it was established; and, although he had not the ubiquitous knowledge of the hon. Member on the Treasury Bench, he knew what grammar schools should be. He was referring to St. Olave's School; and he had known, over and over again, the son of a working man who had been freely educated in that school do himself and his parents great honour. In one case, the son of a washerwoman, after going through that school, became a scholar at Balliol, and he did not think the boy had been demoralized. When he got through the University, he put his mother into a position of comfort, and did himself and her great credit. The Committee might take his word for it that a great deal of this talk about boys being demoralized was cant. It was a shame, and it was unfair, because what was applied to one class was not applied to another. He thanked his hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich for bringing this matter forward, and he hoped what had been said would sink into the minds of Gentlemen who were Members of this Commission, and

that they would do something to relieve the naturally unsatisfactory state of mind of the working men. He hoped that such an interest would be taken in this subject that no more would be heard about the demoralization of the poor by gratuitous education, and that people would understand that it was the first duty of this House to deal justly with all classes, and that the House would not indicate by legislation that they had warm sympathy for struggling men with £500 a-year, but none whatever for struggling men with 20*s.* a-week.

MR. GREGORY said, he was a Member of the Committee on Endowed Schools in 1869; and, as far as he recollected, the object of that Committee, and of the Bill that followed, was to render the schools having endowments more efficient and more applicable for the purposes for which they were intended. He could not help thinking that the operation of the Charity Commissioners under the Act had gone rather beyond what was originally intended by the framers of the Act, and of those who took an interest in passing it. The Committee were, he thought, indebted to the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) for bringing this question forward. It was a fair and legitimate question for consideration, and he was glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mundella) proposed to consider it during the Recess. He very much agreed with the hon. Member for Ipswich that the Commissioners had gone too far with respect to these schools, and had levelled up rather than levelled down; that they had handed over the schools to a class for whom they were not originally intended; and that they had left behind a number of people to whom the schools would be fairly and properly applicable. There was, he believed, great room for education such as was originally contemplated — something between the board schools and the National schools —for the advantage of what he called the working classes; such as clerks, agents, law-writers, and persons of that description, and what he would call the lower middle class, who would be very glad to avail themselves of these schools. They might be rendered very efficient for that purpose, and he hoped the result of such an inquiry as was contemplated by the right hon. Gentleman would be to render the scheme applicable to its proper purpose, and to bring it within the reach of the people for whom it was intended. There was another matter connected with this Vote which he would venture to touch upon, and that was the expenses of the Commission itself. There was an Estimate of something like £39,000 for the expenses of the Commission; and as the Vote stood, that amount was entirely charged on the taxes of the country and upon the Imperial Revenue. It seemed to him that that ought not to be. The object of the Commission was to regulate the charities, and the country might fairly be called upon to contribute to this object; but the question was, whether the charities themselves, which were actually in the hands of, and administered by, the Commission, should not do so also. Great benefit was derived by a number of small charities, and the objects of them, which he was not sure was fully appreciated by the Committee. It might be seen from a Return which had been laid before the House that the Commissioners had large funds and property vested in them. How had that arisen? In this way. Trustees of these charities were authorized to vest the property in the Commissioners, and the Commissioners might administer it for the purposes of the Trust. The greater part of the property of the Charity Commissioners had come to them in that way. The funds were perfectly safe, for they were vested in a responsible public Body. They were administered without any expense to the charities, and there was no transfer and no succession of rights, because they were vested in an existent Body. He had in his own case availed himself of the facilities so afforded, as doubtless had many others who had been appointed Trustees of charities either by deed or will; and by that means considerable expense was avoided in the administration of the Trust, and any risk of misapplication of the funds by those parties or their successors avoided under these circumstances. He did not see why the Charity Commissioners should not pay something towards the expenses, by some slight tax on property so vested in, and administered by, them. He merely threw out these suggestions now, and he should not press them at the present time; but

he thought the matter was one worthy of consideration. He only wished to do what was right for the benefit of the public, and for the benefit, on the whole, of the Trusts. So far as the present Motion went, he hoped the hon. Member would not press it further. He had gained his object by the discussion, and he hoped he would not attempt to reduce the Vote by the salaries and the staff of these Commissioners, who were efficiently doing their duty.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, as he had happened to be a Member of the Committee of 1873, he might, perhaps, say a word or two. In the first place, it must be evident to the Government that there was a widely awakening interest in regard to the Commission; and the Committee was indebted to the hon. Member for Ipswich for bringing that subject forward. His hon. Friend, he knew, was a great advocate of free education; but that was a broad question of national policy; and if free education was good in itself, it was good all round, apart from the question of endowments. The position of the Charity Commissioners was not altogether satisfactory. It was far too autocratic in its character. If cases were brought before the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, he said he was not an acting Commissioner—and for that there was excellent reason; for if he was a Member of the Commission he would be sitting upon it, and then reviewing it. But the right hon. Gentleman went further, and said he had no power over the Commissioners; and in that case he (Mr. Illingworth) was bound to say the right hon. Gentleman admitted that there was ground for altering the relationship between the Commission and this House. A reference was made by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) to the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, and the hon. Member had said that if that Act was defective it would be necessary to have further legislation; but it had been stated over and over again in this House, and on the Committee, that there had seldom been an Act which had given so much power and discretion as that Act had. There were many respects in which very fundamental changes must be made in the character of the Commission and in the policy it pursued. At one time the Endowed School Commission was made up entirely of Churchmen, and that was the case with the Charity Commission. He (Mr. Illingworth) freely acknowledged that, by a side-wind, the Prime Minister was able to appoint a Commissioner who did not belong to the dominant sect in this country; but he did not hesitate to say that the whole policy of the Commission, in regard to the appointments they made, must be changed. The other day he had had brought before him the re-appointment of a Trustee of a dole of £200 or £300 a-year. There was one Trustee required, and four were suggested for the appointment. All of them were Churchmen, and three of them Conservatives; and he had no doubt a Churchman would have been appointed, but for the force of public opinion. There must be a sense of justice and equality of treatment in these appointments. It had been the policy in all Departments to treat Nonconformists as not identified with the great majority of the foundations in this country. Take the case of the grammar schools. It came out, before the Committee of 1873, that on the question of religion, in 90 per cent of the foundations of the grammar schools, the original instructions were absolutely silent as to any religious teaching, and yet there was hardly a single Governorship in the country held by a Nonconformist. In Bradford there was a grammar school which was, when endowed, never intended for any particular sect; but a Dissenter never dreamt that he had any right to share in the government of the school. He was glad to be able to acknowledge that there had been already a favourable change established in the spirit in which these endowments were administered; but matters must go very much further, so that there should be no traces of partiality left on the one hand, or of injustice on the other. They had been reminded by the right hon. Gentleman that the Charitable Trusts Act was under consideration, and he had promised further inquiry into the working of the Endowed Schools Act. This discussion could not now be exhausted; it could only be postponed until the result of the inquiries were obtained; but it must be taken as unquestionable that there was a growing interest in this great subject of the charities and the working of the Endowed Schools Act. Although he did

not believe the direction ultimately taken would be on the lines of the hon. Member for Ipswich, he hoped the House would give some assurance to the public as to the working of these Acts.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he was glad that this discussion had taken place, for it gave him an opportunity of alluding to a case which happened in the South of England. There was in Blandford an endowed school of the same nature as that referred to by the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth). It was endowed about 300 years ago for boys only, a short distance from Blandford; it was removed to Blandford; and about seven years ago it was closed entirely by the Charity Commissioners. They were asked to open it again, and then they turned it into a girl's school. What the people wanted to know was, upon what principle the Commissioners arrived at their decision and took that action, which, he could assure the Committee, was entirely against the wishes and feelings of the whole neighbourhood? The Trustees of the charity were asked the other day whether they could make any recommendation on the matter; but they said they could not, because they did not approve of that course. Meetings were held in the town, and Petitions were presented, both to this House and to the House of Lords; but, notwithstanding the scheme of turning the school into a girl's school was carried out, the people wished it to be a boy's school; but the Commissioners were determined that it should be a girl's school. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) said he had no power over these schemes; that they were not before the House; and that the proper course was to wait till they came before the House. But where were these schemes to be got? He believed they could be bought for 6*d.*, or for 1*d.*, if anyone knew where to get them. That was the first difficulty; and then the next difficulty was to know to whom a Petition was to be sent; and then, when at last the schemes came before the House, it was said that proper proceedings had not been taken, and the House of Commons, of course, supported the Commissioners, who were also supported by the Government of the day. So the schemes were passed into law against the wishes of the people for whom they existed. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gregory) said the object of this Commission was not to divert, but to render more efficient, the benefits of these charities; but he (Mr. Guest) contended that if they went absolutely against the wishes of the neighbourhood in regard to one scheme, they were diverting the benefits of the scheme. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets had urged that public opinion should not be the guide in these matters; but he (Mr. Guest) held that the public opinion of the neighbourhood should be the guide as to these schemes being reformed. In the particular case he had mentioned, the Educational Committee of the County of Dorset had proposed that this school should be made a girls' school; but the proposal was absolutely rejected by the Synod of Dorset. Three or four gentlemen formed the Educational Committee, who made that proposition; but there was hardly a person in the county who was anxious to have this a girl's school. He was glad to have an opportunity of putting a stop to these schemes; but it was exceedingly hard to put a stop to them. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that next year there would be a Committee of Inquiry, and he would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would not, in fairness and justice, withdraw the schemes now before the House, until that Committee had decided what should be done? He did not think it would be fair to press these schemes, and run them through the House, until the Committee, which was likely to be proposed next year, had reported upon this branch of the Charity Commissioners' work.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said, he was a Member of the Committee of 1869, which was presided over by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) in a manner which gave great satisfaction to everyone on the Committee; and he must say that never before was a Committee so disappointed as that Committee was when the Act was passed. They were told that the Act was not to touch the good schools, but was only to touch the bad schools. There was a school in which there was only one scholar; the proprietor of the school to which he was sent paid the money, and the schoolhouse was made use of by the clergy. There were other endowments which

were most improperly carried out. What happened was this—schools, some of them with an income of over £1,000 a-year, were to make their own schemes, and the Endowed Schools Commissioners were not to interfere with them; but these Commissioners paid no attention to that arrangement, and made their own schemes. If the schools so treated did not approve of the schemes of the Commissioners, it was open to them to get the scheme opposed in the House; but it was almost an impossibility to get them upset by that process. The Act had been carried out on the theory that there should be no free education, except as a reward of merit; and what did that mean? Children of six or seven years of age were not to have any free education, except as a reward of merit. But the thing was so absurd and so ridiculous that the Order had to be withdrawn. It came to this—that it was a matter of competition between the children of poor parents and the children of the better classes. The poor child, the child of the widow, and the children of labouring men, stood no chance as against the child of the well-to-do tradesman. So far as the reward of merit was concerned, the well-to-do tradesman was enabled to give his child a better education, in the first place, so as to enable it to obtain the reward of merit, than was the widow or the poor man. In this way the children of the better class were enabled to avail themselves of advantages which the child of the poor parent was deprived of. It was no wonder that this reward-of-merit principle became contested, looking at the excitement the policy of the Commissioners caused throughout the country. He thought the ratepayers of London were entitled to the greatest praise for the way in which they had met the Commissioners as to Emmanuel Hospital. Their conflict with the Commissioners had ended in the Endowed Schools Commission being dissolved, and its work handed over to the Charity Commissioners. The theory was that only those children who had had a certain amount of education were to be assisted. He felt obliged to his hon. Friend the Member for Ipswich (Mr. J. Collings) for bringing the question forward, because it showed that there was a change taking place in the country, and that the feeling was spreading that where endowments had been left for the education of the community the poorer classes ought to have a distinct benefit. There could be no doubt that the tendency had been to take away endowments intended for the poor, and to hand them over to the higher classes. It was the tendency in all endowed schools to do that; because, in the first place, a master was appointed in a school, that master took in boarders, and paid great attention to them, in order that it might be shown that he was giving better education than ordinary to the children, and so get an increase to his salary; the master, therefore, took in boarders, the boarders got on and obtained prizes, and eventually that class of student took possession of the school, the day scholars, or the children of the poorer parents, being turned out, and really robbed of that which the founders of the schools had intended for them. He was sorry that the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) was not now in his place, as he should have liked to have had an opportunity of answering some of the statements he had made as to what his (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence's) opinion on the Committee had been. He had been on the Committee of 1873, before the Endowed Schools Act was renewed. At that time his hon. Friend the Member for Bradford did not hold the opinions he had enunciated in the House to-night. The hon. Member evidently thought they had gone far enough in handing over the endowments of the country to the superior classes of the community, instead of to those for whom they were intended. With regard to the Tonbridge School, it seemed to him (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) that the manner in which the scheme had been carried out, and in which the Governors had been treated, was in the highest degree discreditable to the Charity Commissioners in every shape and form. The Tonbridge School was left to the community by Alderman Judd, a gentleman who knew the advantage of education long before it was generally appreciated throughout the country. Knowing the value of putting schools of this kind under the care of strong and influential Corporations, he placed it under the control of his Livery Company—he placed it in charge of the Skinners' Company, just as the Monmouth School was placed under the control of the

Haberdashers' Company; and as many other schools set up by those who, like Alderman Judd, knew the value of education, had been left on trust. These founders had themselves felt the want of education, and knowing the value of it had not entrusted the schools to country gentlemen, who were only capable of exercising temporary control; but placed them under Livery Companies, which they knew would be in existence long after their contemporaries had passed away. These founders and these Livery Companies had set an example to the whole country, having energetically taken up the business of education long before it was the fashion as it had now become. After the lapse of many years, the theory now seemed to be that this valuable work for the education of the community should be undone, and that higher education should be given—that the money which had been set aside for the benefit of the poor should be devoted to the conferring a better education upon the higher classes of the community. He was glad that that theory, which had held ground for some time, was receiving a check, and that the feeling was gaining ground that the classes for whom the money was originally left should be benefited, and not those for whom it was never intended. The Endowed Schools Commissioners were crumpled up, because they were endeavouring to carry out a false theory, and had at last come to a point when they could carry it out no further. He did not complain of the action of the Charity Commissioners so much; they had succeeded the Endowed Schools Commissioners, and, the latter Body having got into a certain groove, the Charity Commissioners had followed them, and now found it very difficult to get out of that groove. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) had said—"What did it matter if an endowment left for one town was used in another town, if it was more likely to do good in the town other than that for which it was left." That was a most dangerous policy. [Mr. BRYCE: I did not say that.] He had understood the hon. Member to say that. He understood the hon. Member to say that, by moving the Tonbridge School to Tunbridge Wells, it would be much more largely availed of, and would do a great deal more good than if retained in the place in which it was originally bequeathed. The hon. Member asked—"What did it matter where it was left for, so long as it was found to do a great deal of good in Tunbridge Wells?"

MR. BRYCE: It was not removed out of the parish; the school is still in the parish of Tonbridge.

MR. ALDERMAN W. LAWRENCE said, that, at any rate, it was not in the district in which it was originally established; and he denied the right of anyone to ignore the intention of the founder as to the locality of the school. The discussion that night would, no doubt, be properly appreciated by the Head of the Education Department; and it might be fairly expected that great benefit would arise from it. As to the suggestion for taxing charities, he begged to remind the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Gregory) that a system of that kind had been tried, and was a very difficult and dangerous project for any Chancellor of the Exchequer to enter upon. He would remind the hon. Member that when these moneys were originally bequeathed, 10 per cent was taken out by the Government as a tax. The question under discussion was a large one, and it deserved being looked carefully into; but he certainly did not think that the principle of no free education, except as a reward of merit, was a sound one, and would commend itself to the people of this country.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he did not wish to trouble the Committee at any great length upon this question. He desired merely to say a word or two in support of the appeal made by his hon. Friend opposite the Member for Wareham (Mr. Guest), with regard to the Blandford School. Though not interested as a proprietor in the district, he (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had considerable knowledge of it. He had had representations from a score or a score and a-half of persons connected with the district, who took the same view of the case as that adopted by his hon. Friend. They said that the present objects of the school ought not to be departed from, and that the scheme of the Charity Commissioners ought to be rejected. It was considered a great hardship in that district that the objects of the original founder should have been departed from. He agreed with his

hon. Friend who had just left his place (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence), and who had addressed the Committee in terms so energetic as was his custom, and, at the same time, so persuasive—he agreed with the hon. Member to this extent—that the original intention of these old Trusts should be fulfilled as far as they could be, and if the local interests should be considered—in fact, that what a lawyer would call the *cy-près* doctrine should be carried out, and the objects of the trusts fulfilled as far as possible. He had seen with regret that, in many instances, the Charity Commissioners had departed from that principle, and had adopted another one which was hardly calculated to advance the interests of the poor, and which was contrary to the wishes and instincts of the people in the districts in which the schools were situated.

MR. CROPPER said, he desired to thank the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) for having brought this subject before the Committee; but, at the same time, the hon. Member having chosen to take the Kendal School as an illustration of some of the evil done by allowing the Charity Commissioners to have control of the endowed schools of the country, he would like to say that if no more harm had been done by these Commissioners all over England than had been done in the case of the Kendal School, there would not be very much to blame them for. It must be remembered that we had an Education Act in this country, and that, therefore, where the object of the founders in establishing these Trusts had been merely to give an elementary education to the poor, the schools they had left did not now stand in the same position that they had occupied years ago. Where large foundations had been established, it might, now that the Education Act had been passed, be greatly to the advantage of a town, and greatly to the advantage of the poor, as well as to the better classes of the town, that an opportunity for higher education should be given, instead of continuing the opportunity of elementary education at a cheap or gratuitous rate. He agreed with the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) when he said that the popular opinion of the country was not always to be relied upon on this subject. There would always be a popular opinion against doing away with any gratuitous grant. There would always be a popular opinion in favour of free education in a town, although that free education might be carried on in a costly and wasteful manner. In Kendal the same amount of money which had been invested in the endowed school would have educated an increased number of children; but the object of the Charity Commissioners was to give to the poor children the chance of a much higher education than anything that was to be got at that time. The Corporation of Kendal had taken the question up, and the subject had been thoroughly well studied and discussed amongst the townspeople; and the only differences of opinion, as far as he knew, was as to the number of scholarships that should be established in the school that the Charity Commissioners wished to commence. They had heard something of the advantages of this higher education; they had heard, for instance, how the son of a washerwoman had become the head of his College. Such a thing would not have been possible if it had not been that schools existed in which a high class education could be given to the poorer classes. To his mind, the great object of the Charity Commissioners in the diversion of Trusts, and in the appropriation of the money that they had to deal with, had been to give such opportunities as these. He admitted that, in some cases, they might have done too much for higher education alone, and might have offered too few scholarships to the lower classes in some towns; but, at the same time, he was sure that by directing the energies of the Commissioners, and carefully studying and deciding upon the scope of their work and their schemes in this House, that they would obtain better results than they would by such action as would lead the Commissioners to think that the House was opposed to their work. He was sure that the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) would always render them every assistance in considering the schemes of the Commissioners. He desired to support the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) in what he had said; and, for his own part, in connection with the school he had taken for his illustration, he had to thank the right hon. Gentleman for being assured

that the scheme would not be laid upon the Table without being thoroughly looked into, and without any real grievance that there might be being redressed. As to the remarks of the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers), he did not think that the hon. Member was right in saying that the effect of legislation on these matters had been to make the poor poorer and the rich richer. In no case had the temporal benefits of a section of the community been more increased during the past 20 years than they had in the case of the working classes. He believed this was true both in education and in all social advantage, and he should very much regret this discussion, if it were to go out as the general opinion of this House that the legislation of the past 20 years had been to make the poor poorer and the rich richer, as the hon. Member had remarked.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, that as he had the honour to be a Member of the Committee sitting upstairs to examine into the whole work of the Charity Commissioners and of the Charity Trusts Acts, he did not wish to say anything with regard to those subjects, because that Committee would now very shortly present its Report to the House. He only wished, as a Member of the Committee, to thank the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) for having pledged the Government to appoint a Committee next Session to inquire into the working of the Endowed Schools Act. He might say that the Committee had come to the opinion that this subject should be inquired into. He dissented from the remarks of the worthy Alderman (Mr. Alderman W. Lawrence) as to what the hon. Member thought a great reform in the abolition of the Endowed Schools Commissioners. To his mind, that was a retrograde step; but the object with which he had risen had been to refer to a subject which had already been alluded to by the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory)—namely, the financial position of this Vote. They were asked, in round numbers, to vote £30,000 to the Charity Commissioners, between £4,000 and £5,000 of which was for the City of London Parochial Charities Department. The legislation of this Parliament had recognized that charities were not to have the cost of their management paid out of the Consolidated Fund for the future—that, in fact, the Department managing them should be made self-supporting. They were called upon to-night, however, to vote something like £24,000 towards the expenses of the Charity Commissioners, and something like £7,000 for the work of the Charity Commissioners as Endowed School Commissioners. He should like the Committee to consider what that Body was, and what was its income, for which the whole body of the taxpayers of the country were called upon to pay, to manage. In 1876 that income of the charities then known to the Commissioners amounted to £2,200,000 per annum, exclusive of the incomes of the Universities, the public schools, and the Cathedral foundations, and all such institutions supported by voluntary contributions. There were something like £11,000,000 of Consols at the present time standing in the name of an official Charity Trustee—a sum which represented something like £330,000 a-year. It was neither just nor right that the expenses of the Commission should be defrayed out of the general taxation of the country, but that the charities for whose benefit the Commission was founded, and still existed, should themselves defray the cost. He was glad to see the hon. Member for Chippenham (Sir Gabriel Goldney) in his place, because that hon. Baronet had already succeeded in carrying a Resolution through that House, which, he was sorry to say, had not been acted upon, calling upon the Government to do something in this matter. As far back as 1845 an attempt had been made by Lord Lyndhurst to impose a tax upon charities. That attempt failed. Another attempt was made in 1863, and that also failed; but in 1868 the hon. Member for Chippenham succeeded in carrying a Resolution empowering the Charity Commissioners to meet part of their expenses by charging fees; and the same provision was also extended to the Drainage Commissioners and the Tithe Commissioners. In 1871, the then Member for South Essex (Mr. Andrew Johnson) carried a Resolution to the effect that an Income Tax be imposed upon the charities, and that something like a Succession Duty should be put upon these large funds that were being administered at the cost of the taxpayer. The matter was brought

before the House in 1879, during the existence of the late Administration, and a Motion, the effect of which was now submitted to the House, was made. He should like to call attention to the words of the hon. Member for Chippenham (Sir Gabriel Goldney) on that occasion. He had said, in effect, that the income of the charities of this country at that time amounted to something like £4,000,000 per annum, and that the amount was rapidly increasing. He pointed out that they had been so nursed by the country, that they had been exempted from the payment of Income Tax, Succession Duty, and Probate Duty, and he contended that they should be taxed, and certainly every 25 years should contribute to the Probate Duty. After a very considerable debate, the then Secretary to the Treasury, the hon. Member for West Essex, shadowed forth a scheme the Government were prepared to support, for throwing the burden of the administration of the charity funds on the funds themselves. He said that the object of the Government would be to make the charities, as far as possible, self-supporting, and to prevent the cost of the Office of the Charity Commission from being charged on the public. That plan had not then been submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it was merely the hon. Member's attempt to mark out a solution. He was followed by the present Prime Minister, who commenced his speech by saying that any mitigation, however slight, of the false and absurd position —for it was nothing less than an absurd position—in which they stood as to these charities, ought to be thankfully received. The right hon. Gentleman had gone on to contend that the property of the charities should be subjected to the general taxation of the country. The Prime Minister was followed in that debate by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he had said that he had never asserted, nor had he ever believed, there was any doubt as to the propriety of making charity pay the expenses of charity. A Bill was brought in on the subject; but, unfortunately, brought in at the end of the Session, and, though it passed through the Committee, the Government ultimately withdrew it, on the distinct pledge that it would be brought in again the next Session. In the following Session, however, that Government was no longer in Office. That brought him down to the year 1880. Nothing was done in that year—they were now in the year 1884, and still nothing had been done. To-night they had a good opportunity of getting at the sense of the Committee on the subject; and he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government to carry out now that principle for which he had so long contended, and which was supported by both sides of the House in 1879—namely, that the cost of the Charity Commission, which was a valuable institution, doing a great deal of most valuable work, should be administered by the charities themselves, and should no longer be allowed to be a burden on the taxation of the country. Here they were asking the general ratepayers of the country to pay some £30,000 a-year for work from which the general ratepayer got no benefit whatever. He earnestly hoped the suggestion he had made would be favourably considered by the Government.

SIR GABRIEL GOLDNEY said, he was obliged to the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) for taking up this subject, and he trusted that before long the hon. Member's suggestion would be carried into effect. Nothing could be more monstrous than the state of things which at present existed. The hon. Member for Kendal (Mr. Cropper), in the early part of the evening, had referred to the evils of the existing condition of the free schools in the different localities of the country. He (Sir Gabriel Goldney) quite agreed with the hon. Member that the general feeling of the poor was that they would be glad, in any shape or way, to get higher education for their children. Following out that view in the borough he represented some six or seven years ago, they came to an arrangement of this kind. It was arranged that, looking at the obligation imposed on every one to educate their children, that something like a benefit should, at the same time, be held out to the poor to encourage them to send their children to school, where enormous benefits might be derived. The Governing Body—the Charity Trustees—and the Corporation of the town, on his suggestion, came to a conclusion which the Charity Commissioners

aided them in carrying out. They arranged that all the funds in the free schools should be appropriated for the purpose of creating scholarships for children taken from the elementary schools of the town. The scholarships were open to children of all denominations, and to the children of all the elementary schools, of which there were some six or seven. A certain number of boys received scholarships which were maintainable for three years. That system was more appreciated in the town to which he was referring than any other charity which existed there. Its effect was to build a social bridge between the classes, and a principle of that kind they should encourage as much as they could between the poor and the rich. The poor boy, by that system, had an opportunity of learning the subjects only included in higher education, which he would not have been able to obtain if the free schools had been continued. The most satisfactory results had attended the arrangement he had described, for large numbers of boys who had availed themselves of these scholarships were taken as a matter of request by different employers in the town, and were engaged in positions of great trust where skill and education were requisites. They had at this moment no less than 13 or 14 boys filling high positions in the City of London, and a large number of other boys were employed in the different manufacturing businesses in the town in which they received their education, having been selected on account of the excellence of their training. If the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would do all in his power to develop that system and encourage its adoption amongst the Governors of free schools, the effect would be, as he had said, to build a social bridge between the classes, and to do an enormous amount of good.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, it was quite impossible for the Committee to enter into the details of the different schemes formed by the Charity Commissioners, because of the difficulty of determining the accuracy of the information submitted with regard to particular schools. The Committee would at once see that it was impossible to test the extent and the validity of the complaints made against the action of the Charity Commissioners without knowing all the circumstances, and without hearing the other side, and knowing the grounds on which the Commissioners had come to their conclusions in particular cases. It was impossible to test the validity of these complaints without knowing whether they proceeded from the whole or a portion; and, if so, what portion of the population they proceeded from. No doubt the Motion made by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) involved a question of policy of great importance. He (Mr. Horace Davey) believed it to be impossible to exaggerate the importance of the question which underlay the Motion of his hon. Friend, as to the proper mode of employing the educational endowments of the country; and he was bound to admit that he was not altogether in agreement with the policy that had been pursued by the Charity Commissioners, acting under the powers and under the directions contained in the Endowed Schools Act, up to the present time. However, he thought it extremely unfair to charge on the Charity Commissioners, acting under the powers of the Endowed Schools Act, the reform of that system with which his hon. Friend did not agree. He (Mr. Horace Davey) agreed with many of the observations made in the course of the debate. He agreed with his hon. Friend that the policy of the existing legislation was not altogether satisfactory, though they might differ somewhat as to the reasons why they respectively thought so. It seemed to him extremely unfair to blame the Commissioners for the policy of the Act. The Commissioners were a public Department of the country—they were a public administrative Board, who were placed where they were with certain definite powers, for the purpose of carrying into execution statutes defining their duties, powers, and obligations; and it would be impossible, as the Committee would see, for the Charity Commissioners, acting under the Endowed Schools Act, to do otherwise than carry into effect the policy of those Acts. If the policy of those Acts was not satisfactory, it was this House, and not the Charity Commissioners, who could alter it. What were the charges his hon. Friend brought against the Charity Commissioners? He had said, in the first place, that the schemes prepared inflicted great hardship on the poor. Underneath

that lay the great question of policy. Undoubtedly, the policy of the country and Parliament, in dealing with these educational endowments, up to that time, had been this—to carry into effect, and to its logical conclusion, the arrangement first made by Lord Melbourne as to eleemosynary charities—that they should not be applied in aid of the ratepayers; that to apply them in aid of elementary schools would not be expending them in the interest of the poor. He believed that his hon. Friend would find that in several schemes of the Charity Commissioners under the Acts, though they had not directed the endowments to be applied directly in supporting elementary schools, they had, in many instances, applied endowments to those schools on the faith of the school pence—that was to say, on the faith of a contribution paid by the children. He thought—in fact, he knew—that if they searched among the schemes of the Endowed School Commissioners, or, rather, of the Charity Commissioners, acting under the Endowed Schools Act, hon. Members would find that they entirely bore out what he said. Personally, he did not feel the force of the reasoning which said that charities for the poor, whether it were for education or the relief of posterity generally, should not be applied in such a way as to relieve the rates. It appeared to him that these were public moneys devoted to a particular purpose for assisting the poor. He regarded the school rate as a compulsory contribution or subscription; and it seemed to him that those who were asked to contribute to it had a fair right to say—"First apply towards the education of the poor the funds which have been devoted to that object." But he did not desire to initiate a discussion on that point. He only wished to point out that there was a serious question of policy underlying the statement of his hon. Friend. His hon. Friend was quite right in calling the attention of the Committee to the question, and he was very glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) say that he meant to ask the House to appoint a Committee next Session to consider the whole subject of legislation under the Endowed Schools Act, when this important question and others would be considered; but what he (Mr. Horace Davey) desired to point out to the Committee and his hon. Friends was this. In what had happened the Charity Commissioners had not been to blame, but that the complaint was really as to the policy of the legislation. He was entitled to say that, because, as he had already remarked, he himself was not in entire agreement with his hon. Friend. The other complaint of the hon. Gentleman was that the Commissioners ignored the expressions of public opinion. If the hon. Member had had as good an opportunity as he had had of knowing the work of the Charity Commissioners, he would not have made that complaint. These gentlemen could not please everyone. If there was a difference of opinion in the locality to which the charity related, the Commissioners could not form their scheme in such a way as to satisfy everyone. He hoped the Committee would believe he was speaking from personal experience. He had no doubt that, whether they succeeded or not, the endeavour, and the earnest endeavour, of the Commissioners, as far as they could, consistently with the limits imposed by these Acts, was to carry out the wishes, and feelings, and views of the localities in which the charities were situated. Of course, in many cases it was impossible for them to do so, because it would be inconsistent with their powers, and inconsistent with law; but he believed they took every possible means they could to ascertain the condition of the locality generally, and the feeling of the inhabitants, by sending down an Inspector. He believed that in every case they sent down to the locality Inspectors appointed under the Endowed Schools Act. But he must say that the value of his learned Friend's criticism on this point had been strongly illustrated in the course of this debate, because the strongest case brought forward by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) was the case of the school at Kendal, in which the hon. Member had represented that the establishment had been altered from an elementary school into a school of a liberal character, with exhibitions for boys; and, as he (Mr. Horace Davey) had understood, against the wishes of the whole, or, at least, a vast majority of the inhabitants of the place. Well, what did the hon. Member for Kendal say? If he wanted to know what the feeling

of Kendal was, he should go to somebody who was acquainted with the place—he should go to the hon. Member for Kendal. He could place reliance upon what that Gentleman said—certainly more reliance than he could place on the letters which his hon. Friend had said he had received from ladies and gentlemen living in Kendal. No doubt, the correspondence in question had been composed with the utmost good faith, and that the hon. Member's correspondents believed every word they said; but he thought that when they had the advantage of having the town of Kendal represented in the House, the Committee were entitled to place more reliance on what fell from its Representative than on letters submitted from private individuals. He agreed with a great deal his hon. Friend had said about those; the complaint he had made was not as to the administration of the Commissioners, but the working of the Act. That he had already referred to. Before he sat down he should like to say that if the hon. Member for Ipswich had moved to strike out the whole of this Vote he should have cordially agreed with him, because he thought it most unfair that the charge should fall on the taxpayer of the country. He saw no reason whatever why the charities of the country should not only be relieved from taxation in the form of Succession Duty or from Income Tax, but should ask to have the ordinary expenses of administration defrayed out of the consolidated Revenue of the country. This was too big a question, he presumed, for a private Member to take up; but was it too much to express a hope that the Prime Minister, whose eloquent speech on the subject of the taxation of charities formed, if he might say so, the text-book of this subject—was it too much to hope that before the right hon. Gentleman left Office he would find an opportunity of putting in the form of a Government Bill and passing into law a measure dealing with this great grievance of the taxpayer of the country? It would be impossible for him (Mr. Horace Davey) to argue the question fully before the Committee now; but he must say that he could not conceive any reason whatever why the charities should not pay their full quota to the Income Tax. As he had said, they were relieved from Succession Duty, because the law gave them the singular privilege of perpetual possession. They paid no Succession Duty; they paid no Income Tax; and then the taxpayer of this country was asked to defray the cost of their administration. Whenever this question came before the House, as he hoped it would before long, he should give his cordial support to any measure for remedying that which he conceived to be a great grievance. One part of this Vote related to the administration of parochial charities. The cost of this administration was made, in the first instance, out of the Revenues of the country, and was to be recouped out of the funds of the charities, so that, so far as the administration of the Parochial Charities Act went, justice would be done. He could not see why what was right in connection with parochial charities should not be equally right in connection with other charities.

MR. COURTNEY said, that he would briefly refer to the general question put by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings). He (Mr. Courtney), in the early part of the Session, had had an opportunity of explaining his views on the subject, and he did not wish to repeat what he had then said; and, moreover, the Vice President of the Council had given an assurance that a Committee of the House would be appointed next year to consider the question—or that the scope of the inquiry of the Committee now sitting would be enlarged, so as to enable it to consider the Endowed Schools Act. That was sufficient satisfaction for the moment, and was a fair reason why they should not go into all the matters that had been referred to in the course of this debate. With regard to himself, he could only say that he was convinced that the result of the inquiry would be to strengthen the principle of the Endowed Schools Act, which his hon. Friend (Mr. Jesse Collings) was so much opposed to. He trusted the hon. Member would allow him to make that expression of opinion. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Wareham (Mr. Montague Guest) with regard to the suspension of the action of the Charity Commissioners acting under the Endowed Schools Act, pending the inquiry to which he had referred, he must point out to the hon. Gentleman that every scheme promulgated by

the Commissioners could be opposed by any single person interested. It must be remembered that before an opposed scheme could have the binding effect of law it must come before both Houses of Parliament, and that an adverse vote of either House would be fatal to it. If, therefore, it was true, as the hon. Member for Wareham suggested, that the House of Commons was overcrowded with Business, and that the majority of its Members were too anxious to support the Government to desire to set aside any scheme of the Commissioners, the opponents of that scheme could but resort to the other House, where, at least, there would be plenty of time to consider the subject, where there would not be an overcrowding of Business, and where the affection for Her Majesty's Government was not so strong as to preclude the House from setting aside a scheme if they thought it desirable to do so. He had heard the Tonbridge scheme mentioned. A good deal had been said as to the establishment of that second grade school at Tunbridge Wells instead of Tonbridge. Well, he did not wish to enter fully into the question; but he thought he was correct in saying that an investigation of the Trust of Sir Andrew Judd would show that the intention of that founder was to establish an educational institution for the benefit of persons residing within at least 10 miles of Tonbridge. The matter had long since been made the subject of legal inquiry, and that was the decision of no less ardent a reformer than Lord Eldon. If there was a case, any reasonable case, shown against any scheme, as he had said, hon. Members were not precluded from securing opposition to it in the other House if they thought they had no chance in this. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) and the hon. Member for Chippenham (Sir Gabriel Goldney), there could be no doubt whatever as to the justice, and he might almost say as to the necessity, of taxing the charities to an extent which would, at least, cover the expenses of the Commissioners. There could be no doubt as to what the disposition of the Government was on this subject—no one who had read the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, made 20 years since, could doubt it. However, at the same time, no one could doubt that at the fag end of a Session, or the fag end of a Parliament, it would be a very difficult thing to carry a measure upon the subject through the House. He remembered at the end of the last Parliament, when a Bill was introduced by the hon. Baronet who then held the Office of Secretary to the Treasury, who was earnest in his desire that it should become law—a Bill which proposed to establish a charge of 1 per cent on all charities, and which would have gone far towards defraying the expenses of the Commission—that Bill which was brought in by a Conservative Government, and carried with it, therefore, the assent of a certain reluctant section of Members—of whom he was not speaking in adverse terms if he said they were not on the first blush in favour of the principle—it was found impossible to pass. It was supported by many who might be expected to be antagonistic to it; and of course Members on the Liberal side were eager to carry it—["No, no!"]—well, most hon. Members on the Liberal side must have been eager to see it pass. In spite of all that, the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson) had found it impossible to pass the Bill of 1879. It was said—"Oh, but it was brought in very late in the Session." Just so, but later on the hon. Baronet had said that such was the reception his Bill had received that the Government were not encouraged to go on with it. It was impossible not to see the enormous forces arrayed against a Bill of this kind. No doubt if, at no very distant time, this change were to be accomplished, he confessed he believed it would have to be done on the first blush, and in the new life of a new Parliament. He trusted that the Bill might be brought in under the auspices of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone). There would be no indisposition on the part of the Government to undertake the task and to carry it through. With regard to the remark made at the commencement of the discussion by the Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), who took a very intelligible and honourable interest in the working of the Parochial Charities Act—the question as to whether anything could be done by bringing the Commissioners charged with carrying out the Act into

closer relation with the body of the Charity Commission—he must, in response to the hon. Member, agree in the extreme inconvenience of separating the Parochial Commissioners from the general body of the Charity Commissioners. No doubt a great deal of time was lost by going to and fro from one building to another; and no doubt a great deal of inconvenience was caused by the difficulty of access on the part of the Parochial Commissioners to information in possession of the Charity Commissioners. The Parochial Commissioners, no doubt, would be very much facilitated in their work if the inconvenience to which he referred were obviated. One of them had told him the other day what a length of time he had been in endeavouring to get at some information which he would have been able to procure at once if the Commission had been more conveniently situated on the premises of the Charity Commission. Unquestionably, at no distant date measures would be taken to relieve the Commissioners from the disadvantages they were labouring under.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he believed that on both sides of the House the verdict would be that whether they approved of the policy of the Charity Commissioners or not they were, at least, satisfied that they had proceeded honestly in the direction of carrying out the Act. He was bound to say that he thought the conduct of the Commissioners was very fair and respectful towards all those they had had to deal with. There could be no doubt, as was admitted by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey), that they had taken very great pains to ascertain the local feeling in the places whose educational establishments they had dealt with. It was quite true they did not always carry out all the views of all the persons in those places. They would have to be very clever men to do such a thing, because naturally, when there was a strong difference of opinion prevailing amongst members of a community, if the Commissioners pleased one section they would be sure to displease another. But this discussion had been a very instructive one, because they had heard doctrines propounded from the other side of the House which he thought it would have been a pity that they should not have had the advantage of hearing. They had heard, for instance, a good deal said about the question of confiscation; and, certainly, if he could have shut his eyes before the hon. Member rose, and hearing what was said, had wondered where the word came from, he could not possibly have believed it was the hon. Member for Ipswich who used it. He could almost wish that the hon. Member for Ipswich had sat in the first Parliament in which he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) sat, when they used to say so much on the Opposition side of the House with regard to confiscation. Very little had been heard about it on the other side of the House, and the result was that the Endowed Schools Act passed as it did. Great importance had been attached to the wishes of Sir Andrew Judd with regard to the Tonbridge School; but Sir Andrew Judd was only now made the concrete representative of the "pious founder" of whom so much used to be heard in years gone by. He was astonished to hear so much about the wish of Sir Andrew Judd; and, more than that, he was astonished at the statement of the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) when he talked about "political economy run mad." All these things were not only instructive, but very refreshing to hear from such a quarter of the House. But he had not risen for the sake of taking part in banter. His object in rising had been to impress upon the Government these utterances—these, no doubt, unguarded utterances—which, at the same time, were spontaneous—but yet represented a certain amount of feeling outside, and a feeling which should not be ignored. The hon. Gentleman must remember that these matters had caused an enormous amount of discussion in 1869 and 1870. He was not going to contest the policy then laid down. He took what part he could in the matter, and was ready to support, as far as he was able, the proposal of the hon. Member for Ipswich and others, who regarded themselves as the defenders of the rights of the poor in respect of education which had been handed down to them. But he wanted to impress on the Committee that it was possible to go too far in what was called a popular direction in matters of this kind, and that, as years went on, they might find themselves in conflict with opinions at first de-

nounced by them as reactionary. Personally, he had a great deal of sympathy with the feelings which prompted the action of hon. Members opposite, and he was bound to say that he considered there was much to be said for the right of the people, which hon. Gentlemen advocated, to retain for themselves the privileges of the foundations. He should not take up the time of the Committee by entering then into the question as to whether they had equal rights in this matter. He was, however, ready to admit that the question was a large one. But there was this to be said—if the hon. Member was right in insisting on the rights of the poor in this matter, he must allow others, from whom he might differ, to contend for other rights which they held to be equally sacred. But he desired to say a few words with regard to the powers of both Houses of Parliament to amend the schemes of the Charity Commissioners. He had been glad to hear, on the great authority of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, an argument which was, perhaps, more often heard on that side of the House than upon the other—namely, that there were some great functions which the House of Lords could be trusted to perform. The hon. Gentleman had been good enough to assert and to emphasize that doctrine; and, in so doing, he was quite right to remind the Committee that if the House of Commons failed to do its duty with respect to the schemes of the Commissioners, the House of Lords might generally be relied upon to do theirs; in other words, that if those schemes required amendment, and were not amended in that House, they would be amended in "another place." And then, with regard to another point of a practical nature. The Government talked about appointing a Committee next year to inquire into the whole question of the action of the Commissioners under the Endowed Schools Act. Personally, he had some doubts as to the position taken up by the Government in this matter, and a few months would probably show whether they were justified in the very confident view which they took of the future, and with regard to being able to afford such facilities. But he would point out that, even if the Committee were not appointed next year, there was power, under the Endowed Schools Act, to reject the schemes of the Charity Commissioners. He was speaking of what related to the House of Commons, not of what might take place in the House of Lords; the House of Commons had the right to object to a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, and, if it were necessary, to amend it. The state of Public Business, it was true, often prevented that right from being exercised; but, theoretically speaking, the power existed, and he wanted the Government to consider whether, by any means, they could give this statutory, although inoperative power, something like vitality. The Act provided that the schemes of the Charity Commissioners should lie on the Table of the House for 40 days, during which time any Member of that House could move an Address to the Crown, praying to have them amended; but, as he had pointed out on previous occasions, it was almost impossible, under present conditions, to find an opportunity of moving such Address.

MR. COURTNEY: An Address of the kind has been moved during the present Session.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he did not state that the case had never occurred of an Address to the Crown being agreed to; he meant to say that it was exceedingly difficult for the Government to find days for the discussion of Motions for Addresses when there was any pressure of Public Business. What happened was that the Government withheld the Order until half-past 12 or 1 o'clock, when it was not an easy matter to proceed satisfactorily with the Business. Again, on private Members' nights, if they were not seized by the Government, there was always the danger of the House being counted out, which often took place on occasions which, though they might be of interest to many people in the country, did not happen to command the attention of many hon. Members. For these reasons, he urged upon the Government to find some means of reducing to practice, and rendering available, the valuable protection he had referred to, which, at present, might be said to exist only on paper. Finally, in taking leave of the subject for the present, he wished to emphasize what had been the general tone of the discussion, and to express the hope that when this sub-

ject again formed the topic under consideration the same moderation would be observed, and the same desire shown, to arrive at a just conclusion with regard to the proceedings of the Charity Commissioners as had been manifested that evening.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, that having regard to the promise of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on Education that he would appoint a Select Committee next Session to inquire into the whole question of the action of the Charity Commissioners in respect of the schools, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment. In doing so, he wished it to be distinctly understood that he did not agree with all the statements which had been made in the course of the discussion with reference to the Endowed Schools Act. He agreed that that Act was, in some respects, defective; but his complaint had reference entirely to the way in which it had been administered by the Charity Commissioners. That Act vested large powers in the Charity Commissioners, and his contention was, that those powers had been exercised by them in a manner opposed to the public will, and in such a way as to inflict great hardships on the poor of the country. He had no wish to detain the Committee; but he desired to make some remarks with reference to what had fallen from the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), whom he understood to say that it was a just and proper thing to take away free schools from the poor, wherever they existed. That was to say, that what was taking place at that moment at Rochdale was just and proper. The Charity Commissioners were abolishing a free school at Rochdale; they were taking away free education from the poor, for whom it was intended, and were about to give it to the middle class, for whom it was never intended; and they were saying at that moment to the poor people at Rochdale—"You must apply to the Board of Guardians for education"—or, in other words—"We take away your right to this free education; we give what was meant for you to people of the middle class, and we reduce you to the class of outdoor paupers." On that contention of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets he joined issue; he protested against this assumption; and he ventured to say that the action of the Charity Commissioners, in respect to the schools belonging to the poor, would not be borne by that House or by the country.

MR. WARTON said, there was one point in connection with the schemes of the Charity Commissioners which he trusted the Committee would pardon his referring to under the present circumstances. The hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the Treasury had alluded to the check which was supposed to exist with regard to the schemes of the Charity Commissioners when brought up for consideration in either House of Parliament. But the attempt had been made before, and would be doubtless made again, to prevent the right of Members of that House to object to and amend the schemes of the Commissioners being exercised. He had himself called the attention of the House on more than one occasion to the perverse determination on the part of the Government to render ineffectual the right which hon. Members undoubtedly possessed; and in this way—by laying the scheme on the Table of the House, and taking very good care that it should not be printed for 15 days, and then not debated for a considerable time after that. Although the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council on Education said that a scheme could not be blocked, yet the schemes were most effectually blocked by having three-fourths or two-thirds of the time at the disposal of hon. Members taken away. He had called attention to this practice of the Government by putting a Notice on the Paper; but it had, unfortunately, always happened that the Government took possession of the day on which the Motion would have come forward. All he could say was that the protection referred to by the Secretary to the Treasury was really no protection at all, as against the schemes of the Charity Commissioners, which there was reason to believe was sometimes very bad. Without entering into that question, however, he would express a hope that it was not too late for the Government to say that they would have the schemes of the Charity Commissioners printed soon after they were laid upon the Table of the House, because his experience was that the time during which hon. Members were kept waiting for the schemes was never less

than 15 days, while it was very often even longer than that; and he was bound to say that it was an evasion of the Privilege of the House for the Government to persist time after time in not having the schemes printed at once. This was one of the ways by which the Government kept hon. Members out of their rights; and, as a practical matter, he said it ought to be dealt with at once. It was scarcely creditable to the Government that Reports which had been laid upon the Table of the House should not have been printed for two or three weeks afterwards, and that while they monopolized the time of private Members for their own proceedings they should never afford facilities for the discussion of any subject which reflected on the conduct of the Charity Commissioners.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £16,340, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of the Land Revenue Records and Inrolments."

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, he thought it was scarcely right at that late hour (12.30 A.M.) to enter upon a Vote for the Office of Woods and Forests. There was one subject alone in connection with the Vote of great interest to many hon. Members, and the discussion on it would certainly occupy an hour and a-half. Several hon. Members, he could assure the Secretary to the Treasury, had a great deal to say upon the Vote; and he felt bound to point out to the Committee what had been the conduct of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the discussion of the particular question he referred to on a former occasion. He and his hon. Friends were prepared to support the Motion of the hon. Member for Derbyshire, and to have continued the discussion; but after the Motion of his noble Friend, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury arose and replied in a speech which did not answer all the charges brought forward. At a quarter past 12 the Government, feeling rather doubtful with regard to the Motion for a Select Committee, organized, with a great deal of skill and care, a "count out;" the result being that the House adjourned at a quarter past 11 o'clock. That would be in the recollection of hon. Members; and he thought that, in asking the Committee to agree to a Motion to report Progress at that stage of the Estimates, there was nothing unreasonable, because, in his opinion, so important a Vote as that just put from the Chair should not be brought on at half-past 12 o'clock in the morning, and especially after the prolonged and exhaustive discussion they had listened to on the difficult and important subject brought forward by the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Viscount Lymington.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, he hoped the Committee would not assent to the Motion of the noble Lord to report Progress, because, unless the Committee continued its labours, it was evident that some days would be added to the length of the Session. There was nothing unusual, at that period of the Session, in continuing in Committee of Supply to a later hour than had been reached. The noble Lord said many hon. Members were anxious to take part in the discussion on this Vote, and no doubt there was a good deal to be said on both sides of the question. That being so, he thought the best course would be for the noble Lord to withdraw his Motion, and allow the debate to proceed.

MR. CHEETHAM said, he rose to support the very reasonable proposal of his noble Friend that the Chairman should report Progress. He knew that several hon. Members wished to speak on this important question, which, in his opinion, could not be satisfactorily discussed at that hour of the morning. Under the circumstances, if his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury wished to make further progress with the Estimates, he suggested that the Vote for the Office of Woods and Forests should be postponed.

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, he hoped the Motion to report Progress

would not be agreed to. He concurred with the view of the subject taken by the Secretary to the Treasury, that it was desirable to get on with the Estimates, having regard to the period of the Session reached. As the hon. Gentleman truly said, they would be kept at work a number of days longer unless they made further progress. The proposal of hon. Members opposite, he would point out, appeared to be of an obstructive character.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, whether the Motion of the noble Lord was agreed to or not, he hoped that nothing would be allowed to interfere with the order in which the Votes were to be taken. Nothing but dissatisfaction had ever resulted from that course being taken.

MR. BRYCE said, he trusted that the Secretary to the Treasury would agree to the Motion to report Progress. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that there was a great deal to be said on this Vote. It was a Vote on which many hon. Members desired to address the Committee; and there were materials for a debate of, at least, three hours' duration. The discussion on a former occasion having been interrupted at an hour when it could have been reported by the course taken by the Government, as described by the noble Lord, he thought it was only fair that the discussion on this Vote should be taken at a time when it could be reported.

MR. WARTON hoped the Committee would be allowed to proceed with the Estimates.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 33; Noes 111: Majority 78.—(Div. List: No. 164.)

Original Question again proposed.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he was anxious to call the attention of the Government to the great desirability of taking some steps to promote the study of forestry in this country. He thought they were much indebted to the hon. Members who had directed attention to this very important question, whether or not they were able to accept the remedies which they had suggested for consideration. They had to thank the hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons), also, for having secured the valuable Report by Mr. Howitz; and he wished that it and M. Boppe's could be more generally known. Our annual imports of wood were estimated at no less than 300,000,000 cubic feet; worth some £17,000,000 or £18,000,000 sterling. He did not, however, base his argument mainly on that consideration, important as it was. The losses which had recently pressed with much severity on landowners, and the diminished value of land, ought to render them anxious, if possible, to open up some fresh source of profit; and the recent depression would not be altogether without some compensating advantages if it induced them to devote more attention to questions connected with land, not the least important of which certainly was that of forestry. They were sometimes told that forestry was not, after all, of much importance in this country, because our national forests were small compared with those of several other countries. Even the national woods and forests were, however, of sufficient extent to make the question between good and bad management one well deserving attention. But they constituted a very small part of the subject. It was estimated that there were altogether some 2,500,000 acres of woodlands. But, in addition, there were, at least, 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 acres which it would pay to plant. Indeed, Mr. Howitz estimated the amount at 5,000,000 acres in Ireland alone; and M. Boppe, in his Report, expressed his opinion that in Scotland also there "still remained 5,000,000 acres capable of furnishing valuable forests." Nor must they forget the enormous area under wood in India and our Colonies. A remarkable illustration of what might be done by judicious planting was afforded by the French "Landes." This region, which 20 years ago was one of the poorest and most miserable in France, was now one of the most prosperous. The increased value was estimated at no less than 1,000,000,000 francs. Where there were previously only a few thousand poor and unhealthy shepherds watching their flocks pasturing on the scanty herbage, were now saw-mills, charcoal kilns, and turpentine works, interspersed with thriving villages and fertile agricultural lands. Our own experience in India was another startling

case. The institution of the Forest Department in India was first placed on a scientific footing in 1863, when Dr. Brandis was appointed Inspector General of Forests. But it was not until 1867 that his plans for the training of foresters for India were matured and adopted. What had been the result? In 1870 the forest revenue of India was £357,000, with the net income of £52,000. In 1880, the gross revenue had reached £545,000, while the net income had increased from £52,000 to £215,000. The effect of forests on climate seemed now to be generally admitted. It was mainly by the destruction of trees that Asia Minor, Palestine, Northern Africa, and so many other countries, once rich and populous, had been reduced almost to the condition of cinders. In this country, indeed, we need apprehend no such danger; but, as regarded India and our Colonies, the case was different. In Scotland it was probable that the management of forests was better understood than in England or Ireland; but it was very questionable whether, even if Scotch foresters were available in sufficient numbers, an English or Irish landowner would be wise to place his lands under anyone whose whole knowledge had been acquired in the practical management of Scotch forests, because the condition of the countries were so different. Moreover, it was probable that even Scotch foresters had much to learn. M. Boppe, one of the highest French authorities on woodlands, had recently visited our English and Scotch forests; and his Report, though short, was most suggestive. On the whole, he concluded that, even in Scotland — though in that country forestry was more advanced than in England—much remained to be accomplished in order "to place forest management in Scotland on a sound economic basis." His expressions deserved all the more attention, because, from the kindness and hospitality he everywhere experienced, and from the pleasant character of his visit, he evidently wished to make the best of everything. Still, it was easy to read between the lines; and, while his Report was full of praise of the soil and the climate, the ability and the hospitality and industry of the people, it was clear that, in his judgment, the system of forestry was altogether archaic, expensive, and obsolete. One fundamental difference between the management of woods and forests in England and France seemed to be that we planted, and then thinned, and then finally cut down the trees. The French foresters, on the contrary, made it an essential part of their system that the forest should renew itself. In this country, they observed, there did not exist "any link between the old forest and the new." M. Boppe mentioned, with much pathos, such a forest which he visited. The trees had all been cut down for railway sleepers; the ground was covered with the blackened remains of roots torn up and burned, reminding him of an "immense ossuary;" and the proprietor was replanting, at a great expense, and with much loss of time, both of which might, to a great extent, have been saved under a better system. Again, M. Boppe called attention to the presence of sheep as, in his judgment, inflicting a great injury on the Scotch forests, because they effectually prevented the trees from renewing themselves. Not that he would exclude sheep altogether. He observed that a forest required, say, 120 years to come to maturity, and that sheep ought to be excluded during the first 20 years, when the trees were still small, and also during the last 30, when they ought to be renewing themselves. This, however, left 70 years out of the 120, or more than half the period, during which sheep did no injury, and might safely be admitted. Moreover, he pointed out that, in a forest so treated, the young trees killed off the heather and gorse, and the herbage was thereby so much improved that he believed sheep could be more profitably kept in a forest so treated, than if they were allowed to be continually present. Another point of the greatest importance was the association of suitable species. No foreign foresters would think of planting oak by itself. But in our country, sometimes side by side, and on identical soil, there might be seen oak alone, sometimes larch alone, sometimes oak and Scotch pines, sometimes oak and beech, oak and larch, or oak and chestnut. It was clear that most of these were economical errors. The New Forest had been so mismanaged, and so much injured by the unrestricted exercise of the right of common, that it was said that 49,000 acres would before very long be nothing

but a barren heath! Whatever difference of opinion there might be between British and foreign authorities as to the best management of woodlands, all were agreed in advocating the establishment of a Forest School. *The Journal of Forestry* had ably and persistently advocated this step. *The Journal of Horticulture* observed—

"That it is little less than deplorable to witness the miles of woods that are practically valueless from a commercial point of view; whereas under skilled supervision they might yield a substantial revenue to their owners, and in addition be an advantage to the trading and agricultural community."

The same view was advocated by Colonel Pearson, who read an excellent Paper on the subject before the Society of Arts; by Mr. Brown, Mr. Griger, Mr. Boulger, and, in fact, he might say all our English authorities. Mr. Cruikshank, in his *Practical Planter*, summed up the matter very tersely when he said—

"Nothing is more common than to see trees, which are proper only for moist soil, placed in the most parched positions, and those which Nature has adapted for dry ground alone planted in swamps and morasses. Those species that would flourish on a light soil are often absurdly stationed in the most tenacious clays, where they can make but little progress; while those that would have attained a large size in stiff land are planted in gravel or sandy loam, as if for the express purpose of making them dwarfish, unsightly, and entirely worthless."

All the great countries of Europe had established Forest Schools. Austria, Italy, Germany, France, Russia, Switzerland, and even Roumania had done so. Great Britain was the only exception, and it was surely very remarkable that it should be so, when it was considered that this Empire was probably the most richly endowed with woods and forests of all the countries of the world. Our Colonies contained millions and millions of acres of forest land, much of it of very great value. It was estimated, on high authority, at not less than 340,000,000 of acres. Surely, then, the arguments in favour of establishing a Forest School in this country were very strong. He was, indeed, not clear that the establishment of a Government school was desirable. He understood that in future the Indian forest students were to receive part of their instruction at Cooper's Hill. For his part, he was sorry the Government had not taken a wider view of the question. It would be well worth inquiring whether some of the existing Colleges could not be made available for such a purpose. Possibly some arrangements might be devised by which, under careful regulations, the Professors and students attached might periodically visit our national forests. Of all our national woodlands those known as Lord Gage's Woods were, perhaps, the most suitable; and if the authority in charge of them could be appointed Professor of Forestry at Cirencester or Downton, perhaps that might be the best course to adopt. He, however, only threw it out as a suggestion. Surely, also, it would be desirable that Professors of Forestry should be appointed at our great Universities. Considering that so many of the landed proprietors of England were educated at these great Institutions, it was, to say the least of it, unfortunate that their attention should never even be directed to a subject in which they were so vitally interested. He did not mean that they should receive necessarily any thorough system of instruction in forestry; but the devotion of a very short time would suffice to give them an idea of the nature and the importance of the problem—of the manner in which it affected their interest—and the sources from which they might subsequently derive more definite information. It was, he feared, still true that, as the House of Commons Committee of 1854 reported, timber was "everywhere worse managed than any other species of property." Where, indeed, could a country gentleman with a few hundred or a few thousand acres of wood find anyone competent to undertake the management? Where could he send his son so that he might learn something of forest management? Private enterprize could not supply the want, because it was absolutely necessary that a Forest School should have forests connected with it. In this respect, therefore, the concurrence of the Government was essential. There was one substantial difficulty, which, however, only brought out the more strongly the necessity for some such step. We had, M. Boppe declared, no single piece of woodland in the country which would serve as a model. Last year, when he (Sir John Lubbock) called the attention of the Government to this question, his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury promised to give it his serious considera-

Sir John Lubbock

tion. He would respectfully urge him and Her Majesty's Government to appoint a Committee or a Commission to inquire into the whole subject. Averse as he was, on general principles, to Government interference with private enterprize, the objection did not seem to apply here. He did not, at present, ask for a Government school; it would be preferable, if it was possible, to utilize the national forests in connection with Cirencester, Downton, or some other similar institution; but he would very respectfully, but earnestly, press on the Government and on the House the great need of some such step, the result of which, he felt satisfied, would be that our existing forests and woodlands would be more remunerative; large tracts might be profitably planted; we should create additional employment for the people, considerably increase the incomes of our landholders, and make a substantial addition to the wealth and resources of the nation.

MR. CHEETHAM said, he wished to question one or two points in the administration of the Office of Woods and Forests; and, by way of emphasizing what he had to say, he proposed to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,200. He would first refer to the case of the Crown Waste of Towyn Trewen, in Anglesea, over which the neighbouring freeholders and occupiers had, from time immemorial, enjoyed rights of common. Last year the Office of Woods and Forests offered the common for sale by tender, there being about 700 acres; and it was bought for £1 per acre by a speculative and enterprizing individual, who at once fenced it round and built a house upon it. That high-handed action of the new lord of the manor had not been met by equally high-handed action on the part of the commoners. Instead of pulling down the fence and the house, these law-abiding people preferred to appeal to the law; and with the result of involving themselves in one of those costly suits which generally went in favour of the longer purse. Early in the Session he had presented a Petition, signed by nearly 200 of these commoners, complaining that the Office of Woods and Forests had not protected their rights. What was the justification the Office put forward for their action? They said they sold the common subject to all the rights of the commoners. He did not suppose they could have sold it upon any other condition; but what could be the value of a paper reservation that was powerless to prevent enclosure? Surely, to have enclosed the land would have been an invidious thing for the Office of Woods and Forests to attempt. But it was hardly less invidious to leave it in the power of some other person to carry out an inclosure. He thought that in such a case as this the principle of *noblesse oblige* must be held to apply with peculiar force. But the Waste of Towyn Trewen was not the only tract of Crown land in the Principality of Wales, and he wished to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether this was a specimen of the policy that was to be pursued in other cases; whether it was intended to put up these properties for sale one by one, and to hand over these poor people to the tender mercies of the highest bidder? This case illustrated the disadvantage the House laboured under in being left without any direct oversight or actual control of the Department charged with the administration of Crown Lands; and he thought it would greatly conduce to the public advantage if transactions of this character had to pass the ordeal of a Standing Committee of this House. He would not, at that late hour, go into other matters; but he wished to say a few words as to the administration of the Department in another respect—namely, with regard to the management of leasehold property of the Crown in the Metropolis. The Office of Woods and Forests appeared to have no settled rule or principle of action in dealing with this property. At one time the land was offered for sale by tender, which was the method pursued by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and strongly recommended by a Select Committee of this House which investigated the Crown Lands administration 30 or 40 years ago; but at another time no tenders were invited or any public notice given that the lands were for sale. The negotiations were privately carried out. That was the course pursued in the Pulteney Street case, of which the House was cognizant through a Paper laid on the Table; and the result of that course was that by far the largest share of the property fell to the least suitable tenant. There was no certainty that under this system the best

price could be got, or the best tenant. Then as to the machinery of the Office. There appeared to be no provision for the salary of the Crown Surveyor, whose name, indeed, he could nowhere find in the official list of the Department; but he had been told that that officer received, by way of remuneration, the first year's rental of the leases which he negotiated. If that was so, it ought to appear in the accounts as an item of the cost of administration. He hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would give some satisfactory explanation as to this official and his remuneration. It would be more satisfactory that all these sales should be conducted by some responsible official who held a recognized position on the staff of the Office, and not by professional persons who did not appear to have any ostensible connection with the Office. These were only two of the instances which might be adduced to show how unsatisfactory in many respects was the administration of this Office. The more these matters were investigated the more apparent would be the necessity for that inquiry for which he had moved earlier in the Session. After the attack that had been made he was rather surprised that the Department had not themselves courted an inquiry. He hoped his hon. Friend would yet see his way to granting the Committee that had been asked for inquiry; but, in the meantime, those who felt strongly on the matter must deem it their duty to take advantage of every opportunity of calling attention to the points in which the administration of the Crown Lands was defective; and, to mark his sense of the unsatisfactory conduct of the Office of Woods and Forests in the instances adduced, he should move the reduction of the Vote by £1,200.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £15,140, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments."—(*Mr. Cheetham.*)

DR. LYONS said, he desired that nothing he was about to say should be taken in any way invidiously in regard to the distinguished officials who held the chief positions in this Department, for he had always received from them the greatest encouragement, and all the information available had been placed at his disposal, so that he had the most kindly feelings with regard to this great Department. This Office had grown up in a way it was not easy to understand, into a sort of compound agency for questions connected with mines, the disposal of house property in London, Crown estates, and other interests, much in the same way as an ordinary agency. In a small degree it represented the policy of the Government in regard to the forest interest of the country, but only in a very small degree. It was a kind of Departmental superintendence of woods and forests, in connection with other less important matters. It was being rapidly enforced on the public mind that in regard to one of the great interests of this country the Department had got its affairs into a very critical condition; and he hoped the hon. Gentleman who represented the Treasury would apply himself seriously to this question. In his own efforts to deal with this great question, he had been treated only to smiles; this important subject of the extension of the forests of these countries was looked upon with a certain kind of good-natured toleration, if not indifference—as a kind of "fad" of his; and the most he had been able to get from the Representatives of the Treasury, and also, he was sorry to say, from the Irish Office, and the different persons who were responsible in Ireland, had been good-natured smiles. But he believed that all great subjects with which the House was not previously familiar must pass through that phase. He had borne a good deal of good-natured banter on the subject; but the matter had forced itself upon the public mind in a way which could no longer be ignored. In India and some of the Colonies this question represented an enormous interest connected with the resources upon which the strength and capabilities of this great country might ultimately have to rest; and the question of our future timber supplies at home must be faced in a serious manner at the earliest possible moment. It was too generally supposed that the supplies of timber from abroad were practically inexhaustible, and were never to come to an end; but he had ascertained from the highest authorities

on the subject—and the House could now judge for itself through the admirable Reports of the Foreign Office officials in Rurope and America—what was the real state of facts in the chief timber-producing countries. He was afraid these resources could be no longer relied on, and that henceforth those who wanted timber would no longer be able to look to America for continued sources of supply. There were 112,000 miles of railway in America; and as most engines were still fed with wood, beside the demand for sleepers, the consumption was enormous. With regard to the supply of wood from America, it was hopeless to expect that we should be able to get a large quantity from there in the future. The quantity would decrease by degrees, and the American people would find that they had need for all that they could grow, and would refuse to let us have any more. As to Canada, a similar description would hold good; but that question would require to be separately dealt with. [*Ironical cheers, and cries of* "Divide!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: I must say I am altogether unable to see the application of the hon. Member's observations to the Vote before the Committee, which is that £16,340 be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments.

DR. LYONS said, that, looking at the latitude the Chairman had allowed the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), he confessed he was tempted to go beyond the point the Chairman was entitled to allow him to overstep; but he would now confine his observations more strictly to the Vote before the Committee. Whenever this subject was carefully considered and discussed, it was universally conceded that the supply of timber in America, and in other countries, was barely sufficient, or would be, in the course of a very short time, barely sufficient for the domestic wants of these countries. We were the largest importers of timber in the world, importing, as we did, 29,000,000 cubic feet per annum, which, with the other forest products, reached the annual figure of £20,000,000 sterling; and the question which presented itself, therefore, was, whom were we to look forward to in the future for this supply? Every other country was awake to the knowledge of the fact that it would be its own duty to supply itself with the wood it required in the future. That principle was recognized in all the countries of Europe and in America—in fact, in every civilized country, with the single exception of the British Empire, which occupied the unfortunate position of being the greatest consumer of timber in the world with the smallest amount of land devoted to its growth at home. That being the case, it was a matter of vital consequence to us that in whatever direction efforts could be made they ought to be made to supply this great want. We spent £20,000,000 sterling on timber and other forest products; and it was a question where in the future that vast supply could be obtained. The Department of Woods and Forests in England should address itself seriously to this question as soon as possible, for it was beyond doubt that we would have to supply ourselves with a large portion of the timber we used in the course of a very short time. It was stated on the authority of those who were familiar with the subject that a large portion of the timber which was used for various industries in this country could be cut down from its seventh to the tenth year of growth. It was well known that for minor industries a great deal of timber did not require a larger period of growth than that. At the end of 25 years timber would have matured so as to be available for a great number of manufactures. As time went on of course the timber became superior and more matured, and capable of being used in various forms of architecture, and applied to other purposes to which sound matured timber was put. His contention was, that it would be possible for this country, in a comparatively short space of time, to produce a timber supply of its own. If there was one principle more fully established than another, it was that every country, looking at the general aspect of its soil and other conditions upon which a forest growth depended, could devote a proportion of from one-fourth to one-fifth of its area to the production of timber. Not only would this forest growth be of enormous value to the country from a commercial point of view, but it would improve the natural physical conditions of the land, for it would regulate the

springs and water supply, which was a most material point, and one which was the subject of legislative enactment in Canada in this current year. This afforestation of the country would prevent an enormous waste of the nutrient materials of the land, now constantly swept away by the down-wash of the rains, and in many other ways would act in a beneficial manner. If they accepted the fact that from one-fourth to one-fifth of the surface of the land should be devoted to the growth of timber—[*Ironical cheers, and interruption.*]

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the question of planting large forests in this country, and of supplying ourselves with home-grown timber, does not come under this Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN: Why not?

DR. LYONS said, he bowed entirely to the Chairman's decision. [*Cries of* "Go on!"] Some of the details to which he had alluded were to be found in the Report of the Woods and Forests Department which was connected with this Vote; and therefore it seemed to him that, in touching upon these matters, he was not going beyond his right. However, he did not for a moment challenge the Chairman's ruling. The Woods and Forests Department had a vast function before it. They found that it was devoted to the important duties to which he had endeavoured to call attention, and that for the purpose of carrying out these duties two Commissioners were appointed. The amount of the fund at the disposal of these gentlemen at the present moment was that contained in the Vote—the comparatively small sum of £23,340. What occurred to him on this point was, with all respect to the Commissioners, that the duties of the Office as they were at present discharged could be quite satisfactorily carried out by a single Commissioner. Here they had a remarkable instance of a great Public Department having two gentlemen in precisely parallel Offices discharging precisely the same class of duties—at any rate, the last printed Report published in 1883 did not show any difference in the duties—they had a remarkable instance of two gentlemen occupying the same position doing work for which one would be more than capable. It appeared to him that that was a waste of force and a waste of public money, particularly when they came to consider that neither of these gentlemen was specially qualified by education to discharge the duties which were regarded as so important in other countries in connection with the timber growth and the supply of timber. The more he looked into the matter, the more he was struck by the consideration that one superior official would be quite sufficient to manage all the work of this Department. The amount of land under the Commissioners was, unfortunately, not very large, the largest area of land of which they had the control being, so far as he could learn, the New Forest, which included 22,000 acres. In some countries the Woods and Forests Departments had to do with millions of acres. The great forests of Russia, for instance, comprised over 400,000,000 of acres; and, if he were not mistaken, France possessed something over 22,000,000 acres of forest, and other countries were supplied with timber in like but varied proportions—Norway, over 18,000,000 acres; Sweden, over 40,000,000 acres; Germany, 34,000,000 acres; Austria Proper, 23,000,000 acres; and Hungary, 22,000,000 acres. Looking at the small amount of land in England devoted to timber (only about 1,400,000 acres), and that our largest forest did not exceed 22,000 acres, it was idle to say that one Commissioner could not manage all the duties of the Office. He would also suggest that there should be a competent official selected without the least possible delay to take up the consideration of the extension of the forests which were especially under the charge of these two gentlemen. No doubt, the two Commissioners very ably discharged their duties at the present time; he did not for an instant bring any charge against them. He was speaking of the Department as a Public Department, and his complaint was not of individuals, but of the manner in which the whole Department had been permitted to be worked under successive Governments. No doubt the two Commissioners were as competent to discharge the duties which devolved upon them as they could be; but he was finding fault with the scope of those duties—in fact, with the whole construction of the Department, his contention being that it was altogether insufficient and inefficient for the

wants of this great nation. He desired to see the funds of the Department properly applied. It was impossible for this country to maintain itself in the position in which it had so long and so honourably stood, without taking active and immediate measures to replace the forests which once existed in it, and which were so absolutely necessary, from every possible point of view, to the maintenance of her industries and to the welfare of the State. [*Ironical cheers.*] He saw the hon. Gentleman below (Mr. Courtney) treating him with his usual smiles. He regretted to find the hon. Member, notwithstanding the ability and energy which were so eminently characteristic of him in common with his countrymen, about the last to recognize the position in which the country found itself in regard to this great question. He always found the hon. Member, and some of those associated with him, looking coldly upon proposals such as he (Dr. Lyons) had been making. He should have thought that, even to the unbelieving mind of the hon. Member (Mr. Courtney), it would be apparent that, under the circumstances of the case, there was no necessity for the employment of a second Commissioner, and that the funds devoted to the Department could be better utilized in the remuneration of high-class skilled Forest Conservators, such as those who had raised the forest system of India to such a high standard of excellence and financial success within the lifetime of men still amongst us.

MR. BRYCE said, he hoped that the hon. Member (Mr. Cheetham), who had moved the Amendment, would persevere with his Motion. This he (Mr. Bryce) regarded as the very worst of all the Departments of the Crown; and though he did not intend, at this hour of the night, to go into a long catalogue of its misdeeds, still he would remind the hon. Member the Secretary to the Treasury that he by no means would get rid of the question, either by counting it out on a Motion on a Friday night, or by putting it off until a late period at night. The Department was grossly mismanaged — its whole course was marked by a succession of jobs. There was a great deal of suspicion attached to its action. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] Hon. Members below the Gangway opposite need not interrupt him and cry "Divide!" because they might rest assured it would not make the least difference to him. He could wait until hon. Members had done. The hon. Member the Secretary to the Treasury knew, or ought to know, that there was grave dissatisfaction entertained regarding the way in which Crown property in London was managed. It was very difficult to fix responsibility, contracts being effected by middle-men; but he might say that the public was benefited neither by receiving the best available price for Crown land let or sold, nor, on the other hand, by the placing of that land with thoroughly good tenants. He would again urge on the Government the duty of acceding to the request which had been so often made to them for a full inquiry into the whole matter. If the Government did not make this concession to-night, he could promise them that this debate would be renewed in every Session of Parliament, whenever hon. Members had an opportunity of bringing it before the attention of the House. Constant complaints would be made of the mismanagement of the Woods and Forests Department until the Government permitted the whole matter to be thoroughly inquired into. It would only be fair to the Commissioners to let them vindicate their conduct before such an inquiry. It would only be just to allow them to endeavour to win back the confidence they had forfeited.

MR. COURTNEY was understood to say that he hoped the hon. Member for Dublin (Dr. Lyons) would pardon him if he altogether failed to follow him into the subject he had so fully discussed. All he would say was that, if he could do anything in the way of putting the hon. Gentleman into communication with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, so that he might give them the advantage of his knowledge and experience in these matters, and ascertain from them the way in which the duties of the Department were discharged, he should be very glad to do so. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Derbyshire (Mr. Cheetham), he would point out that he (Mr. Cheetham) did not make out a case by bringing general accusations—however serious those accusations might be. To make out a case, it was necessary to descend to details. What he (Mr. Courtney) had ven-

tured to say, when the subject was last under discussion, he now repeated, and it was that no case had been made out against the Department. Some little carelessness, on one or two occasions, might have existed; but there did not seem to be any ground for the suggestion now made of malversation of the funds of the Department.

MR. CHEETHAM: I did not say there had been.

MR. BRYCE: The complaint is that there is suspicion of gross blunders.

MR. COURTNEY said, at all events, the accusations had now been unrooted to some extent. He had said at great length, in answer to the hon. Member for Derbyshire (Mr. Cheetham), that he could not recognize in the evidence sufficient ground for granting the inquiry asked for, and that statement he must now repeat. Whether, with more details and particulars before them than they now had, a case might not be made out, of course he could not say. It was stated that manors were sold, and that commoners were treated in an illegal way; and, bearing upon this, there were questions at present before a Court of Law. But it must be remembered that those who acquired property must be allowed to proceed to act in a way they believed to be an assertion of their rights; and their neighbours might take action against them on what they conceived to be a violation of their rights. A man who bought a house in the City could pull it down, and proceed to build a larger one; and if by so doing he obstructed the light of his neighbour, recourse must be had to a Court of Law. If the case of the hon. Member for Derbyshire (Mr. Cheetham) was anything at all, it was a case for an application to a Court of Law. The Crown could only sell common land subject to the settlement of the claims and rights of the commoners; and in this matter purchasers would have to defend themselves. The hon. Member for Derbyshire (Mr. Cheetham) had found fault with the administration of the Department in the Metropolis, because, in many cases, property was not sold by tender. He (Mr. Courtney) had stated that, as a general rule, it was let by tender; but in any case where previous tenants had, by long usage and relation, been connected with the Crown, if any claim to preference was allowed, it was allowed to them. The principle which had been adopted had been to give preference to old tenants. As to the remuneration given to the Crown Surveyor, it was understood that he got a year's rental for his services in dealing with property.

MR. CHEETHAM: Do those charges appear in the accounts?

MR. COURTNEY said, he did not think they did. As regarded the subject of a forestry school it had not been lost sight of; but it must be considered in connection with India, and he had been once or twice in communication with the India Office. In order to carry out such a scheme, and to justify so large an expense, it would be necessary to have the co-operation of the India Office; and they had taken the view that it was impossible to give instruction to their forest surveyors and forest men in England which would be necessary to qualify them for their duties in India. Whether it would be possible to come to some partial arrangement he could not say; but the subject had not been lost sight of, and there was a great desire on the part of the Government to promote the matter.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, he thought the Secretary to the Treasury had rather unfairly criticized hon. Members for not having gone into sufficient detail, for it was impossible, at this late hour, to go into detail. The reason why the Motion had been made was, that it was impossible, at this late hour, to fairly and fully discuss this matter; but he would recommend his hon. Friend to withdraw his Motion. Although the Government had twice succeeded in stifling the discussion of this subject, he must tell the hon. Member that those who were interested would take the first opportunity, on some other occasion, of raising the question and having it fully discussed; and he thought they would be able to convince the hon. Gentleman that there was some reason in what they urged.

MR. CHEETHAM said, he would withdraw his Motion; but, in doing so, he must say that he could hardly accept as satisfactory the statement of the Secretary to the Treasury. It seemed to him that the Government were bound to take some steps to safeguard the rights of the Towyn Trewen commoners.

MR. PULESTON said, that, in the case mentioned in London, one tenant was favoured at the expense of other tenants, and nearly the whole of the property was allowed to pass into his hands. That, he held, was a case of miscarriage of public policy.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [16th July] *reported.*

First Four Resolutions *agreed to.*

Fifth Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

MR. MOORE said, he wished to refer to a matter to which he had alluded yesterday. He was then treated with scant courtesy; but he intended to challenge this Vote. He yesterday charged the Local Government Board with having reversed the policy of their Predecessors with regard to the removal of Catholic children from workhouses. While he was speaking someone called out "Nonsense!" but he thought he might at least expect that deference which was usually paid to hon. Members of that House. He at once went and made inquiries, and he found that what he had said as to the policy of the Board in London was certainly too strong. He was hardly justified in saying that they had reversed the policy of their Predecessors; because he found that the President of the Board had, in 1882, ordered the removal of a Catholic child in London, and that he had exercised his powers in such respects. Having gone that far, he could go no further. He must, in spite of the interjection from the Treasury Bench yesterday, reavow what he had then stated. The Roman Catholic population were very much dissatisfied, and he and other hon. Members were flooded with letters upon their grievances; and although he might have been technically inaccurate, there was no doubt that he had substantially laid the true state of affairs before the House. There was, in London, a large workhouse which refused to allow Roman Catholic children to be brought up in their own religious persuasion, though the Roman Catholic people were willing to pay for them, and to provide accommodation. It was all very well to say that, after three years' litigation and correspondence with the Local Government Board, something might be done; but it was the duty of the Board to have done it without this great upheaval, and without throwing every possible obstacle in the way. To show how they had failed in their duty, and in the exercise of the law placed in their hands, he had had placed before him, for the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), the Correspondence with the Local Government Board relating to two cases in Sheffield, in which they distinctly refused to exercise their power. Those were his reasons for making his assertions, and he thought they were of a very substantial character, and he intended to emphasize their reassertion by a Division to-night. It was very well to whitewash the Government, and to say they were doing everything they could; but there was the greatest dissatisfaction among the Roman Catholic public. Then he had made another statement, in which he was slightly inaccurate. He had stated that at Hampstead there were four hospitals which were attended by Roman Catholic chaplains gratuitously. In that he was slightly wrong; but he did not think he ought to have been subjected to discourtesy. He ought to have said Highgate; but there the matter was worse. He had mentioned this matter as another cause of dissatisfaction, and as a great hardship upon the Roman Catholics, upon whom the whole burden of providing religious instruction and consolation for the sick and dying was thrown, while chaplains of other religious persuasions were paid for and provided. He thought he had most fully and with substantial accuracy maintained the two assertions he had made, and he must again express his disapproval of the manner in which the Local Government Board conducted their affairs. Although they might make some small concession, he intended to take a Division against the Vote, in order to mark his dissatisfaction with the way in which the Business of this Department was administered.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 78; Noes 27: Majority 51.—(Div. List, No. 165.)

The next Six Resolutions *agreed to.*

Twelfth Resolution read a second time.

MR. SEXTON said, when this Vote was discussed in Committee on the previous day, a question was asked of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) to which, perhaps, he could now reply, in reference to the Calendar of Instruments and Entries in the Public Record Office relating to Ireland prior to the Reign of Henry VII. For this purpose the sum voted last year was £400; but in the present Estimates there was no such item. What was the reason for the reduction? Was the Calendar complete? If not, how soon would it be completed? He hoped the hon. Gentleman could satisfy Irish Members that the Calendar would not suffer from the cessation of the grant.

MR. COURTNEY said, he had made inquiries, and had ascertained that the compilation of the Calendar was going on, and he hoped not with diminished speed; but the work was now undertaken by the permanent officials of the Office, in office hours, and the expense was covered by salaries in the regular way.

Twelfth Resolution *agreed to.*

Thirteenth Resolution *agreed to.*

Fourteenth Resolution read a second time.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he had asked the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury a question in reference to the distribution of Acts of Parliament passed during the Session to Members of the House, and he was told he could ascertain at the Vote Office. He had inquired; but was told at the Vote Office that they knew nothing about such Acts; they had received none, and had no order to distribute them. He thought Members should have them as they came out. Would the hon. Gentleman take steps to have them supplied?

MR. COURTNEY said, he thought they must have been withheld on the supposition that they would be supplied in bound volumes. He would make inquiries.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked, had they been issued in bound volumes?

MR. COURTNEY said, no; but it was suggested that many Members would desire them in that form.

Fourteenth Resolution *agreed to.*

DEAN FOREST AND HUNDRED OF SAINT BRIAVELS BILL.

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

[BILL 184.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. WARTON said, was it really intended to go on with this Bill? He was told there was a Commission of Inquiry into the ancient rights and privileges of the foresters of Dean, and that their Report would have reference to matters connected with the Bill. Was it not a farce to postpone the Bill from day to day, when there would not be time to carry it during the Session?

MR. COURTNEY said, that when the hon. and learned Member rose he (Mr. Courtney) was on the point of moving that the Order be discharged.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Order for the Second Reading of the said Bill be discharged,"—(*Mr. Courtney,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 286.]

(*Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Mayne, Mr. Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Marum.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, the Amendment he begged to move was to insert a new clause after Clause 8 (or Clause 9 in the Bill as reprinted); and on the list of Amendments he had drawn up, it would be observed that, at the end of Clause 9, he had a Motion to insert the words, after the word "polling," "except as hereinafter provided," which would bring in the new clause he now proposed. The clause was a very simple one, and was entirely founded on remarks which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland in a previous discussion. The right hon. Gentleman, in addressing himself to the question of the proxy vote, acknowledged that the

proxy vote was right and proper to be used. The right hon. Gentleman objected to giving the right to absentees; but he expressed himself as agreeing to the argument that a man who held property in several Unions, or separate divisions of one Union, could not possibly vote personally at a great many different places; and it would be in the recollection of the House that, while the right hon. Gentleman objected to confer the right on absentees, he agreed that a man resident in the county who did, or tried to do, the duties incident to his position, should not be deprived of the right of representation when he paid his taxes, and that while he attended in person at one polling district he should be allowed to vote by registered letter in other districts where he had the right to vote. This was perfectly fair and right. He (Colonel King-Harman) did not assent to the abolition of the proxy vote; but upon the unasked for statement of the right hon. Gentleman he placed this clause before the House, and asked them, not wishing to occupy time at that late hour, to judge it by the words of the right hon. Gentleman.

New Clause—

(Recording vote by registered letter.)

"Any person owning rateable property entitling him to vote in more than one Union, or in more than one division of any electoral Union, and who shall in person attend and vote at one place of polling, shall be entitled to record his vote for each and every other electoral division for which he is a registered elector, by means of a registered letter addressed to the Returning Officer;

"Any woman entitled to a vote at a Poor Law election shall be allowed to vote in like manner by registered letter,"—(*Colonel King-Harman,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. HEALY said, he trusted the Government would not accept this proposal. If the Tory Party wished to insert such a clause let them do it in the House of Lords; their Lordships, he understood, intended to mutilate the Bill there as much as they could. It would be monstrous to go behind all former electoral law to introduce a state of things in Ireland unknown to ordinary law. The tendency of the modern system of election was to abolish these proxy votes of landlords. If men would not take the trouble to attend personally to register their votes, surely they were not persons who should have votes. He hoped the Government would not accept the clause; but, if they did, let there be a clear understanding how many votes a landlord was to be entitled to give. Could he give his 18 votes by registered letter? Practically, as the Amendment stood, it provided a man should record his vote. Was it intended to be read in the singular number, one vote? [Colonel KING-HARMAN: No.] Then it meant 18 votes by registered letter. Did the Government mean to state that a man who would not attend in person could give 18 votes by letter?

MR. HARRINGTON said, he was surprised at the hesitation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland; surely he had no serious intention of accepting the clause? Apart altogether from the fact that it was an effort to restore the proxy vote already abolished, the clause, if engrafted on the Bill, would be quite unworkable. How was the clerk of a Union, who presided at an election, to know whether a person who sent a registered communication was actually occupied in voting in another Union? This was the principle upon which the clause was based—that a man occupied in voting in one division could not attend in another—that was the only reason upon which the proposer of the clause defended it. How could the presiding officer know whether a person who sent a letter was occupied in voting in another Union in the same, or in a distant county, perhaps 100 miles away? And then with regard to electoral divisions of the same Union, how would it inconvenience a man registering his vote in the board room, to record his vote for eight or 10 electoral divisions on the same day? If he attended at the Poor Law Board Room, and if he had property in ten electoral divisions, he could record his vote for all. In fact, the clause was a sham, an attempt to re-enact the proxy vote. And, again, the clause proposed to give women the right to vote by letter. That was altogether contrary to the principle of the ballot. The letter would go to the clerk of the Union; he would have to see if the proper number of votes were given, and the clerk would know how every woman voted. That

was altogether contrary to the spirit of the ballot.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member (Mr. Harrington) had remarked upon what he termed hesitation on his (Mr. Trevelyan's) part; but he rose at the same time as the hon. Member, and the only reason why he did not rise immediately after the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman) was, that he had expressed himself very decidedly in the second reading debate, and again in Committee. He had placed Amendments on the Paper, which he must not now particularly refer to, especially as he proposed to move one which he hoped would meet with general approbation. It was a question not so much of principle as of practice, and he would express the opinion of the Government, and the decision arrived at after two or three years' consideration. His argument against the proxy vote was given on the second reading. He met the possible argument in favour of it; first, by the clause about triennial elections; and, next, by stating that the Local Government Board would use their power in naming the days of election, so that elections should take place on different days in different electoral divisions, which would enable the Returning Officer to do his duty more thoroughly and efficiently. The Government were satisfied that if the ballot were adopted in Poor Law elections throughout the United Kingdom, it would be altogether inconsistent with that to accept the clause, or sanction the proxy vote.

MR. GIBSON said, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Trevelyan) gave this as the result of consideration by the Government for two or three years. Why, it was only nine or ten months since the right hon. Gentleman himself suggested a similar Amendment from the Treasury Bench. His hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel King-Harman) had merely transcribed, in the form of a clause, the very words the right hon. Gentleman had used, and it was rather cool on the part of the right hon. Gentleman to endeavour to convey that the Government were against it all through; and when they came down to a subsequent Amendment, it would be found that, instead of two or three years' consideration, the Government had actually changed their minds since the last time the Bill was before the House on what might be said was more mature deliberation. The clause did not propose any privilege or special advantage to the landlords—nothing of the kind; it was merely a clause that endeavoured to save them from disfranchisement; that a landlord who had to pay half the poor rates, who had property in more than one Union, should be enabled to register his vote in Unions where he would be unable to attend, in consequence of being engaged in registering his vote in person in one particular Union. If his hon. and gallant Friend went to a Division he should support the Amendment.

MR. SEXTON said, the decision at which the Government had arrived was the only reasonable course open to them. The Constitution recognized three methods of voting—by word of mouth, by ballot, and by proxy; but this novelty, born in the brain of the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman), voting by registered letter, was one that assuredly could not command acceptance for a moment. His hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) had pointed out, with conclusive force, that the hon. and gallant Gentleman, when drafting that part of his clause relating to electoral divisions, could not have known what he was writing about; for, no matter in how many electoral divisions a man's property might be situated, he could concentrate all his votes for the division by recording them at the workhouse; he could vote centrally for all the electoral divisions.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked, where did the hon. Member find that in the Bill?

MR. SEXTON, in reply, asked where could the opposite be found? As to landlords who owned property in different Unions, the number was few; and it was monstrous to propose a general principle for their convenience; it was nothing less than an attack on an essential principle of the Bill. In the 4th and 9th clauses, the Bill recited that from and after the passing of the Act elections should be held by ballot. From and after the passing of the Act, votes in every contested Poor Law election would be given by ballot, the 9th clause providing that every voter should attend in person at the place appointed for voting; but the clause would create a

class of persons who should vote by registered letter, and he could only say that no device could be more fruitful of fraud and deceit than this privilege to vote by registered letter. He was not aware that in Parliamentary elections facilities were reserved for the physical convenience of persons entitled to give votes in different constituencies; he was not aware that sheriffs had to fix elections at such different days that the fortunate pluralist voter could exercise his Constitutional power to the utmost; and if that was not so in Parliamentary, why should it be so in Poor Law elections? As to the proposal that women should vote by registered letter, he thought that any reason that existed against the clause in the case of men was much more marked in the case of women—it would be equivalent to denying them the ballot; it would apply to them all the risks of an open vote; it would leave the sex most open to influence, most requiring protection, open to all the influences of intimidation.

MR. PLUNKET said, he had never heard such a change of opinion executed by the Government with so little excuse or palliation. The clause now proposed to be added to the Bill was exactly the putting on the Paper a suggestion made last year by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had not stated since then one word in defence of the alteration of his opinion; and the very argument put forward, that provision would be made by the Local Government Board, the right hon. Gentleman dealt with last year, and treated as wholly illusory. He had said nothing whatever to explain why he had changed his view. It was a surrender for the convenience of the Government—a surrender in which they gave up a valuable principle of justice to landlords, who might pay half the rates; and it exhibited, to an extraordinary extent, the undisguised, the undefended inconsistencies manifested on their part.

MR. GRAY said, he could scarcely believe the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Colonel King-Harman) was serious in his Amendment. The framework of the clause itself was contradictory; it proposed to give landlords the power to register one vote by registered letter; but the hon. and gallant Gentleman said he did not mean that—he meant the multiple vote. The fact was, the clause did not read with the Bill; it was incongruous. The one single argument put forward in its favour was that last year the Chief Secretary for Ireland said something which was construed into acceptance of the clause. But that was not a good argument for the House, whatever it might be against the consistency of the right hon. Gentleman, who might have changed his mind. No attempt had been made to justify the clause to the House; and, as a matter of fact, there was no justification.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 33; Noes 71: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 166.)

Clause 3 (Definitions).

MR. TREVELYAN said, he had an Amendment to propose to the clause, to make it clear that the prescribed Order was to be issued by the Local Government Board. The Amendment was a verbal one, and would, no doubt, be agreed to by the House.

Amendment proposed, in page, line 1 24, after the word "issued," insert the words "by the Local Government Board."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Amendment *agreed to;* words *inserted* accordingly.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he proposed to meet the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) in another form—namely, by leaving out the words "to the fifth section of this Act."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 25, leave out "to the fifth section of this Act."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Amendment *agreed to;* words *left out* accordingly.

Clause 4 (Guardians to hold office for three years).

MR. HEALY said, he had an Amendment on the Paper to leave out "three" years, and insert "two" on page 2, line 6. The principle involved, however, was not of very great importance, and he should not think it necessary to move it; but he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether

they were still of the same opinion as that which they held before with regard to the duration of this Act? He would be glad to know why the right hon. Gentleman now proposed three years instead of two.

[No reply.]

Clause 11 (A day to be fixed to hear claims of persons omitted from lists).

MR. HEALY said, in the absence of his hon. Friend the Member for Wexford (Mr. Small), he rose to move the Amendment standing in the name of that hon. Gentleman, which had for its object to facilitate the attaining of copies of the Register for electoral divisions.

Amendment proposed,

In page 4, at end of Clause, insert, "and every returning officer shall, on demand, furnish to any person requiring the same a copy of the Register for any electoral division, at a charge not exceeding one shilling for each hundred names, or fraction of a hundred names, contained therein."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Amendment *agreed to*; words *inserted* accordingly.

Other Amendments made.

Clause 25 (No minor entitled to vote. Fresh election to be ordered forthwith on vacancy. Justice of peace not to be qualified as ex-officio guardian unless a ratepayer).

MR. HEALY said, he proposed to reinstate the words "shall forthwith" in place of those which had been added by the Government—namely, that the Board

"May, if they think fit, and shall, if applied to by the Board of Guardians, among whom the vacancy exists,"

order a vacancy to be filled up. He desired to look at the possible effect of the Bill as it had been amended. Supposing that the Nationalists had a majority on the Board of Guardians, and the Tory Party had a vacancy, it was clear that the Nationalists might prevent the election of the Tory candidate by failing to do anything in the matter. The effect of the clause as it stood would be undoubtedly to give the decision, as to whether a vacancy should be filled up or not, to the majority of the Board. He trusted the House would agree to the Amendment he was about to propose, which simply restored the Bill to its original form; whereas the Amendment of the Government was framed in such a way as, in his opinion, to leave great room for partizan action.

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 23, after "Board," to leave out the words "may, if they think fit, and shall, if applied to by the Board of Guardians among whom the vacancy exists," and insert the words "shall forthwith,"—(*Mr. Healy,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. TREVELYAN said, this was rather a matter of confidence in the Local Government Board. If a case of distinct injustice on the part of the majority of a Board of Guardians were brought to the notice of the Local Government Board as at present constituted, he felt satisfied that they would order a new election. It was rather a question in this case of postponing an election for two or three weeks; and he thought it was a matter which might safely be trusted to the combined good sense of the Local Government Board and that of the Board of Guardians. He did not think that the clause as amended was practically open to the comment of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) in reference to the case which he had supposed.

MR. SEXTON said, notwithstanding the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, cases would undoubtedly arise in which there would be no community of feeling between the Local Government Board and the Boards of Guardians. The right hon. Gentleman had declared at the Table that the question was one of postponing an election for a short time—that was to say, for a week, or a month, or any reasonable period—which Irish Members were perfectly willing to agree to; but the clause gave power to the Guardians to postpone the election of a candidate until the next triennial election.

MR. WARTON said, the majority might be on one side or the other; and there might also be an equilibrium, in which case there would be a dead-lock. Therefore, he thought that the word "forthwith" would hardly meet the object in view. He suggested that words should be inserted to make it clear that the election should take place, say, within a month or two.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Local Government Board would act of its own free will in the case of a vacancy. If the Guardians did not apply, the Local Government Board, upon the representation of the case, might themselves see fit to order an election.

MR. HEALY: We do not trust the Local Government Board.

MR. GRAY said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would admit some provision into the clause which would restrict the action of the Local Government Board. As the clause stood, the Local Government Board, if the majority of the Guardians took no action in respect of a fresh election, might actually permit the vacancy to exist for three years, short of one day. That was a very extraordinary position of affairs, and could not occur in the election of a Town Councillor or a Member of Parliament, or, indeed, in any other election. If it were merely for the purposes of convenience, in the case of a bye-election, within a fortnight or a month of a triennial election, Irish Members would all grant that the clause was a reasonable one; but there was no such restriction of the clause, and he did not see why the Local Government Board should have the power of permitting a vacancy to exist for three years. If the right hon. Gentleman would agree to amend the clause by putting in a period of three months, as the limit during which a vacancy might remain unfilled, he believed that would be agreed to by his hon. Friends.

MR. GIBSON said, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) would be improved if the words "shall within a reasonable time, which shall not exceed three months," were substituted for the words "shall forthwith."

MR. HEALY said, he proposed to withdraw his Amendment in favour of the proposal of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson).

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 23, after the word "Board," to leave out the words "may, if they think fit, and shall, if applied to by the Board of Guardians among whom the vacancy exists," in order to insert the words "shall within a reasonable time which shall in no case exceed three months under any circumstances."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Words *inserted* accordingly.

Another Amendment made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 8, line 29, at the end, to insert as a new sub-section—"The value of the qualification for elected guardians shall be uniform in all electoral divisions, and shall, by virtue of this Act, be fixed at the net annual value of not less than twelve pounds."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, this was a most extraordinary proposal. It was well known that the general valuation throughout Ireland was £12, and no one knew better than the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the class of men who would be elected under this sub-section. Yet he proposed to lower the qualification, and get, consequently, a lower class of men on the Boards. The right hon. Gentleman was, of course, master of the situation, and could do what he liked in this matter; but he (Colonel King-Harman) believed he was proposing an Amendment which went against his own knowledge and experience, or, at any rate, the experience which he ought to have. It was impossible for him to trouble the House to divide at that hour of the night. All he could do under the circumstances was to protest against this utterly unstatesmanlike proposal of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. GRAY said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) having entered his protest against the Amendment proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he (Mr. Gray) would ask the right hon. Gentleman to let the House know what was the meaning of the words "not less than" so far as the Amendment was concerned? He had understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he would consider the propriety of adopting a uniform maximum qualification; but this wording did not satisfy his idea of a maximum qualification; it was a minimum qualification; and, under it, the Local Government Board might find the

discretion of fixing the qualification at £50 in one case, and at £12 in another. The exact meaning to be attached to the words appeared to be very doubtful. He thought that what the right hon. Gentleman intended to do was to provide a uniform qualification of £12; and, if that were so, the proper words to use would be "not more than twelve pounds;" because, as the sub-section stood, the Local Government Board might fix £112 as the qualification. [Mr. COURTNEY dissented.] The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury shook his head at that statement; but, surely, the words "not less than" implied, possibly, "more than?"

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that a person would not be qualified with a net annual value of less than £12.

MR. GRAY said, the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Walker) had misunderstood him. As he apprehended the position, it was this—that the Local Government Board had a certain discretionary power to fix the qualification; and, as a matter of fact, it was so. The words would leave the Local Government Board a discretion still, if they had any meaning at all. Would the right hon. Gentleman explain what meaning was to be attached to the words? Their plain meaning was, more than, or not less than; and, unless it was restricted by a clear definition to the contrary, the Local Government Board might fix any qualification they thought fit, as long as it was not less than £12, in the case of any Union.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, if the hon. Member for Carlow County (Mr. Gray) would read the clause carefully, he would perceive that the qualification was to be fixed, "by virtue of this Act," at a sum not less than £12.

MR. GRAY: Exactly. But how much more may it be?

MR. HEALY said, if the Government intended what their Amendment was supposed to mean, they should make it clear that any ratepayer in a Poor Law Union, rated at £12, should be qualified to be elected as Guardian for such Union, and that the value of the qualification should be uniform.

MR. TREVELYAN said, they were willing to accept the suggestion of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy); and he would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw the Amendment before the House in order that the words of the hon. Member might be substituted.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 29, at end, insert as a new sub-section—

"Any ratepayer in a Poor Law Union, rated at, or exceeding, twelve pounds, shall be qualified to be elected as guardian for any electoral division in such Union, and the value of the qualification shall be uniform in all electoral divisions."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GIBSON said, he was not at all sure that the words proposed to be added to the clause were not open to considerable objection. They seemed to say that the value of all the qualifications in the Union should be £12. [Mr. HEALY: They are Government words.] He was aware of that; but still he was not satisfied that they were not open to objection. Assuming the object of the Government to be what was stated, he admitted at once that the words now proposed were better than those originally moved; but whether the words added to the tail of the clause were not open to the charge of confusion and uncertainty, was altogether another matter. He thought they were. So much for the drafting, which his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland would consider. He made these few observations in order to show that the Government were not only generally inconsistent, but that they were unstable in their purpose from day to day, and hour to hour. Why, this Bill had been before the House on two or three occasions last week, and on each of those occasions the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had come down to say that he would consider, with his responsible advisers, whatever turned up in the way of Amendments, and then that the result of his consideration was so and so. The next day he would come down and change a certain wording, and on the following day he would alter the wording so changed. On the last occasion that the Bill was before the House, the right hon. Gentleman gave very powerful reasons to show that uniformity of qualification was a thing

which, under existing circumstances, in Ireland was not to be sought for and not to be desired until those circumstances altered; and now he said, by proposing this Amendment, that uniformity of qualification was to be sought for. If the right hon. Gentleman had consulted his legal Colleagues, who necessarily knew more of the position of affairs in the various Unions in Ireland than he could be supposed to know, they—indeed, anyone acquainted with the subject—must have told him that in every county of Ireland the elements of difficulty were to be found, and that it was almost a matter of necessity that the administration should have different scales of valuation applied to each county. While, therefore, like his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman), he should not divide the House against the Amendment, he must not be taken as assenting to the principle which had been laid down by the right hon. Gentleman that night.

MR. WARTON said, it appeared to him that the words of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) would be far better without having the Government words tacked on. The latter were superfluous, if not absolutely absurd. Certainly, he hoped that the Amendment would be put into a reasonable form, and the objectionable words left out.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the Government were quite willing to take the Amendment of the hon. Member for Monaghan as it stood. He remembered, on the last occasion, arguing against the proposal of hon. Members below the Gangway opposite that it would be no qualification at all; but, certainly, he did not remember arguing against a uniform qualification.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Words *inserted* accordingly.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he now proposed to move a sub-section, worded as follows:—

"(5.) The number of ex-officio guardians of any Poor Law Union shall in no case exceed one-third of the number of guardians to be elected by the ratepayers of such Union, and, in every case in which the number of justices qualified to be such ex-officio guardians shall exceed one-third of the whole number of guardians to be elected by the ratepayers, the justices to serve as ex-officio guardians shall be selected from among the qualified justices at the prescribed time after the passing of this Act, and in every third year subsequently, in the manner provided by the twenty-fourth section of the said Act of the Session of the first and second years of the Reign of Her present Majesty, chapter fifty-six."

"Casual vacancies occurring among the ex-officio guardians shall be filled up in like manner at a meeting convened for the purpose at the prescribed time."

In proposing those words, his desire was to make the Irish system as far as possible the same as the English system, except in certain particulars, in which Her Majesty's Government considered that very great improvements had been made—that was to say, in respect of the vote by ballot and the more rapid means of voting. The number of *ex officio* Guardians had never, or scarcely ever, been one-third of the number of Guardians, and it was very often below that proportion. It was true that it could be so in England; because, in those Poor Law Unions in the Metropolis, where there was nothing like an adequate number of Justices of the Peace as *ex officio* Guardians, it was the custom of the Local Government Board to appoint *ex officio* Guardians who were not Justices of the Peace, and they had been limited to the proportion of one-third. The object of having *ex officio* Guardians was to get men who would attend, and that object was not at present fulfilled in Ireland. They wanted men who would attend the meetings constantly, and do the work that was to be done; but there were, under the present system, a considerable number of absentees and persons who had little or no interest in the work of the Poor Law Board. He had been very anxious to find some means by which the most efficient magistrates might be chosen for the purpose of the Poor Law Board, and he was glad to find that such machinery was ready to his hand in an Act passed at the beginning of Her Majesty's Reign. He proposed, therefore, to add to the Amendment on the Paper the words which he had read to the House at the commencement of his present statement. The manner of the election would be that the Justices assembled with the senior Justice as Chairman would elect those of their number whom they thought would make the best *ex officio* Guardians, and whom they thought would serve most continuously. In this way only those would be chosen who

would do the work really; whereas the grievance was that a great number of persons who were only Guardians in name were appointed, and they only attended when there was patronage being distributed, or when the Chairman was to be elected. Those who would be chosen would be made to feel that they had to work.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the foregoing Amendment, to insert the words,—"(5.) The number of ex-officio guardians of any Poor Law Union shall in no case exceed one-third of the number of guardians to be elected by the ratepayers of such Union, and, in every case in which the number of justices qualifiedto be such ex-officio guardians shall exceed one-third of the whole number of guardians to be elected by the ratepayers, the justices to serve as ex-officio guardians shall be selected from among the qualified justices at the prescribed time after the passing of this Act, and in every third year subsequently, in the manner provided by the twenty-fourth section of the said Act of the Session of the first and second years of the Reign of Her present Majesty, chapter fifty-six; casual vacancies occurring among the ex-officio guardians shall be filled up in like manner at a meeting convened for the purpose at the prescribed time."—(*Mr. Trevelyan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GRAY said, that if this Amendment were agreed to, it would have a very different effect from the one previously proposed. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the best men in each case would be selected, and that, consequently, there would be a great improvement in the Boards of Guardians; but he (Mr. Gray) was decidedly of opinion that the reverse would be the case. The selection would not be made on the ground of their attendance, or through special capacity, but purely and exclusively on Party grounds, and the enormous majority of those qualified to be *ex officio* Guardians were of one Party in politics and religion. In many of the Unions, at present, some of the Magistrates and Guardians were of different politics from the majority of the magistrates resident in the Union. In Dublin, for instance, certain magistrates, *ex officio* members of Poor Law Boards, were Liberals and Catholics; and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman, who must know something about the Justices of Dublin, what chance any one of these magistrates would have, no matter how competent he was, or how regular in his attendance, of being selected as a representative of the magistrates of Dublin? Not a glimmer of a chance. And the result would be that in every Poor Law Board there would be a compact body of one-third elected by an exclusive and rather bigoted constituency, and those men would be all of one political Party and of one religion, and occupying a purely political and Party position on the Board. That would introduce an element of Party strife in the Boards in Ireland, and, he believed, would make the state of things worse than they now were. He could scarcely believe the right hon. Gentleman had considered what would be the effect of his Amendment in the present state of affairs in Ireland. The Amendment was certainly most unwise and unfortunate; and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider it further before he pressed it, because the effect would be to completely expel from the Unions any man of Liberal opinions or Catholic religion.

Colonel NOLAN said, he would not argue as the hon. Member (Mr. Gray) had done as to what would be the case; but he would deal with what they had been told was the case before the Act was altered. It had been stated that the Catholic and the Protestant magistrates had no bitter feeling between them; but the Protestant magistrates used to help the Protestant Guardians as they required it. At present, there was no bitter feeling; but the Chief Secretary for Ireland was taking the best course to bring that about. He (Colonel Nolan) himself was Chairman of a Board of Guardians; but, if he wanted to be elected, he must please the majority of the magistrates; otherwise he should not be elected. Then he would also have to please the majority of the ratepayers; but he did not think he could please both parties, and if there was any feeling of bitterness, he should not get elected. No man who was a popular man with the people could be elected a member of a Poor Law Board.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he thought it was easy to see why the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) objected to the proposal of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had told them of one or two matters which were grievances, especially with regard to the Guardians; but the greates

evil in the matter was being under the management of one who knew less now about the subject than when he first went to Ireland, and who changed his mind three times in three days. On Tuesday morning, the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) brought in an Amendment to this Bill couched in the very words of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. On Wednesday morning, it was debated at length and passed, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland speaking for the right hon. Gentleman; but, on Thursday morning, they found the clause which was left out, at the instance of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, put in by the same right hon. Gentleman now in the same words. Was there ever a more extraordinary instance of absolute ignorance or unblushing tergiversation? Last year the right hon. Gentleman announced a principle which he had now abandoned; and the opinions he formed on Tuesday, he changed on Wednesday, and abandoned on Thursday. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had given very cogent reasons for bringing in Clause 5. He said that in England the *ex officio* Guardians were only one-third; but he (Colonel King-Harman) thought he might say he knew they were not limited in any way, and that every magistrate was an *ex officio* Guardian. He thought that the action of the right hon. Gentleman was a sufficient indication of the course he intended to pursue.

MR. WARTON said, he thought that one-third would be only one-fourth, because the one-third would have to be elected.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he would remind the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Warton) that this expression was used in all the previous Acts, and it would be read in the same way. Elected Guardians meant all the Guardians, whether *ex officio* or not.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 60; Noes 30: Majority 30.—(Div. List, No. 167.)

MR. HEALY said, that with regard to the number of votes each ratepayer should be entitled to, he would move that it should be "twelve" in order to make it the same as the English law.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was afraid he could not accept the Amendment for the reasons he had stated the other day.

MR. HEALY: Will not the right hon. Gentleman, at any rate, declare the law? Will he not say that no ratepayer shall be entitled to more than a certain number of votes—say 18? Will he not say that 18 votes shall be the most a man shall exercise? I will move the following Proviso at end of Clause 25:—

"(4.) No ratepayer shall be entitled, at any Poor Law Guardian election, to more than eighteen votes for each of the number of candidates to be elected in any electoral division."

Amendment proposed, in page 8, at end, add—

"(4.) No ratepayer shall be entitled, at any Poor Law Guardian election, to more than eighteen votes for each of the number of candidates to be elected in any electoral division."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

MR. TREVELYAN said, he should be content to accept that Amendment. No doubt, it would be well to accept such a provision to prevent the officers who had to deal with the matter from making mistakes.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Words *added* accordingly.

MR. HEALY said, he would move to insert—

"(7.) The words 'salary or emolument,' as employed in twenty-five and twenty-six Victoria, chapter eighty-three, section twenty-two, shall be held to include superannuation allowances."

Another Amendment proposed, at the end of the foregoing Amendment, to insert—

"(7.) The words 'salary or emolument,' as employed in twenty-five and twenty-six Victoria, chapter eighty-three, section twenty-two, shall be held to include superannuation allowances."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. TREVELYAN said, he was afraid this Amendment was more than declaratory. The law allowed a pensioner to hold office as an elected Guardian, just as a Treasury pensioner could hold such office. It seemed to him that the principle of the proposed Amendment was one which they should not hastily adopt.

MR. HEALY said, that if he might, with the indulgence of the House, make an observation, he would point out that he had accepted the suggestion of the hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway.

This Amendment was not retrospective, but prospective. Therefore, no one could be damnified by it. It would affect no one at the present moment.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that, even under these circumstances, he should have an objection to it; because he thought that, as far as it would have an operation in the future, that operation would be unfortunate. The effect of the Amendment would be to deprive the Guardians of the services of gentlemen who might be peculiarily fitted to serve on the Board.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. TREVELYAN: I would now, with the indulgence of the House, ask that this Bill be read a third time.

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is, "That this Bill be now read a third time." Any who are of that opinion will say "Aye;" contrary, "No."

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I say "No," in order that the third reading may not be described as having passed *nemine contradicente*.

MR. SPEAKER: The "Ayes" have it.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS [ADVANCES].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

1. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise advances out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or out of moneys in the hands of the National Debt Commissioners held on account of Savings Banks, of any sum of money, not exceeding £3,000,000 in the whole, to enable the Public Works Loans Commissioners, and, not exceeding £1,200,000 in the whole, to enable the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to make advances in promotion of Public Works.

2. *Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise further advances out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of any sum or sums of money, not exceeding £500,000 in the whole, to enable the Land Commission in Ireland to make advances or for the purchase of estates, in pursuance of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," or in pursuance of "The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883."

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at a quarter before Four o'clock in the morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 18*th July*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Manx Children) * (200); Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) * (201).

Second Reading—Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) (178).

Committee — Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) (155-202).

Committee—Report—Naval Enlistment * (175).

Third Reading—Local Government Provisional Order (Salt Works) * (182); Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment * (191); Building Societies Acts Amendment * (188), and *passed*.

SOUTHWARK AND VAUXHALL WATER BILL.

THIRD READING.

Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he desired to propose some Amendments to the Bill. It was a Bill promoted by one of the Metropolitan Water Companies, asking Parliament to give it additional powers in respect of the extension of their boundaries and certain other matters, and especially to give them additional powers of entry for the purpose of cutting off the water supply. It appeared to him that, in the present state of the water question, and under existing circumstances, they ought to be very careful how they bestowed additional powers on Water Companies, without having any guarantees that these powers should be used in a reasonable way, and also to see that the public were reasonably protected. For this purpose he proposed to add two clauses to the Bill; but he would take one at a time. The first which he would move was to the effect that the Company should send quarterly or half-yearly to every person liable to the payment of water rates a note containing the figures of which the sum total was made up, including the annual value taken by the Company. Not till this note was delivered should payment by the consumer become due. One of the chief grounds of misunderstanding between the consumers and the Company would thus be removed.

Moved, after Clause 11, to insert the following Clause:—

"From and after the passing of this Act the Company shall send in, either quarterly or half-yearly to every person liable or about to become liable to the payment of water-rate a claim or demand note containing or accompanied by the particulars by which the sum total claimed is made out, including the annual value on which the percentage charge is levied as well as any additional items or particulars of charge, and upon, but not until, the delivery of such claim or demand note the payment by the consumer shall become due and the rights of the Company shall become enforceable." — (*The Earl of Camperdown.*)

LORD ROMILLY said, that the suggestion of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Camperdown) had been subitted to the Committee to which this Bill was referred, and of which he (Lord Romilly) was the Chairman; but, after fully considering it, they had come to the conclusion that it ought not to be inserted, on the grounds that this was the first time such a clause had been proposed to be inserted in a Water Bill, and that there ought to be a Bill containing the clause applying generally to all Water Companies.

THE EARL OF CLARENDON said, that, as being also a Member of the Committee referred to, he objected to the insertion of a clause of this nature on the third reading of a Bill, which was supposed to be rather a formal proceeding.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he would point out that the Company to whom the Bill referred had not the slightest objection to give particulars of their demands —in point of fact, they had been carrying out the practice for the last six months; but they objected to the difficulty they would experience if this clause was inserted, and they said it would throw upon the Company the burden of proving the delivery of the notice, which might not be a very easy matter in cases where the customers desired to evade payment. To his mind, it would give encouragement to fraudulent proceedings; and, besides, it would not affect all Water Companies alike; and, therefore, their Lordships ought not to impose this obligation on this Company alone, the matter being at this time a subject of much controversy. Besides that consideration, he might explain, with regard to the extension of the supply, that the Company had had a district assigned to it and statutory powers, but had gone beyond that district at the request of those who wished to be supplied by it with water. That might be *ultra vires* on their part; but, as far as the public were concerned, there was nothing illegal in it. He trusted that their Lordships would not impose this liability upon the Company.

LORD CARRINGTON said, that the Local Government Board were quite prepared to give their support to the clause.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that, in his opinion, it would not be right to insert such a clause in the Bill, especially upon the third reading; but that the question should be dealt with in a general measure.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, that while he quite agreed with the object aimed at by the insertion of the clause, he doubted the expediency of dealing with a particular Company in an exceptional manner. He would recommend that the subject should be dealt with by a separate Bill.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that it had been asked why he had introduced legislation affecting one single Water Company only. The reason was, that this Company was now coming to Parliament for additional powers; and, if any others had been doing the same, he would have made the same proposition with regard to them. They had been told that this should be done by general legislation. He had proposed to do so, but had been told that it was a private matter; and that, unless Notice was given in October or November, and all the expense undertaken of a Private Bill, he could not make a proposal at all with regard to the Metropolitan water supply. The machinery of the House seemed made for the protection of the Water Companies. All that he proposed was, that consumers should know what they were paying for; and he was quite willing that the clause should be modified, so that the service of the notice would not have to be proved. They were told that the Company had been doing this for the last six months; if that were the case, he could not see what objection there could be to their being bound to do it by Statute.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 44; Not-Contents 48: Majority 4.

Amendment *disagreed to.*

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that he would not trouble their Lordships by moving any other Amendment in the Bill.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in reference to an observation which had fallen from the noble Earl (the Earl of Camperdown) as to the difficulty which stood in his way when he proposed to deal with that subject by the general law, said, he wished to say that he more than doubted whether, according to the true and rational construction of the Standing Orders, there was any such difficulty. If, indeed, the Standing Orders had any such effect as the noble Earl supposed, they ought to be amended and revised; and he hoped that the noble Earl would give his attention to that matter.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, he should certainly take the advice of the noble and learned Earl.

Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — SCHOOL HOURS—COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether, if he is correct in saying that the Education Act of 1870 puts no limit to the number of hours that children may be kept in school, he will assign some maximum limit of hours for compulsory attendance at school? Last year he had complained of cases in which children were kept in school for eight hours; and if the noble Lord opposite the Lord President were justified in saying that no limit was assigned under the Act, the children would be at the mercy of any school board and Inspector who might be willing to sign a time-table which might require more hours in school than were allowed by the Factory Acts. In Alsace and Lorraine, a German Commission had lately recommended that young girls should not have more than 18 hours a-week schooling, and it would permit 6½ hours' home lessons. It also recommended 11 weeks' holidays in the year.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in reply, said, that it was not for him to fix any limit, neither were the hours of attendance limited by any hard-and-fast lines; but the authorities of each school framed a time-table, which had to be approved or disapproved by the Education Department. The Education Department, in the case of each school, judged whether the hours proposed by the managers were reasonable; and, if so, they were sanctioned accordingly. In the great majority of instances the hours sanctioned were practically those provided by the Code—namely, two hours in the early part of the day, and two hours in the afternoon.

MALTA—USE AS AN EXAMINATION CENTRE—ADMINISTRATION OF CIVIL AFFAIRS.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

EARL DE LA WARR, in rising to move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Papers and Correspondence which has taken place during the last few years with reference to the question of making Malta a centre for civil service, naval, and military examinations; also to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the proposed changes have been made in the administration of civil affairs of Malta and its dependencies, in connection with the position and duties of the Chief Secretary, who is now acting also in the capacity of Lieutenant Governor,"

said, he hoped to be able to explain, in a few words, his reasons for moving an Address for Papers and Correspondence relative to a question which was one of great concern to the Maltese people. Some time ago, he believed when the noble Earl opposite the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) was Colonial Secretary, and he thought also while the noble Earl below him (the Earl of Carnarvon) filled that Office, a Correspondence took place between the Imperial Government and the Maltese Government, relative to making Malta a centre for Civil Service and Naval and Military examinations. Now, until the Papers to which he referred were before their Lordships, it was not possible to enter fully into the question; but there could be no difficulty in seeing that it was a matter of the greatest importance to the Maltese, that there should be placed within their reach, advantages from which they were now practically excluded, but which, as British subjects, they naturally felt they had some right to claim. The relations of Malta to this country were very peculiar. It was a Dependency of the British Crown; but it was not, strictly speaking,

in the position of a Colony. The Maltese were British subjects; but, not being of British origin, it would be a mistake to regard them as a Colony like many other Dependencies of the Crown. They placed themselves voluntarily under the protection of the Crown of this country; and it was naturally stipulated that, as far as possible, the privileges of the Maltese should be preserved and their ancient laws continued. He did not, however, think that it could be said that these privileges had been so fully accorded to them as might have been expected since Malta became a Dependency of the British Crown; and it was not, he believed, till the year 1849, when Mr. More O'Ferrall was Governor, that the right of representation in the Council of Government was granted to them. He should perhaps be travelling somewhat beyond the subject which he wished now to bring specially under their Lordships' notice, if he were to go further into this; but, in considering any question relating to Malta, he thought it should be borne in mind that its position was not that of a fortress only. He wished to speak as in no way undervaluing its importance as such to this country; but it must be remembered that there was a civil population, a considerable population, and an increasing one, whose welfare, whose industries, whose trade and commerce, whose resources and their capabilities of development were matters which demanded the most careful and attentive consideration. He might add, not the least among these was the promoting facilities for education, not only elementary, but also the higher branches. These, it was true, in a great measure existed or were in progress; but there was one thing wanting, and one which greatly hindered the advance of education in the upper classes—it was the want of the opportunity of making use of the education which had been acquired. In Malta alone there was little scope for this, and a young man who had qualified himself to pass, it might be into the Civil Service, or into the Army or the Navy, was unable to offer himself for examination without coming to England. This amounted almost to exclusion; among other reasons, the expense was an almost insurmountable barrier. Knowing, as he thought he might say, something about the affairs of Malta—he might also add of the loyalty of the people and their desire to strengthen the ties which connected them with this country—he did not believe that there was anything at this moment which would more tend to encourage this than to give them the advantage of making Malta a centre for Civil Service, Naval, and Military examinations. It would stimulate education; it would encourage, in the most popular and legitimate manner, the study of the English language; and it would open the door of honourable competition to young men of ability and talent, to take their places in the service of their country, in Malta, or in England. He trusted the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) would not object to laying the Papers and Correspondence relating to this subject, some of which must be of a rather distant date, upon the Table of the House. He (Earl De La Warr) was sure that, from the Papers which must be in the possession of the noble Earl in the Colonial Office, he would see the importance of what he had now ventured to bring more immediately under his notice, and he hoped their Lordships might be put in possession of fuller information than he was himself able to give. It remained only for him to ask the noble Earl, whether, the Chief Secretary at Malta, having been gazetted as Lieutenant Governor, with an increased salary as such, would have the administration of the civil affairs of the Island more immediately under his direction; and, whether the noble Earl could explain what his actual position was? He concluded by moving the Address of which he had given Notice.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Papers and for Correspondence which has taken place during the last few years with reference to the question of making Malta a centre for civil service, naval, and military examinations."—(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

THE EARL OF DERBY said, he thought it would be, perhaps, more convenient to their Lordships, as well as to his noble Friend (Earl De La Warr), if he answered first the criticism which he had made. He promised, some time ago, to lay Papers on the Table of the House which would, he thought, show the position and functions of the Chief Secretary in his new situation as Lieutenant Governor. Those Papers, he be-

lieved, were already in a form for presentation; but, at any rate, he could say they would be in their Lordships' hands before the close of the Session. He might mention, upon that matter, that he thought the noble Earl had exaggerated in his own mind the magnitude of the change made. It was not intended to take away any of the administrative power in civil affairs at present possessed by the Governor; it was only intended to give the Chief Secretary a higher status. Nothing had been done in the recent change which would deprive the Governor of any power which he at present possessed. With regard to the Correspondence which had taken place during the last few years with reference to making Malta a centre for Civil Service, Naval and Military examinations, there would be no objection to laying it on the Table, as it was not very voluminous. It commenced in 1878 and ended in 1882, and the most material part was already in print. It would be well for the noble Earl to withdraw his Motion, and the Papers would be laid on the Table in the ordinary manner. The question of making Malta a centre for these examinations had not been raised since he had been at the Colonial Office. He thought the whole difficulty lay in this—that Malta could not very well be dealt with exceptionally. It might be a fair subject of discussion whether there should be Colonial centres of examination for the Public Service; but if that question was to be raised, it would have to be raised on a much larger scale. An exception could not be made in favour of Malta while other British Colonies and Dependencies not much more distant from England, and with as good claims, were excluded.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

SUMMARY JURISDICTION (REPEAL, &c.) BILL.—(No. 155.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put in Committee read.

Moved, "That this House do now resolve itself into a Committee on the said Bill."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, this was not a mere Consolidation Bill. It effected some very extensive alterations of the law; but it was of a very peculiar character, for it was so framed as to be perfectly unintelligible to the ordinary mind, because almost all its enactments were done by repealing sections picked out of a variety of Statutes. He supposed the noble and learned Earl upon the Woolsack would not admit that Acts of Parliament were given to them to conceal their thoughts; but that was the way the subject was treated in this Bill. Where such extensive alterations were made in the Statute Book, he thought it would have been a matter of great convenience to affix, as was sometimes done, statements showing what were the points on which it was proposed to change the law. He remembered one case in which the House were legislating in such a manner as to sweep away the whole military law of the Indian Army, and he trusted that nothing so calamitous would occur in the present case. If they were to exercise any supervision over legislation of this kind, such a Memorandum as he had suggested was absolutely indispensable.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, there were a large number of Acts which were open to the same kind of objection, and the various Consolidation Acts that had in recent years been passed would all have been open to this criticism of the noble Marquess. Parliament, in this matter, was obliged to place considerable confidence in the learned and careful persons who drafted Bills of this description, and in those who examined them after their preparation; and although this kind of legislation had been carried on for a long time, and upon a large scale, he did not know of any case where there had been an oversight on the part of the competent and careful draftsmen, or that any inconvenience to the public had arisen. Parliament, therefore, had been right in bestowing that confidence. The present Bill, with some trifling alterations, and those of a formal character, was the same as passed through this House last Session, when the noble and learned Earl (the Earl of Milltown) watched its progress; and he thought he might venture to say that it might be safely passed by their Lordships.

Motion *agreed to*; House in Committee accordingly.

Amendments made:—The Report thereof to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 202.)

REVISION OF JURORS AND VOTERS LISTS (DUBLIN COUNTY) BILL.

(*The Lord President.*)

(NO. 178.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to amend the existing arrangements for the revision of jurors and voters lists in the County of Dublin, which was found to be most distinctly inconvenient and unreasonably burdensome on the official who now discharged the duty. The fact was, that in the City and County of Dublin the same official discharged the duties of Recorder and Chairman of the County. His duties in that double capacity were very onerous indeed—so onerous and so continuous throughout the year, that the holder of the office was the hardest worked judicial officer in the country. Both the present and the late Government felt that there was a strong case for relieving this officer from the particular portion of his duties dealt with in this Bill. The best way in which he could explain the matter was by referring to an application from the holder of the office which was the groundwork of this Bill. In January, 1880, the then Chairman of the County resigned; and, in virtue of an Act passed two years before, the Chairmanship of the County devolved upon the Recorder of the City, carrying with it among other duties, and they were many, this duty of the revision of the jurors and voters list. When this event happened, the Recorder addressed a letter to the Irish Government, in which he said that he had always been of opinion that it was a mistake to unite these two important offices, that the united duties were too much for the same individual, and so on. At the same time, he said that he would be prepared to do his best to perform the duties of both offices. He said—

"I believe that this accession to my present work will necessitate nearly continuous sittings, and will entail a much larger amount of work and more continuous sittings than are imposed on the holder of any other judicial office."

And then he went on to say that, while willing, as far as possible, to discharge the duties of the two offices, there was one portion of them—namely, that of the revision of the lists for the county, which it was practically impossible for him to undertake. He added that, even if it were practicable, he did not think it would be fair to his office, or to himself—neither did he believe that the Government or Parliament would compel him—obliged as he was to hold sittings for other purposes for 11 months in the year, also to hold the sittings necessary, which would be almost continuous, for this revision. Therefore, he respectfully asked the Government to relieve him of these particular duties; and that was what the present Bill proposed to do by appointing a Revising Barrister for the County. That application of the Recorder had been referred to the Lord Chancellor of the day. He gave his opinion that the application was a reasonable one, provided that the Recorder could prove his statements to be accurate—that was to say, that the amount of time consumed by the revision of the lists proved to be what he expected. The Lord Chancellor said if the revision occupied as much time as was anticipated, he thought the duty too much for the Recorder; and he further pointed out that it was an inconvenient time of the year at which the revision must be made, inasmuch as it was just when the Licensing Sessions were held. He added, however, that it would be as well not to deal with the matter then, but to wait until the Recorder had had some experience of the actual working of the arrangement.

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: Who said that?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): The then Lord Chancellor, Dr. Ball. It had turned out that the Recorder was perfectly right in his anticipation as to the amount of labour and time required for the revision of these lists. His sittings had been fully as numerous, and had taken up quite as much time as he had estimated. The Bill was introduced in accordance with the Memorandum of the Lord Chancellor in 1881; but, under the pressure of other Business, it was allowed

to drop. Now, the same Bill had been brought in and carried through the House of Commons. It appeared, as he had said, that this unfortunate official was compelled to have almost continuous sittings, for one purpose or another, all the year round, and so was in the position of having no vacation whatever. That was a state of things which it appeared to the Government it could not be to the public interest to continue, inasmuch as it was impossible that these important duties could be satisfactorily discharged. At the same time, it appeared unreasonable and unfair to require such a multiplication of business to be performed by the same officer. To put an end to that state of things, this Bill enabled the Lord Lieutenant to appoint a Revising Barrister for the County of Dublin, and so put it in the same position as other Irish counties. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Lord President.*)

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD, in rising to move that the Bill be read a second time that day three months, said, that the Recorder of Dublin was in a better position than any similar officer in Ireland. The Recorder of Belfast, for instance, who got a less salary, had to revise the voters' lists for the County of Antrim, and the noble Lord opposite (the Lord President) must be aware that the County Court Judges of Ireland, who had an immense amount of judicial work to do, also revised the voters' lists in their districts. It seemed to him most extraordinary that this Bill should have been brought in at this time, when it was proposed to carry into law a scheme to provide new electoral machinery for the Three Kingdoms, in the shape of a Redistribution Bill, a Franchise Bill, and a Bill for the Registration of Voters. Why on earth, when they hoped soon to have these Bills before them, and to pass them into law, should the Government bring forward this measure, which he could only characterize as a job? He could not understand how the Government could lend themselves to such a thing. The Bill proposed to create a new office; and, to his mind, it was most ridiculous to do such a thing in only one county. Why should they not treat all the counties alike? He was prepared to show their Lordships, on the authority of the Chief Secretary for Ireland himself, that the Recorder of Dublin did not do as much work as many other officials, although he received a great deal more pay. Personally, he had nothing to say against the Recorder; indeed, he believed an official who discharged his duties more to the satisfaction of the public than Mr. Falkner did not exist. It was not to the character of the gentleman he objected, but to the creation by the Government of new offices. They were told the present Government was a Government of Retrenchment. [*Opposition laughter.*] Well, so it was said; but, for his part, he had seen very little of retrenchment about their policy. The salary of the Recorder of Dublin was £2,500 a-year, and Mr. Gibson had informed him that he had heard Mr. Trevelyan say, in the House of Commons, that last year this official only sat for 160 days. Was that at all in agreement with what had been said by the noble Lord opposite (the Lord President)? The noble Lord had given them to understand that the Recorder had no holidays, but was obliged to sit continuously. Such was evidently not the case. Then, with regard to the duties performed by this gentleman, he had only 5,000 voters to deal with; whilst the Recorder of Belfast had infinitely more. The County Court Judges also, although paid much smaller salaries than the Recorder of Dublin, had these lists to revise in two, and even three counties, in addition to their ordinary judicial work. The County Court Judge of Roscommon and Sligo, who had a list of 7,000 voters to revise, sat last year 300 days. His salary was only £1,500 a-year, whilst that of the Recorder of Dublin, who only sat 160 days, was £2,500. As a justification for the course he (the Marquess of Waterford) had taken in connection with the matter, he would point out to their Lordships that Notice of Motion to reject the Bill had been put on the Paper in the House of Commons by Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Healy. Nearly the whole of the Irish Conservative Members, he believed, had been opposed to the Bill; and he was satisfied that almost every noble Lord who came from Ireland was opposed to it. Therefore, he sincerely hoped that it would not be read a second time. If a Conservative Government had

brought forward such a Bill, they would have been hooted at right and left for such a piece of jobbery in trying to create places for their political supporters. The noble Marquess concluded by moving the rejection of the Bill.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months.")—(*The Marquess of Waterford.*)

THE EARL OF HOWTH said, that as one who was closely connected with the county of Dublin, and anxious to support its interests, he warmly supported the Bill. He would point out that it was impossible to conceive a more important jury panel than that of Dublin. Noble Lords must remember the unparalleled duties which were cast upon them during the past few years in connection with the terrible crimes and terrorism which had occurred in the country. He could not understand how the proposal in the Bill could be considered a job. Probably the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Waterford) was not aware of the difficulties connected with the registration of jurors in the country; but he could assure him they were enormous. People were anxious to avoid being placed on the list.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he had listened with attention to the arguments which had fallen from noble Lords. It was said that the Recorder of Dublin was overworked; but last year he only sat 160 days, and that did not appear excessive work. He (the Earl of Milltown) did not want to say that this was a job, although he thought it might easily be made one, neither did he object to favour being bestowed on briefless barristers, the Government being at liberty to select one for this appointment; but he protested against the country being taxed for the support of such people.

LORD FITZGERALD, in rising to support the Motion for the second reading of the Bill, said, that he had no interest in the question, save that of friendship for the Recorder. That officer was appointed by the late Government, and had proved himself a most excellent one. It was perfectly evident, from the statements made by the Recorder, that the duties he had to discharge, in addition to his legal functions, were very inconvenient and oppressive. He (Lord Fitzgerald) denied that there was any political advantage to be gained by the Government through the carrying of the Bill; for their Lordships must be well aware that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or the Irish Executive, would have to appoint the Revising Barrister, who would be a barrister of 10 years' standing. There was no ground for the charge that this was a job; and, in proof of that, he would call attention to the fact that the Revising Barrister would, he presumed, be paid a fee of 100 guineas only for each revision. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Milltown) had spoken of briefless barristers. Did the noble Earl intend this as a reproach? Very probably a briefless barrister might be appointed to this office; but, for his own part, he (Lord Fitzgerald) had not the same objection to those gentlemen as some noble Lords seemed to have. In Ireland there was no difficulty in obtaining, even among briefless barristers, high-minded gentlemen capable of performing judicial duties with fairness and efficiency. As to whether the Recorder of Dublin was, or was not, an over-worked official, who ought to be relieved of a portion of his present functions, all he could say was, that if he did not believe that to be the case, he would not support the Bill. He would also refuse his assent to it, if he thought there was anything political in it; but he knew that that was not the case. The object was merely to relieve an overworked Judge. He could not say how many days the Recorder sat, because his sittings varied; but as to the statement alleged to have come from Mr. Trevelyan through Mr. Gibson, he thought Mr. Trevelyan had probably been referring to his sittings as Recorder, and did not take into account his other legal work, and his sittings for the purpose of revising these lists. At one time, the Recorder did not revise the jury lists; but, in 1877, a Bill was passed providing that as soon as there should be a vacancy in the Chairmanship of the County Dublin, all the duties of the office should be cast on the Recorder of the City of Dublin. The whole of the duties of the Chairman of the County, civil and criminal, were to be cast on him. Two or three years afterwards Mr. Trench resigned the Chairmanship of the County; and, as he (Lord Fitzgerald) understood it, this Bill was brought in a year after-

wards to relieve the Recorder of part of his duties. The fact was, the Recorder of Dublin, though everything he did he did well, was an over-worked official. He had an extensive criminal jurisdiction, with jurisdiction to try all except capital offences, and sat repeatedly during the year for the consideration of criminal business. He had a much larger jurisdiction than any Chairman of Quarter Sessions in England. Dublin was a community of 250,000 persons, so that, obviously, the criminal duties were no light matter; but, in addition to that, he had also important civil duties, including the whole supervision of the licensing authorities in the City of Dublin, and also an extensive equitable jurisdiction. In addition to all these, after the resignation of the late Mr. Trench, he had all the work of the Chairman of the County of Dublin, civil, criminal, and equitable, cast upon him in addition to his other work. Under these circumstances, the request for some assistance was not unreasonable. Mr. Falkner, the present Recorder, did not object to his civil, criminal, or equitable duties; but he asked to be relieved of the duty of revising the lists, which took place at the only period of the year in which he could have a short vacation. To his (Lord Fitzgerald's) mind, the revision of the jury lists was infinitely more important than the revision of the electoral lists. In conclusion, he would say that the Bill was a very proper one to relieve an overworked official from a very troublesome duty, which occupied a great deal of time; and, therefore, he supported it.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, that, in his opinion, a fair case had been made out for the application for relief that had been put forward by the Recorder of Dublin. He, therefore, hoped that the opposition to the Bill would not be pressed.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he most decidedly denied that there was the shadow of a ground for describing this Bill as a job. The present proposal was not made originally to the present Government, but to the late Government; and the late Lord Chancellor had written the Memorandum which he had just communicated to the House assenting to the measure.

Lord Fitzgerald

THE MARQUESS OF WATERFORD: Provisionally.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): Not at all; only delaying the final decision until there should be some experience of the work of the united offices. He could not help thinking it was strange, to say the least, that the noble Marquess should have spoken of this Bill as a job, considering that if the late Government had continued in Office they would certainly have introduced it in 1881.

On Question, "That ('now') stand part of the Motion?"

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Bill read 2ª accordingly; and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* next.

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 18th July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Ventilation of the House, *appointed* and *nominated.*

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS—Votes 26, 27.

Resolutions [July 17] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Public Works Loans * [299]; Revenue, &c. * [300].

First Reading — Post Office Protection [297]; Improvement of Lands (Ecclesiastical Benefices) * [298].

Second Reading—Prisons [293]; Turnpike Acts Continuance * [294]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) [278]; Teachers' Residences (Ireland) * [288].

Report of Select Committee—Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) * [No. 286].

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Naval and Greenwich Hospital Pensions * [276]; Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) * [289].

Considered as amended—Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders * [259].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK (MONEY) BILL.

COLONEL GERARD SMITH moved to nominate a Select Committee on the

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Money) Bill:—Admiral EGERTON, Mr. WHITLEY, Mr. THOROLD ROGERS, Mr. MACFARLANE, and Mr. SEVERNE.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he had given Notice of an Amendment. He wished to know whether it was competent for him to propose an addition to the Members of the Committee?

MR. SPEAKER replied in the affirmative, but added that it would involve the postponement of the Bill.

COLONEL GERARD SMITH said, he would postpone the Motion until Monday.

MR. MAGNIAC suggested that it should be put off until Tuesday.

COLONEL GERARD SMITH said, he could not consent to any further delay in a matter of this kind. It had already been delayed for a week at the instance of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson). He had no objection to add four names to the Committee, and he would not oppose the Amendment of which the hon. Member had given Notice, provided the Committee of Selection proceeded to nomination forthwith.

MR. TOMLINSON said, that if the hon. and gallant Member assented to his proposal he would have nothing further to say.

Ordered, that the Committee be nominated on Monday.

QUESTIONS.

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ARMY QUARTERMASTERS—INCREASE OF PAY.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that the largest increase of pay granted to the Army Quartermasters in 1881 was tenpence per day; whether this increase is, at the end of five years' service, reduced to fourpence a-day; whether the Quartermasters' half pay was, in 1881, increased from ten shillings per day to a retired pay of £200 a-year; and, whether he is aware that the Quartermasters' responsibilities have been heavily increased, while their hopes of succeeding to a regimental Paymastership have been blighted by recent legislation?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: There may be periods in a Quartermaster's service at which, under certain unfavourable circumstances, the increase of pay is not large; but, on the whole, a substantial increase of pay and retired pay was, after full consideration, granted by the Royal Warrant of 1881, as well as improved honorary and relative rank, and, therefore, increased allowances and widows' pension. The responsibilities of Quartermasters, as of all other regimental officers, have been increased by the adoption of short service.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—CARMEEN DIVISION, COOTEHILL.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it has come under his notice that, at the sworn inquiry in Cootehill Workhouse on the 8th instant, relative to the validity of the late election for Carmeen Division, Mr. Armstrong, Local Government Board Inspector, formally ruled that the solicitor for Mr. Owen McCabe, defeated candidate, had no right to an inspection of the claims under Form A 1 to the votes given to which he objected; will any steps be taken to remedy the injury done to the case of Mr. McCabe by their non-production; is it the fact that, at the same inquiry, it transpired that Vaughan Montgomery, Esq. J.P., Crilly, Aughnacluy, county Tyrone, lodged a claim to vote as lessor of Patrick McCabe, Mountain Lodge, on a valuation of £19 10*s.*, and that, by the sworn evidence of Mr. P. McCabe, his lease, and rent receipts, it was proved that Mr. Montgomery had no interest, directly or indirectly, in this holding; and, will he ask this magistrate for an explanation of the filing of this claim?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is the fact that the Inspector, Mr. Armstrong, ruled as stated in the case of Mr. Owen M'Cabe, and the Local Government Board are at present in communication with him on the subject. With regard to the claim made by Mr. Montgomery, the facts appear, from the information at present before me, to be as alleged. Mr. Montgomery will be asked for an explanation of the circumstances. It is right to observe that he was not present at the inquiry.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—FOOTPATHS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether James Loughlin, Thaddeus Sexton, and Martin Loughlin, of Ballintogher, county Sligo, tenants of William Beamish, M.D., Mrs. Alice Rogers, and the representatives of the Earl of Aldborough, have recently been prevented from using the footpath leading from their holdings to the public road, which they had been using for thirty years, and are now without any regular means of communication with the highway; whether, at the time of the fixing of judicial rents for the holdings of these three tenants, about eighteen months ago, an undertaking was given to them by the agent, Mr. Anderson, that they would be provided with a suitable passage to the public road, and whether the Land Commission, or the local Sub-Commission, has record or cognizance of the undertaking in question; whether the landlord is bound to provide the tenants with a way to the public road; and, what means of redress are open to the tenants?

MR. TREVELYAN: I understand that the alleged right of way claimed by the three tenants named in the Question is disputed, not by the landlords or their representatives, but by another tenant; and that the matter has been the subject of much litigation, having been decided in favour of the claimants by the County Court Judge, whose ruling was afterwards reversed on appeal to the Assizes. It is, of course, impossible for me to express any opinion as to this question of private rights; and the litigants must be ruled by their own advisers as to whether they can proceed further in the matter, or whether their landlords are bound to provide them with a pass. I believe that the agent is anxious to assist them in every way in his power. With regard to the alleged "undertaking" on the part of the landlords when the cases were before the Land Courts, the Land Commissioners inform me that there is no record of any arrangement of the kind.

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) — CASE OF WILLIAM HURSON.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the cause of the delay in the National Education Board sanctioning the gratuity to William Hurson, Rock National School, Tyrone, who resigned on the 30th of May; and, is it the fact that if the man dies before the order is made the money will lapse to the Treasury?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that there was no avoidable delay in dealing with this case. The teacher's application was received in the Pension Office on the 10th of June, and thence transmitted to the Education Office. On the 19th of June the Commissioners, having certified the case, forwarded it to the Pension Department for gratuity—which will be paid by that Department on proof of existence and identity. There is a Treasury Regulation disallowing payment of retiring gratuities where teachers die before the award is made; but the money would not lapse to the Treasury, but to the Teachers' Pension Fund.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—DONEGAL WORKHOUSE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the nature of the communications which he received from the Local Government Board with respect to the Donegal Workhouse, and what are the arrangements which he said would give satisfaction to all parties; is he aware that the majority of the Board persistently refuse to make any arrangement, or to appoint any Catholic official to the house, although the inmates are almost all Catholics; and, in view of the spiritual destitution and hardship which the Catholic paupers suffer, there being no Chaplain or other Catholic official, will he suspend the present Board and substitute Vice Guardians in their stead, and appoint, by sealed order, a Catholic assistant teacher according to the suggestion already made by him?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board inform me that they authorized their Inspector to suggest to the Board of Guardians the appointment of an assistant Catholic teacher; and the Inspector, who was present at the meeting of the Board when the subject was introduced, understood that the proposition was favourably regarded by the majority of the Protestant Guar-

dians present. The Local Government Board are not aware that this suggestion has been finally rejected by the Guardians. I have myself personally communicated with the Guardians, through their Chairman, expressing my concurrence in the proposed appointment and my earnest hope that they will bring this vexed question to a satisfactory issue. I have not since heard from them, and trust that my communication will have some weight when they again have the matter under consideration.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—UNIFORM SYSTEM OF BUOYAGE.

MR. GOURLEY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the Report of the Royal Commission, dated 1st May 1883, recommending a uniform system of buoyage; if so, what measures he intends adopting for the purpose of giving effect to it; and, if he has decided whether the port hand buoys are to be of a uniform single or parti-colour?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In July of last year I caused copies of the Report of the Conference appointed to consider the proposal for a uniform system of buoyage for the United Kingdom to be forwarded to the buoyage authorities in the United Kingdom, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands, and also to the Foreign and Colonial Offices, for distribution among Foreign and Colonial Maritime Governments. The Trinity House has intimated to me their intention to accept the recommendations of the Conference, and to introduce gradually such alterations as are necessary in their present system. From recently issued notices to mariners, it appears that the Commissioners of Irish Lights are gradually altering the buoyage of districts under their control in conformity with the scheme recommended. As regards port hand-buoys, the Conference recommended that they should be of a colour distinctive from single coloured starboard hand-buoys, leaving it open to the buoyage authority to adopt either a single or a parti-colour as may be preferred. I have no power to compel the adoption of the recommendations made.

THE PUBLIC OFFICES—DESIGNS FOR THE NEW ADMIRALTY AND WAR OFFICE.

MR. BIGGAR asked the First Commissioner of Works, Is it a fact, as is commonly reported among the architectural profession, that two of the selected designs for the new War Office and Admiralty are the production of persons employed by the War Office Department; if it is true that the selection of the premiated designs in the first competition was left to the clerks in the Office of Works to weed out, the judges themselves not having examined the others; and, whether these selected designs will be submitted to public inspection before any definite engagement is made?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: One of the nine selected designs for the War Office and Admiralty appears to be the work of two gentlemen, one of whom is an architectural draftsman employed at the War Office, and the other, his coadjutor, a well known architect. There is no foundation whatever for the statement that the selection of the nine designs, or the weeding out of the others, was left to the clerks of the Office of Works, and was not done by the judges themselves. The selected designs will be submitted to public inspection before any Vote is asked for the construction of the successful design.

ORANGE MEETINGS (IRELAND)—MILITARY AND CONSTABULARY PENSIONERS.

MR. SMALL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether military and constabulary pensioners in Ireland are permitted while in the receipt of their pensions from Government to participate in Orange meetings in Ireland; whether, on the late 12th of July celebrations at Derry and Newry, the Government took any steps to ascertain whether any of those in receipt of pensions participated in them; and, whether they intend to take any steps to ascertain?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government have no power to control the political action of Constabulary pensioners. The Regulations which govern the conduct of constables while serving, necessarily cease to operate when they retire from the Force and resume their civil status.

So far as this Question relates to military pensioners, it would more properly have been addressed to the Secretary of State for War than to me; but I have the authority of my noble Friend to say that when not called out for duty, they have the entire status of civilians. Both classes of pensioners have, therefore, the same rights and responsibilities as other civilians with regard to political meetings, and the Government could not make any such inquiry as is suggested in the Question.

MR. HEALY: As pensioners have full rights of political meetings, why are they not permitted to vote for Members of Parliament?

[No reply.]

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—KILLARNEY WATERWORKS.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the complaints of the urban sanitary authority of Killarney of the delay in commencing the construction of waterworks for that town; whether this delay is caused by the unwillingness of the sub-sheriff to execute a warrant for possession of portion of the lands of Mr. Herbert of Muckross; and, whether any steps will be taken by the Local Government Board to insist upon this necessary step being taken immediately?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board have not received any complaint of the character mentioned in the Question; but they will make inquiry on the subject.

NAVY—H.M.S. "POLYPHEMUS."

MR. O'SHEA asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, The total cost of H.M.S. *Polyphemus* to the 1st of July; and, whether he is in a position to state that she is throughout in a state of absolute efficiency for all the purposes for which she was originally designed and constructed?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The total amount expended on the *Polyphemus*, for labour and materials, down to the 1st of July was £248,475. I am not in a position to make, in regard to her, the sweeping assertion which the hon. Member invites from me. The ship is at this moment in hand for the purpose of receiving new boilers in place of the experimental boilers with which she was originally fitted, and of having her torpedo tubes altered in order to carry out experiments in under-water torpedo discharge. I am not sure that I am aware of all the purposes which her designers may have had in view; but I believe that she has fully satisfied their main expectations; and when the present work upon her is finished—which is expected to be in September—she will be a most formidable and useful vessel.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OBLIGATIONS OF SCHOOL BOARDS TO FURNISH SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether the Law Officers of the Crown have given their opinion as to the necessity laid upon School Boards to supply school accommodation; and, whether he can communicate the result of their opinion to the House?

MR. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, he had not yet received the opinion. When he did receive it he would communicate with the hon. Member.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE NEW ASSIZE ARRANGEMENT.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been called to the inconvenience and dissatisfaction that the new Assize arrangement has caused at Newcastle-on-Tyne; and, if it is the intention of the Government to continue to send only one Judge to that city?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Yes, Sir; my attention has been called to a Charge to the Grand Jury by Mr. Justice Manisty, and a presentment made by the Grand Jury echoing that Charge. I know how important it is that every respect should be shown to Her Majesty's Judges, and I always sincerely endeavour to do so; but it is impossible to avoid saying how much, in my opinion, that Charge is to be regretted. The facts are that the Judges met on the 10th of June, and unanimously recommended certain changes in our Assize system. Mr. Justice Manisty was one of those Judges. Upon such recommendation, and in obedience to it, the Executive Government have acted. The scheme was approved of by the Judges, and now, upon his

taking his seat at Newcastle, one of those who recommended it made a long and, I fear I must say, violent attack upon these very changes, and wound up by saying—

"This is one of the results of persons controlling and regulating matters they have not been accustomed to."

Undoubtedly everyone wished that the Government should take some steps to remove the block in our Courts, and we have done our best; but, of course, we cannot be very sanguine of success if Judges who have approved of a scheme denounce it, and then proceed to carry out a system they have prophesied will fail. My hon. Friend may be assured that the Lord Chancellor will listen to every representation which is made to him as to any inconvenience which may arise from one Judge sitting at Newcastle, and will endeavour to do all he can to study the public convenience.

MR. HEALY: I wish to ask you, Sir, on a point of Order, whether it is in Order for Her Majesty's Attorney General to make an attack on Her Majesty's Judges? We have had from the hon. and learned Gentleman a criticism which neither you nor the Members of the House have condemned. I wish to know whether the license permitted to the hon. and learned Attorney General will also be permitted to those on this side of the House?

MR. SPEAKER: I heard nothing fall from the hon. and learned Attorney General which could induce me to think he has transgressed any Rule I have laid down from this Chair.

IRELAND—THE 12TH OF JULY MEETING AT NEWRY.

LORD ARTHUR HILL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has received the Report of the meeting held at Newry, on the 12th July, from the Resident Magistrates who were on duty in that town on the above-named date; and, whether he would have any objection to lay the Report upon the Table of the House?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government have received a Report from the Resident Magistrates who were on duty in Newry on the 12th of July. The noble Lord asks me whether I have any objection to lay it on the Table. So far as anything in this particular Report is concerned, I certainly have no objection whatever. But the Reports of Resident Magistrates are made confidentially for the information of the Government, and it is the rule not to produce them. However, as on some recent occasions of special interest, and especially as in the case of the recent meeting at Newry of an opposite character, the Reports were laid on the Table, I will consent to waive the objection on this occasion also, on the distinct understanding that this is not to be relied on as a precedent. If the noble Lord moves for the Report, it will be granted.

MR. SEXTON: Will the Report be laid on the Table before the Vote for the Resident Magistrates is taken?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will lay it on the Table at once.

PUBLIC HEALTH—PORTABLE HOSPITALS.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Local Government Board have in their possession any model or plan of a temporary or portable hospital, such as they would recommend for use in the event of an outbrak of cholera; if he will state the time it would take to manufacture such an hospital; and, if, in the case of a violent outbreak of small pox in Athenry, about seven years ago, some delay was experienced in the erection of such a hospital?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board have a plan for a portable iron hospital which can be put up in a very short time, and which has been prepared by a London firm which supplies such buildings. The Local Government Board have also a plan for a temporary wooden hospital which can be erected quickly, though not so quickly as an iron hospital. I have impressed on the Board the desirability of circulating these plans without waiting until the local authorities ask for them. The time in which an an hospital can be obtained and put up depends upon whether or not they are kept in stock, and the Board are making inquiry on this point. The difficulty in Athenry, to which the hon. and gallant Members refers, was caused by the fear of infection on the part of tradesmen.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS) — LOWER THAMES VALLEY SEWERAGE BOARD.

SIR ANDREW LUSK asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has considered the Report of the Select Committee on the scheme for the sewage of the Lower Thames Valley; whether it is true, as seems to appear from the shorthand notes of the proceedings of the Committee, that they came to their decision, with regard to the division of the district, after hearing the evidence of two only out of eleven constituent authorities, and without hearing any evidence whatever on that point on the part of the other nine, or the Joint Board; whether that Report refuses the necessary power to the Joint Sewage Board to carry out a scheme for keeping the sewage out of the Thames, and, at the same time, refuses to protect the Joint Board and the ratepayers from penalties for its continuing to go in; whether the Joint Board was specially formed to deal with the difficulty of providing for the sewage of the district, after the separate authorities had failed, one after another, in providing remedies; whether, if the recommendations of the Committee are agreed to, it will be at the earliest in the year 1886 before any of the separate authorities will be in a position to commence works for intercepting the sewage passing into the Thames, and whether there is any assurance that even then their schemes will not be opposed in the future as they have been in the past; and, whether there are any steps which the House, or the Local Government Board, can take to give effect to the decision of Parliament 18 years ago, that the Thames should not be polluted by sewage passing into it in a crude condition above London?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I have had under my consideration the Report of the Select Committee on the scheme for the sewerage of the Lower Thames Valley, which was issued yesterday. I believe that it is a fact that the Committee came to their decision with regard to the division of the existing district, after hearing the evidence of two only out of the 11 constituent authorities, and without hearing any evidence whatever on the part of the other nine constituent authorities on the Main Sewerage Board on the subject. I do not wish to pronounce an opinion adverse to the Committee with regard to the particular scheme which they have thought it right to reject; but there can be no doubt that the decision of the Committee has the effect of precluding the Main Sewerage Board from carrying out a scheme which was unanimously adopted by that Board with a view to keeping unpurified sewage out of the Thames; and it is also true that the Committee have rejected an unopposed Order, which would have protected the Main Sewerage Board and the ratepayers from the penalties to which that Board will be liable under the Thames Conservancy Act, after September next, for the discharge of unpurified sewage into the Thames. I have some doubt whether the decision of the Committee on the latter point is a legal decision, and it will be a matter for consideration by the proper officials of the House whether the Committee had power to throw out the unopposed Order. The Main Sewerage Board was constituted by a Provisional Order, which was isued by the Board after local conferences and inquiries, and was subsequently confirmed by Parliament, after full consideration by a Select Committee. The grounds on which the Main Sewerage Board was constituted were the great difficulties which attended each separate Sanitary Authority making separate provision for the disposal of the sewage of their district, and the expectation that the sewage of the united areas could be more easily, more satisfactorily, and more economically dealt with by one authority than by the authorities acting separately. It is a fact that authorities of districts included in the joint district had, prior to the constitution of that district, failed, one after the other, in their efforts to provide proper schemes for the disposal of the sewage. As regards the recommendation of the Committee, that the district should be divided; that Heston and Isleworth should form one district; that Richmond and the Richmond Union Sanitary District should form another; that the southern portion should be formed into one or more groups, if the Main Sewerage Board were dissolved and new groups of areas were made, the earliest possible date at which any of the authorities could be in a position to commence

works, unless suitable land for the works could be purchased by agreement, would be the year 1886. Not only have the Board no assurance that the schemes promoted by the separate authorities will not be opposed, but, according to the past experience of the Board, it would be hopeless to expect that the separate schemes would not meet with strong opposition. For the present, the decision of the Committee would appear to make it impracticable to prevent the pollution of the Thames by sewage passing into it in a crude condition.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE: With regard to throwing out the unopposed Order, I wish to say that the Committee consulted the Authorities of the House, who informed them that the Committee had that power.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I express no opinion of my own upon the point. I only speak upon information which I received from certain Authorities who are connected with the Private Bill Legislation of the House.

EGYPT—THE CONFERENCE.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When the Conference on the affairs of Egypt is to hold its next meeting?

MR. GLADSTONE: I find that Lord Granville has received authority from the members of the Conference to summon them together; and he has good hopes of being able to summon them for Tuesday next.

THE CIVIL SERVICE—LOWER DIVISION CLERKS.

MR. ION HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether any Treasury Minute has been circulated among the Heads of Departments, inviting them to co-operate in arranging an uniform scale of leave for the clerks of the Lower Division?

MR. COURTNEY: A Treasury Minute on this subject will be laid on the Table of the House and circulated to the Public Departments in a few days.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TEACHERS IN CONVENT NATIONAL SCHOOLS—THE GRANT.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can now state what is his scheme of payment to Convent Schools; and, if not, on what day does he expect to make a statement on the subject?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have already stated that no arrangement could be made which would be provided for by the Estimates before the House for the current financial year. The matter will be considered further before the Estimates for next year are framed.

MR. BIGGAR asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would not now state what would be done next year in the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: I would be very glad to state the result of our consideration, so far as the convent schools are concerned. We have come to some decision; but we had an idea that it might possibly involve some larger questions, which it would be impossible to consider now.

MR. SEXTON: Would the right hon. Gentleman allow us to expect that he would make some declaration on the subject on the Vote for Irish National Education?

MR. TREVELYAN: No, Sir; I do not think so.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO."

MR. STOREY said, that the Question of which he had given Notice as it appeared on the Paper contained no fewer than five grammatical inaccuracies, which made it almost unintelligible; and he should, therefore, prefer to ask only the first and last of the interrogatories, which were printed as follows:—To ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Governor Weld reported on February 9th that an English guarantee of open ports and free traffic was undoubtedly contemplated by our Treaty with the Netherlands of 1871, and would immediately effect the relief of the detained crew, and Captain Roura was empowered, on November 20th, 1883, by the Netherlands-India Authorities to offer a large sum of money, and to promise that we (the Dutch) shall open his ports as soon as he has delivered the captain and crew; whether the negotiations fell through because the Rajah demanded a British guarantee as to open ports; whether Mr. Maxwell was empowered by the Netherlands-India Authorities to offer similar terms on February 18th, and whether he reported on

March 1st that the Rajah refused them except under an English guarantee, and on March 21st—

"I have now no hope that the crew of the *Nisero* will be peacefully surrendered to the Dutch or to the English unless free trade on the West Coast of Acheen is re-established as fully as it existed before the war;"

and, whether the present proposals of the Government include an English guarantee to the Rajah of free trade and open ports, as contemplated by the Treaty of 1871; and, if not, wherein they differ from the old proposals, which all our officials on the spot reported as sure to be inoperative?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have no difficulty in following the Questions as they appear on the Paper, notwithstanding the hon. Member's difficulty in doing so; nor do I think hon. Members will have any. I have no objection to make to the quotations from the Blue Books made by the hon. Member in the first two paragraphs of his Question. But I may remind him that the claim of the Dutch Government is that the commercial rights stipulated for under the Treaties of 1824 and 1871 are temporarily suspended by the blockade established owing to the hostilities now existing. The first three Articles of the Treaty of 1824, which was continued by that of 1871, stipulate for the free communication of the Natives in the Eastern Archipelago with the ports of the two Governments respectively. There is no intention of abandoning the Treaties of 1824 and 1871. The present proposals differ from the previous proposals, inasmuch as it is intended, in the event of the refusal by the Rajah to accept the proposed terms and release the crew, that the two Governments shall act jointly, and resort to force. In the event of his accepting the terms, as I stated yesterday, the Netherlands Government have agreed that his ports shall be re-opened and remain open so long as he does not rebel against their authority, and thus compel them to resort again to the blockade of his ports. Her Majesty's Government decline to doubt the good faith of the Government of the Netherlands in carrying out that agreement, or to demand any guarantee. I wish to correct the report of an answer I gave yesterday. I did not say that immediately on the receipt of the reply of the Dutch Government action had been taken on the spot by the local authorities; but that action had been at once taken at the Foreign Office with a view to action by the local authorities.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Will these Papers be presented?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I intended to lay them on the Table today; but there is a further despatch from the Secretary of State in reply to the last communication, and therefore I wish to produce them on Monday.

PRIVILEGE—ACCESS TO THIS HOUSE —THE REFORM DEMONSTRATION.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR): I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, in the absence of the Home Secretary, Whether, as announced in the newspapers, the traffic is to be stopped between Blackfriars Bridge and Hyde Park on Monday next, and what arrangements have been made for hon. Members to have access to this House?

MR. HIBBERT: I am sorry I am not in a position to reply to the Question. The matter has not been in my hands; but in a few minutes my right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary will be present, and he will answer the Question.

MR. GLADSTONE (rising at a later stage): As my right hon. and learned Friend has not arrived, I may say with reference to the Question of the Lord Mayor, without entering into details, that it is within my knowledge that my right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary has been actively engaged, in consultation with the Chief Commissioner of Police, to consider what are the best arrangements to make for the public convenience, and in particular has given directions which he thought best to secure the comfort and easy access of Members to this House. [An hon. MEMBER: What arrangements?]

PUBLIC HEALTH—IMPORTATION OF RAGS FROM MARSEILLES.

MR. G. W. ELLIOT asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he was aware it was stated that Yorkshire was within measurable distance of, if not in actual contact with, Asiatic cholera; whether a vessel had not arrived at Hull with a cargo of rags,

from Marseilles, on the way to Dewsbury; and, whether, in view of the great danger of Asiatic cholera invading this country, the Government would take immediate steps in regard to it?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I think it might have been better if the hon. Member had taken the trouble to ascertain the facts with regard to his Question before he put it. It so happens that the allegations made in the Question are the exact opposite of the facts. The facts are these. A ship, laden with rags from Marseilles, which are stated —there is no certain evidence in our possession—to have been packed before the outbreak of cholera, was stated to be on its way to Hull. The moment the Sanitary Authorities at Hull informed us of these facts, and stated that they desired an order that the rags should be excluded from Hull, an Order was made to exclude them, and they were excluded under similar powers to those put in force last year with regards to rags from Egypt.

MR. GIBSON: Where did they go to?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Then we were told that there was a prospect of their being landed at Goole; and a similar order was made with regard to Goole. No attempt has been made to land the rags. The person to whom the rags were consigned has been in communication with the Sanitary Authorities at Hull and Goole to see whether he could satisfy them, and, if not, he intends to take them back to France.

MR. G. W. ELLIOT: May I ask if these rags have not been landed in England?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: So far as I understand, they have not be landed at the two ports I speak of. I had a letter yesterday from the owners, stating that if they could not make any arrangements with the Sanitary Authorities of the ports, they would send these rags back to Marseilles.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: While the House is on this matter of quarantine, I am anxious to read a telegram which has been received, and which bears upon a great number of inquiries I have received from hon. Members interested in commerce. Mr. Macpherson, Vice Consul at Madrid, telegraphs—

"Vessels arriving from British ports must serve three days' observation in port of arrival, instead of performing quarantine at lazaretto."

I think that information will be satisfactory to many hon. Members.

EGYPT (THE SOUDAN)—THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can inform the House for what purpose British troops are now stationed at Assouan and Keneh, and British officers at Wady Halfa and Korosko; and, whether it is true that a British officer has been sent to Dongola?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am anxious to give the hon. Member all the information in my power if I knew exactly what he wished for. I stated on the 24th of last month, in reply to a Question from the hon. Member, that the reason given by Sir Frederick Stephenson for sending a battalion to Assouan was that the tribes in front were becoming troublesome, and that it was desirable to support the Egyptian troops, and to give confidence to the Natives. I do not know that I can add anything to that, unless I know the particular point the hon. Member desired to bring forward. The British officers at Wady Halfa and Korosko were, of course, stationed with the Egyptian troops, and their presence on the Egyptian Frontier does not appear to me to require elaborate explanation. It is the fact that a British officer and an Egyptian officer had been sent to Dongola for the purpose of directing negotiations, if possible, with the tribes in the neighbourhood.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked whether the proportion of the Arab population betweeen Wady Halfa and Assouan was not as large as the Arab population between Berber and Khartoum; and whether the force of British officers and troops had been put there with the object of "smashing up the Mahdi?"

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir; they have been placed there with the object of restoring confidence on the frontier of Egypt.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I thought the Arab tribes were becoming troublesome. I would ask the noble Marquess whether the Arab tribes between Wady Halfa and Assouan have got the same right to become trouble-

some as those at Berber and Khartoum?

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the noble Marquess whether it would not be very desirable, considering the position of Assouan, not to leave one battalion only of British troops there, but to reinforce them with more troops?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he had stated on the previous day that another battalion was being sent to Egypt. Of course, the disposition of the troops in Egypt was a matter entirely resting with the Military Authorities there.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention had been called to a letter which appeared in that day's papers from Dr. Schweinfurth as to the dangerous position of General Gordon; and whether, in view of the grave allegations in that letter, Her Majesty's Government still considers it inexpedient to take immediate active steps for the relief of General Gordon?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I was just about to give to the House some information upon the matter alluded to by the hon. Member with regard to General Gordon. It does not directly bear on Dr. Schweinfurth's telegram; but this information has been received from Mr. Egerton, who telegraphed on the 17th of July to Her Majesty's Government as follows:—

"A telegram from Major Chermside to-day says that a Takruri and a Galla, calling themselves pilgrims, state that they left Khartoum June 12. The place was safe, provisions plentiful, and Arabs few. They left Berber on the 1st of July, which was in the hands of rebels. Hussein Pasha was in his own house, in possession of his property. There were a good many Arabs on road near Berber. . . . Sheiks, delegates, and spies from Digna's camp informed Chermside that Ragha, at Berber, was asking artillery assistance from Digna, as General Gordon goes out in steamer and fires at rebels in Berber. . . . Chermside's paid agents told him on 10th that Gordon was harassing rebels from Khartoum with seven guns on steamer."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I may add to what my noble Friend has said, that I have made inquiries with respect to the statement from Dr. Schweinfurth, sent to *The Times*, with the object of ascertaining what information Dr. Schweinfurth had received. It appears, however, that the actual whereabouts of Dr. Schweinfurth is not known, and it has not been possible to communicate with him; but, as soon as information has been obtained, it will be communicated.

SAVINGS BANKS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

In reply to Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD,

MR. COURTNEY said, it was well known that one of the main objects of this Bill was to increase the amount that might be deposited in the course of a year in the Post Office Savings Bank, and that was strongly opposed by a great number of hon. Members. In view of this opposition, that part of the Bill would be dropped; but the other parts of the Bill dealing with the machinery of the Savings Bank would be proceeded with.

MR. STOREY: I beg to give Notice that I shall oppose the Bill in every way, seeing that the only valuable clause has been withdrawn.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD: Is it intended that the Bill should be extended to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man?

MR. COURTNEY: I think it will as regards those parts of it which are of no value.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he wished to ask the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which he had not been able to give Notice—namely, Whether King John of Abyssinia had taken up arms as an ally of the British Government; and, if so, what pledges had been required against the adoption of cruel methods of warfare as practiced by uncivilized people, especially in regard to the infliction of torture?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have answered an exactly similar Question put by another hon. Member. I said the Papers will shortly be laid on the Table.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I will ask the noble Lord on Monday what are the terms of the engagement entered into between Admiral Hewett and King John of Abyssinia; and what is the

consideration agreed upon for the military assistance of the King?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Papers will be laid on the Table on Tuesday.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

EAST INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

RESOLUTION.

MR. GIBSON, in rising to call attention to the grievances of the East Indian Medical Service, and to move—

"That the condition of the East Indian Medical Service calls for the early attention of Her Majesty's Government, and this House trusts that steps will soon be taken to lessen the block in promotion and the disappointment at the methods of employment and pay which exist in its ranks,"

said, that the subject which he desired very strongly to bring before the notice of the House was one of deep interest, not only to those directly concerned, but was likewise regarded with great sympathy by many other classes in the United Kingdom. The Questions which, from time to time, during the last two or three Sessions, had been asked of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross), indicated that that interest had found a very substantial outlet in that House. His (Mr. Gibson's) Motion was framed in no carping or acrimonious spirit, and he should endeavour to present, as temperately and concisely as he could, the complaints of the persons concerned. Many hon. Members sitting in different parts of the House held the same views as he did on this question, and he was sure it was the anxious desire of the Under Secretary of State for India to listen fairly and carefully to the different statements which would be made; and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would indicate, in his speech, that he would communicate what was said in the debate both to the Secretary of State and to the Viceroy, and that he would endeavour, as far as was consistent with his duty, to have the matter put in train for further and fuller consideration. The Indian Medical Service was an important one, with a distinguished and interesting history; and it could not be regarded as satisfactory that any great Public Service, such as it undoubtedly was, should find itself agitated and disturbed by a keen feeling that it had not been justly dealt with. The Service could, unquestionably, stand any amount of criticism and examination. It had been long before the public, and it had in its ranks now, and had had in the past, many most eminent and distinguished men. By its conduct in times of cholera, pestilence, and war, and upon every occasion when it had been put to the test, it had merited the gratitude and recognition of all who took an interest in the good administration of such a Service. The grievances of the Indian Medical Service must be looked at from two points of view, in one sense independent, but in another and broader sense closely connected—first, in connection with the position and grievances of the senior officers; and, secondly, in connection with the grievances and disappointments which were experienced by the junior members of the Service. As regarded most of the former, the Act of Parliament which transferred them to the Crown when their country took over the Government of India was, he contended, equivalent to a Charter. The senior officers were, of course, not a very large class; and their position could be dealt with easily by a little tact, good sense, and discretion, in a way that would be a relief, not only to them, but also to their juniors, and, what was very rare in such cases, be at the same time for the benefit of the Treasury. The seniors complained that, by the abolition of administrative appointments, which existed and were proportionate to the strength of the Service when they entered it, their position had been damnified, and that they had been injured by the violation of rights and privileges which were guaranteed to the Service at the time they entered it under the Government of India Act. From the 56th section of that Act, to which he would call the attention of hon. Members, it was evident that it conferred upon all medical officers previously serving in India a right not to have their position injuriously affected by or after the transfer of the Indian Government to the Crown, but a claim not only to fair play, but to generous consideration.

In 1857 there were 432 officers in the Bengal Medical Service, and 15 administrative medical appointments; and, at the present time, those numbers had fallen to 342 and 10; in other words, the strength of the whole Service had decreased 20 per cent, and the number of administrative appointments had been diminished by 33 per cent. He made no charges against the Government; but he wished simply to state facts, and indicate that, as public servants, the rights of these officers should not be altered to their detriment, without giving them an opportunity of legitimate retirement on reasonable and fair terms. Nothing whatever had taken place to mitigate the disastrous effects of the change he had described; and unless the Government did something in that direction, these senior officers must continue in the discharge of subordinate duties until they were compelled by age to retire, and then on very inadequate pensions. The Indian Medical Service was, essentially, under the Company, a seniority Service, tempered, of course, by the right of passing by any officer who might be disqualified by incapacity or misconduct. He was informed that, since 1880, the Government had several times set aside that practice, and some of the appointments that had been made had had a serious effect to the detriment of senior officers of proved capacity and tried efficiency who had been previously in the service of the Company. Another rule of the Service was, that an officer who declined promotion would be permanently passed over. Promotion carried with it not only rank, but increased pay, and, when an officer retired, the right of an extra pension of £250 or £350 per annum. If, therefore, senior officers were deprived of their chances of high promotion, and at the same time not offered reasonable terms of fair retirement, their position was a serious one. There would really be a great waste of strength and power, as they would have officers of great experience drawing comparatively high salaries discharging duties which should fall to the lot of junior officers. That was so in this case, for many of these officers, after years of service which had entitled them to high administrative positions, were still discharging duties which surgeons of five or six years' service under the Crown would be perfectly competent to discharge; and the junior surgeons were relegated to uncertain and anomalous positions with disappointing status and inadequate pay. The consequence was, there was a feeling of intense discontent in the junior branch of the Medical Service, which the Government ought not to disregard. At one time the Service had been exceedingly popular; but the reason it was so was because distinct inducements were held out to the Medical Schools of the United Kingdom, in the most official and formal way, by the Government of the Crown to send their young men to India. A Government Circular was issued which gave candidates official information with reference to the competitions, and that Circular gave a list of all the higher offices of the Indian Medical Service as baits of what these young men might expect to rise to in time. They naturally read the Circular in the way in which any ordinary man of intelligence would read it, and it could not be wondered that acute disappointment was felt, when they found that the words of the Circular were given an entirely different construction to once they had entered the Service. Another Circular, which he had in his hand, contained these words—

> "A medical officer will, however employed, be restricted to the rate of pay laid down in paragraph 12 until he shall have passed the examination in Hindustani known as the Lower Standard."

Did not that clearly convey that a medical officer who had passed the examination in Hindustani would not be restricted to the pay laid down in paragraph 12, and that he was to receive the higher rate of pay? [Mr. J. K. Cross dissented.] The hon. Gentleman shook his head. Under Secretaries of State always did shake their heads—shaking their heads was more or less a part of their business. But his construction of that Circular was confirmed by the Circular which had been presented to that House a few months ago. The meaning of the paragraph was, that unemployed pay in the Indian Medical Service was to be temporary and exceptional, and that employed pay was to be the rule. But the actual fact was, that it appeared by the Bengal *Army List* of January, 1883, that out of the 42 gentlemen who had passed the Lower Standard in the last six examinations in Hindustani, not one had obtained permanent regimental employment, while

only 25 were receiving employed pay. Was not that keeping the promise to the ear, and breaking it to the hope? It was a very serious state of facts; and, obviously, if a Service was administered in this way, it must sooner or later break down. He might refer to the case of a young gentleman who had attained the highest possible University honours, who had entered the Indian Medical Service in the hope of obtaining immediate high pay, but who had now been in India for two years, and had had professional duties of the highest importance to discharge, and yet who was merely receiving unemployed pay, which was far below that received by the youngest subaltern in the Service. Would it be believed that during Sir Frederick Roberts's Campaign, numbers of men in the Indian Medical Service, who had sacrificed their lives in the field, or in the hospitals, and who had been wounded, were technically regarded, and had been actually paid as unemployed men! Such a system was farcical. It was painful to think that there was only too much ground for the allegation, that the members of the Indian Medical Service were worse paid than any European commissioned officers in the Indian Army. It was not satisfactory to find that a veterinary surgeon with less than five years' Government service, was paid a fixed salary of not less than 377 rupees a-month; while the Indian medical officer of the same service, a man of high ability and great qualifications, might, in a number of cases, be paid only 286 rupees a-month. It was said that there was a new Memorandum, a very long and tiresome document, stating the conditions of service without ambiguity, which the India Office would not call a new Memorandum, because they disliked calling anything by its real name. Well, this new Memorandum might be a good warning for the future, but it could not undo the past. What was the remedy for all these serious difficulties? It was not for him to indicate a remedy, except with great humility and considerable hesitation. He pointed out, what no one could gainsay—namely, that there was at present enormous dissatisfaction and discontent, together with a sense of injury, in the Indian Medical Service, and it behoved them all to attempt by some means to get rid of it. It was not, as he had said, for him to suggest a remedy; but he was told that some plan of retiring the old officers, who belonged to a former *regimé*, would contribute very largely to the solution of the difficulty, and that a plan, fair and just to seniors, juniors, and the Treasury, could with ease be sketched. He held such a plan in his hand, which worked out figures plainly, showing that after payment of adequate pensions to senior surgeons there would be a great annual public saving. It might also be advantageously considered whether the system of unemployed pay could not be put on something like a rational basis. Perhaps it might be said—"If these gentlemen are dissatisfied, there are lots of men ready to come in." That, however, was no answer at all. It could be said with as much force of any other branch of the Public Service. If we got the services of first-rate men from the best Medical Schools, by virtue of public representations and statements, we were bound, in the interest of the Public Service, to maintain our honour and to keep our word. He hoped he had not said anything of an intemperate or exaggerated character. That was not in the smallest degree a Party question. It was a question which he might fairly ask hon. Gentlemen to judge from a fair and a reasonable standpoint. He sincerely hoped, and, indeed, he had confidence, that his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India would weigh very carefully everything which would be said in the course of this discussion, and that he would, as far as he could, see that all these topics were put into a train for further inquiry, if, indeed, he did not know all about them at present, and that he would take care that he, the Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy, should, as soon as they could, apply a remedy which would improve this important branch of the Public Service. The right hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: My right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) has so clearly stated the case for the medical officers of the Indian Army that very few words from me will suffice in the present debate. I admit, at once, that it requires a very strong case indeed to justify Parliamentary interference between any Public Service and the

Executive Government. When men have entered a Service, with a full knowledge of the conditions of that Service, any subsequent discontent which may arise is, in my opinion, a matter between them and the Executive; while the intervention of Parliament is generally inexpedient, and dangerous to public interests. But this is not a case of that kind. The Medical Service in India has, in times past, been of such a high character, that it has secured the flower of young medical men from all the great Medical Schools in each part of the United Kingdom, and the result has abuntantly justified the liberal terms which secured this selection. The Indian Medical Service can boast of names which are familiar in all lands for the advance which has been made in science, in public health, in medicine, and in surgery. Names such as Falconer, M'Clelland, Martin, Royle, Wallich, Murchison, Mouat. Fayrer, Cunningham, and, if I might be allowed to add, relatives of my own name, are still held in honour in the country which they served. The traditions of that Service entice into it the pick of the young medical men. What, then, has arisen to render those who have recently joined so profoundly discontented? The conditions of their Service may not be so favourable as they once were; but that circumstance would form no reason for Parliamentary interference, if they entered it with a full knowledge of the changed conditions. But that is not the case. My right hon. and learned Friend has clearly shown that, in any fair interpretation of these conditions, the candidates have been deceived. When a man is told that he goes out with less than £28 a-month till he passes a lower examination in Hindustani and until he is professionally employed, he has no grievance; but when he is further told that, when he has passed that examination and is professionally employed, he will receive £40 a-month, no casuistry can persuade him that the professional employment is so extremely limited in character that he cannot expect to receive it for five or six years, when, as a fact, he is doing professional work of an arduous character all that time. Let me give two instances of this. One medical officer, whom I know, goes out and passes his language examination. He receives 286 rupees a-month. He is sent to Egypt with the Indian Contingent, but is informed that he is unemployed, and still remains at the same rate. He is sent again to Egypt last year, during cholera; but he is still "officially unemployed," and receives the pay of an unemployed surgeon. I give another case. Another of my correspondents has been five years in the Service. He is sent to a British station hospital, to acquire knowledge which he got at Netley, and is paid 286 rupees a-month. He is then sent on an escort of British troops; but that is not official employment, so his pay remains the same. He is then attached as a supernumerary to a Native regiment, with no increase of pay. He then is put in charge of a wing of another regiment; but the pay continues at 286 rupees a-month. Then he is put in charge of another regiment, and is raised to 304 rupees, or, after five years' active service, he gets 18 rupees more, all on the fiction that during that time he was unemployed. Now, no official fiction in regard to the word "employment" can satisfy a doctor who was given to understand that full employment was to carry 400 rupees a-month, that he is not unjustly treated when he is really working hard in his profession all that time. The Indian medical officer finds that the general medical officer of the British Army is better treated than he is. The Indian officer has entered by higher qualifications; and yet he finds the medical officers of the British Service, sent for a short period to India, receiving higher pay than himself. The Indian officer is sent to serve in station hospitals, where his less qualified brother in medicine is his superior. As Professor MacLean, of Netley, puts it very clearly—

> "To place Indian medical officers in a position subordinate to those of the British Service is, to put it shortly and in all its naked absurdity, simply to put inferiors over their superiors."

I contend that no such profound discontent would have arisen had the terms of their appointment not misled the medical officers as to their future position. The Service may be overstocked, but that is the fault of the Government. The senior medical officers complain also that their promotion is much slower than before, and, of course, this ultimately will affect the juniors. How do we meet such cases at home? I had the honour to be President of a Commission for re-

organizing the Civil Service. We found many of the offices overstocked with high-paid clerks who stopped promotion. We recommended their reduction on liberal pensions; and that step, though at first a costly process, soon proved a great economy to the Public Service. But I will not go further into the detailed grievances which have been so well explained by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the Dublin University. I would, however, entreat my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India to use his best efforts to lessen the profound discontent which prevails throughout both the junior and senior divisions of the Medical Service. The efficiency of that Service has vastly aided the Government of India. The mortality among our troops was at one time terrific. The improvements in public health, introduced by a skilled Medical Service, have produced vast economies in our Indian Government. You cannot keep up that efficiency without tempting the best men to enter the Service. I hope this debate will show the Under Secretary of State that he must take prompt steps to allay the discontent in India. It is in this hope, and with this conviction, that I would urge my right hon. and learned Friend not to divide. A negative result, even with the large minority which we should have, would be mistaken in India; though I think the debate will prove the strong desire of this House that the anomalies and obstacles which are now so patent in the Indian Medical Service should be removed by the Indian Government. My hon. Friend (Mr. J. K. Cross) must not rely on the fact that there are numerous candidates for each vacancy. There will always be a crowd of young men starting into life, to whom £28 a-month will be a temptation. But if he desires to sustain the character of the Indian Medical Service, he must give such terms as will secure the highest class of candidates. While the present discontent prevails, he cannot expect that he can obtain them, and the lowering of the standard would be a disaster to the Indian Empire.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the condition of the East Indian Medical Service calls for the early attention of Her Majesty's Government, and this House trusts that steps will soon be taken to lessen the block in promotion and the disappointment at the methods of employment and pay which exist in its ranks,"—(*Mr. Gibson,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE said, he was able, from his own experience in the Indian Service, to give strong testimony to the justice of the cause which had been so ably advocated by his right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson) and by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Lyon Playfair). At the time when he was in India, the administrative appointments in the upper branches of the Service were almost invariably given by seniority; and, unless a man had proved himself incompetent, he was rarely passed over. Now, when men got up to a certain height, there they stopped. There was no possibility of more than a limited number getting any further; and the number of administrative appointments, previously very small, had been considerably reduced. He knew the case of a man who had retired disappointed and almost broken-hearted. From his own experience he knew that, in former times, medical officers were not long in the Indian Service before they received employed pay—in his own case the period was only six months; but now onerous and important duties were discharged, and yet, by an extraordinary fiction, the men who discharged them were said to be unemployed. The efficiency of the Service was proved by the fact that, practically, all the Indian troops who went to Egypt were taken back, except those who were killed or wounded in battle. Formerly, many important and valuable appointments were open to members of the Service, and these were an inducement to medical men to enter it. Since then the pay had been reduced, although the expenses of living had increased; and so, from every point of view, the conditions of the Service were worse than they had been. When it was suggested that the appointments were put up to open competition, he urged that candidates should know absolutely the condition of affairs, and be made aware of the number of officers at present unemployed. While acquit-

ting the India Office of anything like the imputation of taking these young men into the Service under false pretences, he could not disguise that this feeling might find expression among the medical officers themselves; and we certainly should not get picked men as we used to do. He had received numerous letters, and had had several personal interviews with members of the Indian Medical Service, and he believed that there was, undoubtedly, a very keen feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction among all ranks, seniors and juniors alike, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) would be able to restore to the Service some of its ancient prestige and satisfaction.

MR. J. K. CROSS said, the members of the Indian Medical Service were to be congratulated on the ability and moderation with which their case had been stated. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson) had spoken of the great reduction in the number of administrative appointments; but he surely did not mean to say that these appointments were ever, under any circumstances, guaranteed to the Service as a whole, in the numbers at which they were at the time of the transfer of the Indian Company to the Crown? The right hon. and learned Gentleman also spoke of reductions of from 10 to 15 per cent as a grievance. Surely, it could not be a grievance if, from the changes in the Service from one year to another, it was found necessary to reduce the administrative appointments. That being so, he could not see that the Medical Service had any right to object; and, certainly, the diminution could not be a grievance to those who had entered the Service since the appointments were abolished. He had already explained, in answer to Questions, that it was not at all a new thing that there were unemployed officers of the Indian Medical Service. He had stated that it was necessary to retain a Reserve of surgeons in excess of the bare number required to fill all the necessary posts in time of peace. Spare men were wanted—a small number, in case of unforeseen contingencies, and a larger number, to do the work of those surgeons who were absent on furlough. The nature of the Reserve was explained in the Indian Medical Blue Book of 1881. It was there stated that the ideal Medical Establishment consisted of 542 appointments, and a Reserve—calculated at 25 per cent—of 131, making a total of 673. Of the Reserve, about 100 would be, it was assumed, holding officiating appointments. The balance would consist of the juniors of the Department, who were not supposed to rise above unemployed pay for the first two years of their service. It was impossible to recruit the Department in such a manner that the Reserve should never be bigger than was necessary at the moment. Deaths and retirements necessarily varied from year to year, and so did the number of officers who went on furlough. Besides these, which were causes over which it was impossible to have control, the Department was now over-manned, owing to the large drafts which had to be made into it during the Afghan War. At the last seven half-yearly examinations, 46 appointments had been given. In the year 1880 alone, 49 appointments were made. The result of that reduction of the yearly appointments was now beginning to tell. The actual number at present drawing unemployed pay was hardly greater than it was 10 years ago—namely, 63, as against 57. During the last three years, only 36 appointments had been made; while the retirements in 1882 and 1883 were 56, and probably would be 76 by the end of the year. But, before proceeding further, he would call the attention of the House to the actual number of officers for whom relief was claimed; and in connection with the point, he must say that it was entirely a mistaken notion to suppose that many of the officers appointed some years ago were still only drawing unemployed pay. Of the whole Medical Service of India, 126 had been appointed within the last five years, of whom only 52 remained on unemployed pay on the 1st of March last; and of that number, six had since then been promoted from the category of unemployed officers, and 20 were under two years' service, which was the length of time laid down in the Blue Book, C. 2,921, of 1881, before which an officer could not expect to rise above unemployed pay. The agitation, therefore, appeared to be, so far as India was concerned, on behalf of 26 gentlemen only, out of the whole Medical Service of upwards of 600, who would receive appointments, however, in the course of a year or so if retirements

Sir Trevor Lawrence

continued at the average of the last 10 years, which was 31, or even at the average of the last five years, which was 29. That candidates were not deterred from joining the Department by the length of time for which they must continue in the "unemployed pay" stage was proved by the fact that, at the last examination, when 25 candidates presented themselves to compete for five appointments, all came up to the qualifying standard. A charge of bad faith had been brought against the India Office for not fulfilling the conditions of the Memorandum which was issued to candidates for the Service, and which had been laid upon the Table of the House. His right hon. and learned Friend had made use of some rather strong language in connection with that Memorandum; and therefore he (Mr. J. K. Cross) might be permitted to say that he had had the various editions of that Memorandum, which had been published since 1866, printed in such a form as to show clearly any alteration which had been made in the terms of the Memorandum. The Paragraphs on which the charge of bad faith was founded, were at Pages 10 and 17 of the Memorandum, under the head "Pay and Allowances." Hon. Members would see that the same form had been adopted since 1866 till September last year, when, in consequence of the representations made to him in the form of Questions in that House, the advertisement was amplified. He would first discuss the terms of the Memorandum as it was issued before September, 1883, and he must observe that, although the Memorandum had been issued substantially in the same form since 1866, no complaint that it was misleading or inaccurate was made till last year. Here was a document so faulty, that a demand for redress was based on it; and yet, for 17 years, it had been accepted without remark. Paragraph 14 of the chapter on "Pay and Allowances," as it was issued before September, 1883, ran as follows:—

"Officers who may hereafter be appointed to the India Medical Service will receive pay in India according to the following scale:—The pay of a surgeon of six years' service is 329 rupees monthly; five years' service, 304 rupees monthly; and less than five years' service, 286 rupees monthly."

Paragraph 15 explained at what date payment of a surgeon's salary was to begin. Paragraph 16 was as follows:—

"The salaries of the principal administrative and military appointments are fixed at the following consolidated sums:—The pay of a surgeon above five years' full-pay service in charge of a Native regiment is 600 rupees monthly, with horse allowance in the Cavalry; under five years, 450 rupees monthly, with horse allowance in the Cavalry."

Paragraph 14 laid down the scale at which officers were to be paid on first appointment—namely, at 286 rupees monthly; and Paragraph 16 stated the salaries of the principal appointments, the lowest of which, the charge of a Native regiment, was paid for a surgeon under five years' service at 450 rupees monthly. Paragraph 19, the crucial, the vital paragraph, on which the grievances of which so much had been heard were founded, was as follows:—

"A medical officer will, however employed, be restricted to the rate of pay laid down in paragraph 14 until he shall have passed the examination in Hindustani, known as the 'Lower Standard.'"

Now, what did these words mean? Obviously, that an officer who had obtained one of the principal appointments mentioned in Paragraph 16, would not draw an increase of pay, unless he had passed the examination in languages. The surgeons, on the other hand, contended that the obvious meaning of these words was that, as soon as anyone had passed the examination in languages, he was guaranteed promotion to the rates of pay reserved in Paragraph 16 to the principal appointments in the Department. The words "however employed" were construed into a pledge that employment should be given of that particular kind which was specified in Paragraph 16 as alone carrying the higher rates of pay. He defied any rational person to say that he believed that the natural meaning of Paragraph 19 was that, as soon as a surgeon had passed the examination in languages, he was to be promoted to one of the principal appointments mentioned in Paragraph 16. A pamphlet which had been issued by some of the Medical Profession contained statements of the most misleading character. The pamphleteer, in quoting the chapter of "Pay and Allowances," very sensibly omitted Paragraph 14, and began with Paragraph 16. He (Mr. J. K. Cross) would not dwell any longer on that subject, except to say that, in the edition of the Memorandum issued last September, the wording of the

Paragraph had been changed. He confessed that the alteration was rather a work of supererogation. The other change introduced into the Memorandum of September was, to explain that there were intermediate rates of pay between those laid down in Paragraphs 14 and 16. When a surgeon in charge of a regiment went on leave, his vacancy was filled by an officer who was said to officiate for him. The officiating officer did not draw the full pay of the officer whose place he filled, but only a certain proportion of it. The reason why the same rate was not given to both officers was an economical one, as without some such rule as this the financial burden of furloughs would be too great. The same rules as to officiating pay obtained in the Civil Service, and it was accepted throughout all the branches of the Indian Service. Indeed, without it, the system of furlough which prevailed in India could not be maintained except at a most extravagant cost. The surgeons had complained that when appointed to officiating charges, they did not receive the rates laid down in Paragraph 16, but only the proportion fixed for officiating officers. The mistake was a natural one to anyone unacquainted with the practical working of the Indian system; but, as he had said, the system of officiating allowances—well known to every Indian civilian, but of which the surgeons might well have been ignorant on first joining—was accepted throughout the Service as being necessary to insure a liberal allowance of furlough. And the fact of officiating allowances being given in no way conflicted with the statements of the Memorandum, which did not, before the edition of September, make any notice of any but substantive appointments. The proper way to regard the officiating allowances was as being over and above, and in addition to, the rates laid down in Paragraph 16. He thought he had now disposed of the charges of inaccuracy brought against the Memorandum issued by the India Office. The terms of the Memorandum had been strictly fulfilled; and he was very sorry if these grants were disapproved, but most men had to wait on fortune at one time or another. It was true that, at the outset, the pay of the Indian medical officer contrasted disadvantageously with that of the British medical officer similarly employed. But, on the other hand, the prospects of the Indian officers were greatly superior. With respect to the higher ranks, there was, he understood, no question at all. But, taking the lower rank—namely, that of surgeon—he found that from the latest Bengal *Army List* that there were in that Presidency 100 officers of this rank in the British Service. Of these, 93 were under five years' service—that was, 93 per cent—and received 317 rupees a-month, with no extra allowance, except in the case of two, one of whom drew 447 rupees a-month, and the other 337 rupees. That was 91 per cent on the lowest rate of pay. In the Indian Service there were 173 surgeons, of whom 46 were under five years' service. Of these, 24 held substantive or acting appointments of from 360 rupees to 550 rupees a-month—that was, from 40 rupees to 240 rupees more than the British officer of similar standing. The remaining 22 received only 286 rupees, or 31 rupees less than British officers of similar standing. So that, even in the first five years of service, when the advantage was supposed to be altogether on the side of the British as compared with the Indian Service, more than one-half of the Indian officers were in a far better position than their brethren of the Army Medical Department; while the remainder, 22 in number, drew 286 rupees a-month, as against 317 rupees drawn by 91 out of 93 officers of the British Service. That was, 91 per cent of the English Medical Department drew lowest rates as against 13 per cent drawing lowest rates in the Bengal portion of the Indian Medical Department. It was later on, however, that the real advantage of the Indian Service appeared. For, while the British surgeon of from six to 12 years' service could not, except in a few trifling instances, draw more than 452 rupees a-month, the Indian officer was drawing from 492 rupees to upwards of 1,000 rupees. He must also point out that the Civil branch, with its salaries, should not be left out of sight in considering the position of the Indian Medical Service. So far as prizes were concerned, it was more important than the Military branch. For, of 151 surgeons drawing Staff salaries, 79 were drawing them in the Civil Departments; while, of the 131 surgeons major, 87 held Civil appointments, whose emoluments far

exceeded in value those of the military appointments held by officers of the same standing. As regarded pensions, too, the prospects of the Indian Service were far better than those of the British; while the surgeons and many of the surgeons major of the latter had no claim to pensions, but were liable to discharge after 10, 15, or 18 years on gratuities of from £1,250 to £2,500—the Indian officer, after 17 years' Indian service, could retire on £292 a-year, or could claim to continue to serve for higher rates up to £700 a-year, with the prospect of further additional pension for service in administrative grade amounting to from £950 to £1,050; the highest pension attainable by corresponding administrative service in the British ranks being £730 a-year. Those who had served 17 years got £292; 20 years, £366; 25 years, £500; and 30 years, £700. These amounts were absolutely certain. If a man should become Deputy Surgeon General, he would get at 58 £950; if Surgeon General, £1,050; while the highest British medical pension was £730. So far, therefore, as the higher branches of the Service were concerned, he did not think the case had been made out. But he had a very considerable amount of sympathy with young surgeons who went out from this country, and had to spend a considerable number of years on small salaries without promotion. The remedy for that state of things was to reduce the numbers going out. But this, as he had explained, had already been done. The reductions were beginning to produce the desired effect, and they would be still further continued. But, even at present, comparing, as he had done, the position of the surgeons of the Indian Service, taken as a whole, with that of the surgeons of the British Service, he must say that there was no doubt that the Indian Service was out-and-out the best. The competition showed it, as he said before, in the rush for it. So far from the Service being unpopular, 21 candidates had applied for places, all of whom had qualified in the examination, and they seemed exceedingly anxious to enter, notwithstanding the block in promotion at the present time, and the great number of men employed in it. The grievance was one that prevailed in all the Services of the State, and he believed it prevailed in the whole of humanity. In France and Germany they were going so far as to say that no man ought to work after 56, not so much that he was unable as in order that he might be moved out of the way of younger men. On those Benches there were many "grave and reverend" seigniors who were not anxious to be pushed off to make way for younger men. The same was the case in the Military and Naval Services. His sympathy was with those young men who would in the future have to bear the brunt of the Medical Service in India; and if, consistently with duty, anything could be done for them, none would be more glad than himself. The statement put forward by his right hon. and learned Friend and others should certainly receive the utmost consideration. He was sorry that he could not accept the Resolution of his right hon. and learned Friend; but he should be very glad to bring before the Government of India the statement which he had made, in order that it might receive careful consideration.

MR. LEAMY said, the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) had not answered all the charges made against the India Office in this matter; and he (Mr. Leamy) regretted to find the hon. Gentleman had not even made a promise respecting what was really a bitter grievance—namely, the travelling expenses of those members of the Service. Men, he said, might be ordered on employed stations; and, although they might have to travel 500 or 600 miles, and although that journey might mean the expenditure of three or four months' pay, they were allowed no travelling expenses. He really thought that was a grievance which the Government ought to undertake to remedy without delay. He was sorry to hear the hon. Gentleman characterize the pamphlet issued by the Indian Medical Service in the manner in which he had done. He (Mr. Leamy) refused to believe that a body of men of the high position of those filling positions in the Medical Service of India had issued a pamphlet of that character, or that they would enter into a conspiracy to put forth publications that were grossly unfair, or calculated to impose on the Members of that House who took an interest in their case. The medical men who went out to India were men of

spirit and of ambition, such as the Government would wish to have in its service. It was impossible that their case could have been brought forward in a more clear and temperate manner than it had been by the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had introduced it (Mr. Gibson); and it would be hard if it did not receive the most serious consideration. The hon. Gentleman said that the members of the Service were not told that they might get the administrative appointments in India. Well, the fact that, in former years, they received more of those appointments than they did at present, ought certainly to entitle them to some improvement on the miserable unemployed pay they at present received. He should say that, when such grievances were brought forward there, it was a very hard thing that they would not receive some fairer consideration than such grievances had got at the hands of the hon. Gentleman.

DR. LYONS said, he believed that the statement which had been made by the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) would be received by the Medical Schools of this country with intense regret, and something like dismay. No case had ever been presented to that House with greater ability, or in a manner better adapted to bring it home to every impartial mind, than that contained in the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson); and the unsatisfactory answer which had been given to it by the Under Secretary of State could not fail to have a most injurious effect on the supply of men for the Indian Medical Service. He might remind the House that the country owed a large debt of obligation to that Department in India. Very able men had been drafted from the Medical Service of India into the general Service of that country; and some of the most distinguished servants of the Crown in India had been originally drawn from the Medical Department serving there. He would only cite the name of Dr. Cleghorn, who, at the inception of the Forest Service, had done so much to place that great branch of the Service of the State on the broad and secure basis on which it had now reached such success financially and otherwise. The Memorandum issued last year had been referred to; and, whatever a close and careful examination of that Memorandum might show, it was commonly known to those who became candidates only that they were to get a certain scale of pay on their going out to India; and after preparation, which occupied a considerable number of years, they were brought face to face with the fact that they were practically paid, when they went to India, about one-half, or even less than that, of what they had in all good faith contracted for when they took the position to which they proposed to devote their lives at an unusual degree of risk to their health and the sacrifice too often of their very existence. Knowing, as he did, what were the feelings of those who influenced and directed the class of young men who entered the Indian Medical Service, he said that a blow would at once be struck at the whole class who were in course of active preparation for that Service, that the area of supply would be henceforth restricted, and that they would no longer have the choice of the first intellects that devoted themselves to medicine for the service of the State in India. The higher class of young men who went into that Service were disappointed not only as to pay, but more especially at the condition of hopeless inactivity in which they had to remain two, three, four, five, and six years in India, with no definite employment, hanging on now and again at small temporary duties, but not launched on a career to which they could give their energies when young and fresh. They thus became tired and worn out, and entered on what he looked upon as most unfortunate for young men—namely, the career of grievance-mongering, and they could not help thinking of what they might have done if they had chosen other careers. He held in his hand a letter from one of the most gifted and most distinguished young men who ever entered the Public Service, and who was well known to many hon. Members of that House; and, for himself, he (Dr. Lyons) could only express his most sincere regret that he had ever had anything to do with inducing that young man to enter on a career of that kind, as either at the Bar, or in any other Public Department, he might ere now have commanded a first-class position. He had received a letter from him, in which he stated that the condition in which he was living was one of almost nomadic pauperism. What this

young gentleman complained of most was, that he had no recognized duties to perform. He had not yet advanced on that career on which he had hoped to enter from the first; he was in a position in which he was neither going back nor forward; his energies were being wasted, and his fine intellect and enthusiasm dulled and blunted. The country, in a case like that, was losing the services of a man of the highest abilities, who would be competent to fill the highest position in the Department with high distinction to himself and great advantage to the State, were he placed in a condition to go forward, step by step, in his career. The hon. Gentleman who had spoken on behalf of the Government (Mr. J. K. Cross) had said that the matter would be taken into consideration; but he (Dr. Lyons) complained that for years the question had been under consideration, and nothing had yet come of it. He did not see why there should not be now, as formerly, means of utilizing the services of young men in the prime of life and endowed with high mental gifts in various collateral Departments in India; and he could not but believe that there were many avenues in which their talents might be utilized in an Empire of such magnitude, and where such strides in progress were being made. He regretted that these men had not been dealt with in a more generous spirit, because it did not take a great deal to satisfy them. While they naturally looked to the bettering of their pecuniary position, they were really more anxious to obtain some definite employment, some recognition of duties which they were doing for the State, and which would bring them forward and show the public what manner of men they were, and give them, at the same time, an opportunity which they so much desired of being promoted and winning distinction. He desired also to say a few words as to the senior officers of the Service, whose case was no less deserving of consideration by the House. The diminution in the number of superior administrative offices which had taken place recently arrested promotion in the higher grades, and this, in its turn, re-acted on the position and prospects of the juniors. It was also complained of that officers of longer service and superior claims had to serve under those who were their juniors in the Queen's Service. He trusted that immediate attention would be directed to these pressing questions by the India Office. The only effective remedy for dealing with the Medical Service was that which was applied to the Civil and Military Services—namely, the offer of favourable terms to induce the senior officers to retire, and thus make room for the juniors.

MR. PLUNKET said, he had not heard, in his experience of the House, such a practical unanimity of opinion and feeling, from all quarters of the House, in support of the proposal brought forward by his right hon. and learned Colleague (Mr. Gibson); and although the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) had stated the case from the official point of view with great ability, he was sure the feeling of the House was that a case of great grievance and hardship had been established in regard to the members of the Indian Medical Service, and also as to the almost hopeless condition of their case as regarded promotion. A fallacy, it seemed to him, underlay the arguments of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India, when he compared the Indian Medical Service with the service of medical men in the English Army serving in India. He seemed to forget that, in one case, the officers had gone practically into exile from their own country; and, in the other case, the officers of the English Army took their turns of service in India and also at home. This, he thought, made an important difference. He did not agree with the hon. Member who had just spoken (Dr. Lyons) in two special points. In the first place, he (Mr. Plunket) was willing fully to accept, with the most complete confidence, the undertaking which had been given by the Under Secretary of State for India that he would inquire into this question, with the full intention on his part of doing justice; and he did not agree with the hon. Member for the City of Dublin when he said that, after this debate was over, all further opportunity of discussing the question had passed away. That was not the case. The position which his right hon. and learned Friend took up was this—while he was satisfied with the strong opinion which he had elicited from the House in favour of inquiry, and of remedying the

grievances of those persons whose case he had brought forward; he, at the same time, wished it to be distinctly understood that while he accepted the assurances that had been given on the part of the Government so far as they went, the matter would be carefully watched, and unless something were done in the way of remedying the injustice of the grievances inflicted upon these officers, he should be prepared to bring their case forward again. For the present, therefore, he would be satisfied to allow the Motion to be negatived.

DR. FARQUHARSON said, he wished to express a few words of sympathy with his medical brethren in India. Whatever had resulted from the discussion that evening, he thought it had been made out most emphatically to the satisfaction of the House that there was a very real discontent existing in the Indian Medical Service. As there was no smoke without fire, he believed there was some cause for this dissatisfaction, and there was no doubt that the Service was no longer as popular as it was in former years. He thought, therefore, that it was quite right that extra inducements should be held out to young men to go out, especially as it was quite evident that there had been a good deal of misconception as to the terms upon which men had entered the Service, many of them believing that after a service of two years in India they would be entitled to 400 rupees a-month. That misconception he was, however, glad to see would now be removed. He did not see why the unmeaning term "unemployed pay" should not be abolished. It was something like the old term of non-combatant applied to an Army surgeon, who often risked his life, and lost it, without being entitled to the compensation received by military officers. He thought some general arrangement should be made by which this anomaly would be removed, by which pay might be given for admitted employment on different scales. He also thought that a small but very important grievance, referring to travelling expenses, which the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Leamy) brought under the notice of the House, ought to be remedied. There was no doubt that medical officers would in future know what to expect; but whether the best class of men would be induced to join the Service or not was doubtful. The present discussion would be of great service if it only induced his hon. Friend (Mr. J. K. Cross) to look into the case and try to remove some of the grievances that existed.

MR. HEALY said, that, in his opinion, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had done very good service in calling attention to this matter. He thought that the rancorous reference made by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. J. K. Cross) to the pamphlets that had been issued on this subject might, no doubt, be explained by the tone in which the India Office was referred to in this pamphlet. The hon. Gentleman might think that he had made a very satisfactory statement from the official point of view; but the hon. Member must be aware that there was a large body of hon. Members of all Parties and of the three nationalities who thought that these gentlemen had a hard case, and that it ought to be remedied. He thought it was no answer whatever to say that these medical gentlemen were a very small body of men, and that therefore their claim was not urgent. As to the question of unemployed pay, he strongly approved of the observations of the hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson), suggesting the abolition of the term. He thought it was a stigma on the India Office that a man in the Medical Service of India could go through a whole Afghan campaign, get wounded, or, perhaps, get shot, or that he should have to face death by the bedside of a cholera patient, and yet be told that he was not employed. It was monstrous and absurd; and the Government, if it did not remove the monetary grievance, might, for its own sake, remove this verbal one. He believed that the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) did not intend to go to a Division; but he thought that it would be as well if the House could express its opinion in that way. He scarcely thought these medical gentlemen had been fairly treated; and, therefore, if a Division were taken, he should certainly support the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question," put, and *agreed to*.

Question again proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MERCANTILE MARINE—SHIPPING LEGISLATION.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. MAC IVER, who was precluded by the Rules of the House from moving the following Motion, of which he had given Notice:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the acknowledged failure of the whole of the shipping legislation of the last thirteen years, and the withdrawal of the Merchant Shipping Bill of this Session, in consequence of its having failed to obtain the support of any section of the seafaring or shipowning community, is evidence more than sufficient to justify the appointment of a Royal Commission, with powers to inquire both into the state of the Laws relating to shipping and also into the administration of those Laws by the Board of Trade; but that such inquiry should be of an independent character, and that the nomination of the Commissioners should be subject to the approval of Parliament,"

said, he wished to call attention to the subjects mentioned in the Resolution. In the first place, he could not make a greater protest against the shipping legislation of the last 13 years than that made by the Board of Trade itself—legislation which he had protested against not only in the present, but in the late Parliament. He did not even wish to put the case as strongly as Sir Thomas Farrer, because he thought that gentleman had probably unintentionally exaggerated the case against his own Department. Sir Thomas Farrer, in the Memorandum published last November, spoke of the legislation of the Board of Trade as an absolute and complete failure; and with that opinion he (Mr. Mac Iver) fully agreed; for there could be no doubt that the present shipping legislation was in a most unsatisfactory state. But he wished especially to distinguish between the Board of Trade legislation, and between some of the work done by the Board of Trade officers during the last 13 years, which he thought had had its good, as well as its bad, points. He had seen a great deal of the work of the officers of the Board, especially at Liverpool; but also elsewhere, and had uniformly found that those men could be trusted. In Liverpool the shipowners and others had been most fortunate in the Board's officers. He believed the Board's officers at other places deserved the same thing to be said about them. They had to perform their duties under very great difficulties, and the want of success which occurred was due to the legislation of the last 13 years. The reason that legislation was not merely a failure, but owing to the state of the laws was much worse than a failure, was because it was endeavouring to remedy that which was not a disease. In the proposals which were circulated by the Board of Trade last November, Sir Thomas Farrer said—

"Bill after Bill has been passed till the multiplicity of statutes, which were consolidated in one Act of 1854, has again become a scandal and reproach."

No one who knew the facts of the case could find any fault with that statement. There were no fewer than 103 Acts upon the Statute Book at the present moment relating to Merchant Shipping—many of which, no doubt, were practically obsolete, and the result of the whole was mischievous. There were 538 clauses which imposed penalties of various kinds upon shipowners; and yet they had the statement published in official records that there was serious loss of life at sea which was preventible. While the law was wholly mischievous, he could not altogether agree with Sir Thomas Farrer's remarks about the absolute failure of the system. He believed the Board of Trade had done all they could by mischievous legislation, however unintentionally, in the last 13 years to prevent any reform in the Shipping Laws; but the common sense of the officers of the Board had lessened its evil effect. A remarkable Return had lately been furnished to the House on the Motion of the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. C. M. Palmer)—a Return of the loss of life at sea during the last six years ending the 31st December, 1883, and in that Return coasting vessels were not included. The result was, that during these six years, when 12,288 persons lost their lives at sea only seven steamers were lost which were under Board of Trade inspection. Nothing, he contended, would prevent loss of life at sea, except a proper system of inspection. The legislation which had failed had been based upon a completely erroneous idea—the idea that vessels were, for some reason or other, sent to sea to be lost. On that basis, they had had the whole of the shipping legislation since 1871, and the shipping class had been treated

as if they were *quasi*-criminals, a course of proceeding which he objected to. It was not a fact that shipowners, as a class, wished their vessels to go other than safe; and the evil of which complaint might readily be made was the evil of ignorance, not the evil of deliberate intention to do wrong. To send a vessel to sea to be lost was just as bad as murdering a man to get money to which he was entitled; but, if that was done, the ordinary law in both cases was strong enough to deal with the offences. The plain truth was, that, in 99 cases out of 100, vessels were lost either by the unavoidable circumstances of dangerous navigation, or in consequence of errors of judgment on the part of those in charge. He was in favour of a proper system of inspection; but anything like a universal system of surveillance must break down, and weaken the surveillance which already existed. The time to survey a ship was not when she was on the point of sailing, but when there was some opportunity of knowing what was her condition. He was strongly opposed to the appointment of an army of surveyors; and what he should recommend was that, as far as practicable, in lieu of the harassing and uncertain system of inspection that now prevailed, shipowners should be induced to place their ships under the supervision of competent registered societies, such as Lloyd's, and that the laws should be such as to strengthen the power of these societies, and make them carry out the principle of inspection in a way that would be satisfactory to those who really understood the question. He had been in communication with sailors in all parts of the country, and he desired to refer to letters which he had received from two men who seemed to be representative men. One was the Chairman of the North of England Seamen's Protection Society, and the other was the Chairman of the London Seamen's Protection Society. The representation of these, and others competent to speak, showed that the sailor's first complaint was want of employment. He complained that he was robbed of his employment by the unfair competition of foreigners, and by the unfair competition of people who were not sailors at all. The next complaint of the sailors was, that there was not a good system of inspection. If the Board of Trade had done what the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) suggested, the law would have been in a much better position than it was to-day; but the Board of Trade had only partially adopted the suggestion. The Board of Trade ought to exercise greater care for the interest of sailors than it exercised at present. British seamen acquired a bad character which they did not deserve, in consequence of the employment of incompetent hands. What was the legislation which seamen would wish? They would desire legislation regulating the number of men to each ship, the kind of work they had to do, the load-line, and the construction of harbours of refuge. Much of the loss of life at sea was occasioned by the want of suitable harbours of refuge. Both officers and shipowners complained that there was so much legislation with regard to shipping that they did not know where they were. What was the position of the shipmaster when he made a mistake? Under the existing system, if, by a mere error of judgment, he gave, at the wrong moment, an order to port, when he ought to have starboarded, he might have his certificate suspended for three or six months, and then what happened? He might get his certificate returned at the end of the time; but, in the meantime, he was thrown out of employment, and he had been, probably, subjected to examination in a police court, under degrading circumstances. That was a very real grievance against the existing state of the law. He did not complain of proper punishment being meted out to men who deserved it; but he contended that, if a man was unfit to hold a certificate, it ought not to be suspended—it ought to be taken away from him. During the last six years the total loss of life at sea had been 12,288. About two-thirds of that loss had occurred in sailing vessels upon our coasts, and one-third in steam vessels. He wished to argue from that, that the very great proportion of loss of life at sea was due to the want of proper harbours of refuge, which were really necessary to save life. The loss of life last year in steamers was 840; while that in sailing vessels was 1,386; and he contended that a great many of those lives would have been saved if the vessels had been able to reach harbours of refuge on the coasts. He thought he had said all that

was necessary to make it perfectly clear not only that the legislation of the last 13 years had hopelessly failed, but also why it had failed. He believed the interests of the seamen, the shipmasters, the officers, and their employers were very much in accord; and though the most misery, no doubt, accrued to the families of those whose lives were lost, yet it was a fact that shipowners were as much interested as shipmasters and seamen, and that they were equally anxious to do all that was possible to be done to prevent loss of life. With regard to the inquiry referred to in the latter part of his Motion, he would say that, in his view, the inquiry should be of an independent character, that the persons placed upon it should be men of impartial and unbiassed mind, and the nomination of the Commission should be subject to the ratification of Parliament. He would admit the difficulty the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade must have in the appointment of right men on the Commission; but what he would urge was, that neither seamen, nor shipowners, nor the public would be satisfied unless the inquiry was a real one, with a proper and a wide reference, and conducted by those in whom the public very properly could have confidence, and he was sure the President of the Board of Trade would wish it to be of that character. He would point out those who should not be on the Commission, as they would, if they were, be judges of their own cause. He wished to speak with all respect of Sir Thomas Farrer, who, no doubt, had done his duty according to his lights; but as the Merchant Shipping legislation of the last 30 years had been, in great part, due to his exertions, he did not think that gentleman ought to be placed on the Commission. Then, with regard to Mr. Rothery, the Wreck Commissioner, from whom he had never received anything but personal kindness, he did not think he should be on the Commission. Coming to another name, that of the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed), he had every appreciation of him; but there were many shipowners who would not be satisfied with him as a Member of the Commission. There were many persons who thought that hon. Gentleman was not a perfectly disinterested individual in regard to this matter. Then there was the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire, who had been the junior Member for Liverpool in the last Parliament (Mr. Rathbone); he ought not to be one of the judges, for this reason—from his (Mr. Mac Iver's) own personal knowledge, he had long maintained cordial relations with Sir Thomas Farrer and Sir Charles Adderley, and, consequently, he was indirectly responsible for the legislation which had taken place. He would likewise mention another gentleman, Mr. Thomas Hughes Jackson, the present Chairman of the Liverpool Shipowners' Association, who ought in no circumstances whatever to be on the Commission. There were few persons more popular in Liverpool than he; but his interests were not those of shipowners generally, as his firm were the principal partners in a Company which owned Spanish steamers, and his business was to run steamers under the Spanish flag with crews consisting of Spaniards. He (Mr. Mac Iver) had now said all he wished to say, and he hoped he had not spoken with any want of personal respect of any of those gentlemen. He had spoken of those he thought ought not to be on the Commission. What he had said of Mr. Jackson applied to him only on account of the Spanish objection. Speaking on behalf of his own constituents, he should be glad to see upon the Commission any gentleman of acknowledged position whom they believed to be impartial and independent; but the fear they had was that those whose shortcomings ought to be inquired into might themselves be appointed; and for that reason, therefore, they held that the Commissioners should not be judges of their own case.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that from the appearance of the House there was no great interest taken in the subject brought forward for its notice; and, therefore, he was not called upon to make any lengthened reply to the somewhat discursive remarks that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver). Moreover, he failed to see any connection between the speech and the Resolution of the hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Chamberlain) objected to the Resolution as it stood upon the Paper; because, in the first place, it was ungrammatical, and was hardly common sense; and, still more, it was entirely superfluous, for the facts contained in it were inaccurately stated,

What he could deny was that the shipping legislation of the last 13 years had absolutely failed. On the contrary, that was not the case. He admitted that there were defects in that legislation; and it was in consequence of those defects that he ventured to submit his Merchant Shipping Bill to the House during the present Session; but that was very far from an admission that the whole shipping legislation had absolutely failed. In his opinion, in the first place, the inquiries which had been instituted under Mr. Rothery's presidency in the Wreck Court, and also in the local Courts, had thrown a flood of light on this subject that was of the utmost value; and although, unfortunately, the loss of life was still very great, and beyond what it ought to be, yet it would have been much greater but for the efforts of the Board of Trade, and especially of the surveyors, who had so often detained ships until changes were made before they were allowed to go to sea. He knew that 800 ships had been thus detained; and in almost every case they had either not been allowed to go to sea at all, or had only been allowed to go to sea after they were altered to meet the rules required by the Board of Trade. Then the hon. Member went on to urge the abandonment of the Merchant Shipping Bill, in consequence of its not having obtained the support of any members of the shipowning community, of the shipmasters, or of the sailors. For his own part, he (Mr. Chamberlain) denied that the hon. Member was entitled, in any sense, to speak in that way. He could say he had not found any single seaman, shipowner, or shipmaster who agreed with the hon. Member in the views he expressed on the subject; and he would probably be as entirely mistaken in saying that no section of these communities were in favour of the original Bill. On a former occasion, he (Mr. Chamberlain) had shown that several shipowners and seamen were strongly in favour of the principle of the Bill, with the Amendments he had proposed to introduce; but he had no information that a large number of respectable shipowners desired that the Bill should not be proceeded with on the lines of the Amendments that were proposed. Coming to the shipmasters, he might say that he had received a resolution from a most independent body of shipmasters of Hull urging that the Bill should be pressed to a Division, and sent to a Grand Committee. With regard to the sailors, they were seldom at home, and they did not know how to make their opinions felt and known. He had been unable to find any persons in that rank of life who were justified in claiming to represent the opinions of the seafaring population; but he had seen numerous letters from individual sailors, and from many of them he had received a hearty "God speed!" and a hope that he would be successful in his legislation. The Government, he might say, had no intention of appointing such a Commission as that which was suggested by the hon. Member. As to the administration of the Board of Trade, he had been good enough to accuse the permanent officials for all the legislation which had been enacted. Nothing could be more unfair, for, after all, a good deal of the legislation, of which he (Mr. Chamberlain) complained quite as strongly as the hon. Member, had been forced on the House and the Board of Trade, and was not legislation of a character to which they gave a deliberate and full assent. The officials of the Board and the Parliamentary Chiefs of that Board pointed out, when the principal part of this legislation was before the House, some of the difficulties which had subsequently arisen. The hon. Member said that the theory of the Board of Trade had always been that the loss of ships was a crime, and that their object had been to penalize the shipowners. That was absolutely the reverse of the fact, and the legislation presented to the House was based upon the opposite principles. It was based on the belief that, in the great majority of cases, these casualties were due, not to wilful criminality on the part of shipowners—such an idea would be too horrible to entertain for a moment—but were due to ignorance, and sometimes, also, to negligence. It was the object of the Board of Trade, and equally the object he had in view, to make it the general interest of shipowners that their enterprizes should be conducted in the best possible way; and he believed that, when that was done, they would have cut at the root of this great loss of life. He never claimed, and never thought it was desirable to strengthen or increase the powers of punishment already possessed by law, and which he considered

were quite sufficient to deal with these extremely rare and exceptional cases in which there might be wilful intention on the part of individual shipowners to cast the ship away. The hon. Member went on to say that the reform of the Board of Trade was necessary; but he did not point out in what respect he desired it to be reformed. He further said that the Board should substitute a survey by registered societies; but he (Mr. Chamberlain) had to point out that these societies were only societies beyond the entire regulation, supervision, and control of the public. Accordingly, he considered that the Board of Trade was the best authority for dealing with these shipping matters. Reference had also been made by the hon. Member to harbours of refuge; but that, to his mind, opened a very large question. It would be entering into a business which the Board of Trade could not undertake; one which would involve the expenditure of many millions of money; and it would be hardly possible to do so without knowing what the result would be. Indeed, for harbours of refuge to be really of any use, they must certainly be placed on the spots where danger was likely to arise; and, in that case, it would be necessary that they should be erected at almost every 10 miles of the coast. Even then they might not be found sufficient for every purpose, and they might be found of very little use in limiting or reducing the terrible loss of life that sometimes occurred. The wreck of the *Royal Charter*, which involved the loss of hundreds of lives, for instance, took place within a very few miles of the great harbour of Holyhead. He came now to the conclusion of the hon. Member's Resolution, as to the nomination of this Commission; and as regarded the hon. Member's remarks upon that point of the case, in which he desired to know something of its nature, and had been good enough to give some advice as to who should and who should not be appointed, he must say he would have valued the hon. Member's observations the more if the hon. Gentleman had not insinuated that there was an intention on the part of the Government to appoint an unfair Commission, for the purpose of whitewashing what he was pleased to call the incriminated Department. He would point out to the hon. Member that there were two classes—there were two interests which would come under inquiry—the Board of Trade, whose administration had been severely criticized, and the shipowners, whose practice with regard to the management of their ships and insurance had also been the subject of complaint; and it would be necessary that the Commission should be one which would hold the balance as between the parties, and might be relied upon to make an exhaustive and impartial inquiry into both sides of the question. If the hon. Member's view were carried out, it would be impossible to put a shipowner on the Commission. That would be a mistake; but it ought not to consist entirely or mainly of shipowners. All that was necessary was that the majority of the Commission should consist of thoroughly well-instructed and impartial persons, whose opinion and report upon the facts presented to them would command the confidence of the public. If the hon. Member wished to know what sort of a Commission would be appointed, he would refer him to the Unseaworthy Ships Commission, appointed some years ago, and over which the Duke of Somerset presided, regarding which he had not heard any charge of partiality made. Accordingly, he hoped he would find Gentlemen as able and as well qualified as them. It was a matter of great difficulty and complexity; but the communications were still going on, and while he would be delighted to lay the names of the Commission before the House, he must say that, owing to the considerable correspondence which he had received, he might be unable to complete the list before Parliament was prorogued. He, therefore, found it impossible to give any pledge on the subject. In conclusion, he would say that he hoped he had sufficiently answered all the points that had been raised by the hon. Member.

IRELAND—LIMERICK CITY (EXTRA POLICE TAX).

OBSERVATIONS.

MR. PARNELL, who had the following Notice upon the Paper:—To call attention to the quartering during the past three years of an extra Police Force in the City of Limerick; to the attempt

of the Government to impose an oppressive tax upon the citizens of Limerick for the maintenance of such extra Force; and to the proclamation of the City by the Lord Lieutenant under the authority of the Crime Prevention Act; and to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient, considering the peaceful and Law-abiding condition of the city as proved by Judicial and other official evidence, that the police force quartered there be immediately reduced to the strength of the ordinary free force; that the claim of the Government against the Corporation for the maintenance of the extra force being a claim for expenses illegally incurred, and persisted in against the will and in defiance of the protests of the Corporation, duly acting within its legal powers, should be abandoned; and that, as there is nothing questionable or exceptional in the condition of the city, it is for the public interest that the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation be revoked,"

said: I have placed a Resolution on the Paper of the House with reference to the quartering of an extra Police Force in the City of Limerick, and the imposition of a very heavy tax upon the people. Now, a sum of £2,200 has been imposed on the citizens to defray the charge of the force; but under the Rules of the House, a Division having been taken upon one of the previous Amendments, I shall not be able to have a Division upon the question. I therefore propose to call attention to the matter, with the hope that the ventilation and light thrown upon it by the discussion may induce the House to relieve the unfortunate people of Limerick from the payment of this very heavy, cruel, and uncalled-for exaction. For a long series of years, the ordinary free force of 80 men had been found amply sufficient to preserve the peace in the City of Limerick; and this was during a period when considerable disturbances had taken place in other parts of Ireland, and extra police were quartered in those parts, and excused upon the ground of the unusually disturbed state of these localities. Even during all this time, it was not found necessary to increase the police force of Limerick; and the free force of 80 men was found to be amply sufficient, when the population was actually larger than it is at the present moment. This state of affairs lasted up till the midsummer of 1881; but, perhaps, before I go any further, I had better give an example of the extremely peaceable condition of the City and the great freedom from crime which the City enjoys. The statistics for the years 1880 and 1881, the two years immediately preceding the sending of these extra police, and also the two years when the Land League agitation was at its height, and when it might be expected that any reflex action would have shown itself and rendered necessary an increased force of extra police, are as follows:—On the first Quarter Sessions in the month of January there was only one criminal case; and the Chairman said that there was only one case to go before the Grand Jury, a state of affairs highly creditable to the City. At the next Quarter Sessions, the Chairman again commented on the character of the cases, and said that the labours of the Grand Jury would be extremely light, there being only two bills to go before them. At the Midsummer Quarter Sessions, the Chairman said that there were only eight bills to go before the Grand Jury, none of which required any observations from him. The calendar was much below the average, and only a few unimportant cases were to go for trial. I have now dealt with the Sessions. Now with regard to the Assizes. At the Spring Assizes of 1880, Mr. Justice Fitzgerald said that, only for some trivial cases, he would be entitled to a pair of white gloves for a maiden Assize. At the Summer Assizes Mr. Justice Lawson stated that the City was in its normal condition, and that there were only three cases to go for trial. Again, in the Quarter Sessions, 1881, there were only five criminal cases for trial; in the April Sessions there were only two cases; at the June Sessions there were only six trivial cases; and at the October Sessions there were only six similar cases. Mr. Justice Fitzgerald also commented on the lightness of the calendar as regarded the Assizes. At the Summer Assizes Mr. Justice Lawson said that there were only five cases to go before the Grand Jury of the ordinary petty kind. At the previous Assizes in 1880 and 1881 the cases were usually of a very trivial kind, and it was a matter of frequent occurrence that there should be no prisoners at all. Now, Sir, I have quoted these statistics to show that, in these two years 1880 and 1881, when there was considerable excitement and a good deal of agrarian crime throughout many parts of Ireland, which period

has been always quoted by Ministers as one in which agrarian and political excitement had been more prevalent than for a very long interval before in that country, in the City of Limerick, according to the testimony of Judges Lawson and Fitzgerald, who presided at the Assizes, there was an almost entire absence of any crime whatever. It was only upon one occasion, when some soldiers entered the town and grossly insulted the faith and nationality of the citizens, that there was a disturbance, and several persons were assaulted upon the railway platform. This occurrence would not have had any serious result were it not for the reckless and unnecessary measures adopted for quelling the disturbances. After that had passed over, the city resumed its normal state of quietness until 1882, when Limerick experienced the misfortune of having that notorious and zealous gentleman, Mr. Clifford Lloyd, imported into their district as District Resident Magistrate. Then followed what I may and will fitly describe as a reign of white terror, under the *régime* of Mr. Clifford Lloyd and those persons by whom he was surrounded, and it continued all the while he was there. His residence was surrounded by police, his office was guarded by police, and he was accompanied everywhere by constables; and even that estimable and popular stipendiary magistrate, Mr. Felix M'Carthy, was forced, very much against his will and constant protest, to have a guard of police following him about day and night. The police were doubled in number in all the streets and at all the corners. Mr. Clifford Lloyd had police at his garden parties, and even the lady members of his family were escorted by Constabulary. No possible excuse was lost, in fact, for the presence of additional constables in the City. When the Crimes Act of 1882 was passed, Mr. Clifford Lloyd induced the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim the City under the provisions of that Act. I believe it was for the first time, after the passage of this Act, that the municipal authorities could legally impose the cost of the extra police. I believe it was under the Act of William IV. that the City was proclaimed, two months anterior to the passage of the Crimes Act. Now, I wish to point out to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) that it is a strange coincidence that the period when it was alleged that a necessity had arisen for the proclamation of the City, and when the maintenance of these extra police was forced upon the people, arose at a period which coincided exactly with the coming of Mr. Clifford Lloyd into the City. Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Clifford Lloyd may have believed his life was in danger, and he may have thought it really necessary to be constantly attended by 30 or 40 armed policemen; but I submit that the justification for that attendance of armed policemen does not also justify the imposition of the tax upon the citizens of Limerick, for they had nothing to do with the agrarian disturbances of the other counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, Tipperary, or Galway, over which Mr. Clifford Lloyd's jurisdiction extended. In my opinion, the Act of William IV. was used for a purpose which it was never intended, as it was never alleged that Mr. Clifford Lloyd feared any danger to his life, or the property of the citizens of Limerick; but he, in fact, protected himself from the enmity of persons in the surrounding counties. Extra police were not required to preserve the peace of the City of Limerick, but for the purpose of preserving Mr. Clifford Lloyd, when he made it his headquarters for the sake of enjoying society, &c. I will not say that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had designedly any hand in keeping alive this excitement in the year 1882; but it is a remarkable fact that, after his departure, all the feverishness and excitement and reports of outrages and attempts upon lives disappeared also, especially from the English newspapers. The citizens of Limerick, therefore, believed that they were justly entitled to be relieved from the burden of taxation which they were paying for police not required. It is true that, in towns in England, the charge for police is much higher that in Ireland; but in both England and Scotland the municipal authorities provide, as well as pay, for their local police, and they control that force. In Ireland, however, the local authorities have no control whatever over their police. I am anxious to hear what reasons the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will assign for this charge upon a City which is wholly unnecessary, and shall not therefore further occupy the attention of the House. I hope, however,

Parliament will remove, if possible, so unfair a burden from this peaceable and industrious City.

MR. DAWSON said, that if his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had been able to have moved the Resolution of which he had given Notice, he (Mr. Dawson) would have had great pleasure in seconding it, for he looked upon the imposition of the tax referred to in it as most iniquitous and unjust. According to law, the protection of an extra police force could not be obtained until the City was proclaimed, or unless such protection was asked for by the magistrates. Now, of the total amount claimed, £600 odd was levied for a period prior to the proclamation of the City, and when the magistrates had not asked for extra police. For that sum, at all events, the demand was clearly illegal. Again, how could they assess for 1884 the tax struck for 1882, the ratepayers not being the same? He contended that if the Corporation failed within the first six months to levy the first assessment, the Government was bound to take any action that might be necessary to levy it; and that when they did not do so in 1882 or 1883, they could not enforce it at all. In 1882, the peace and order of Limerick were testified to by the Chairman of Quarter Sessions and the Judge of Assize. He (Mr. Dawson) himself was in Limerick, and found it at every corner studded with police. When one walked into the peaceful City, one was really amazed to know what was the reason of its being under arms. When he was there a horse fell, and the driver was thrown out of the vehicle. The guardians of the peace turned their backs on the accident, and went inside the barracks, leaving horse and man to be attended to by civilians. He (Mr. Dawson) went to the barracks and inquired of the police if they understood their duties; but he got short courtesy, till he told them he would bring their conduct under the notice of the authorities. They seemed to think their duty was to protect Mr. Clifford Lloyd and make a demonstration of a terrorizing character in his favour, not in any way to assist in maintaining the civil peace and order. Then, in 1883, they had again the testimony of the Judges of Assize and Chairman of Quarter Sessions as to the peace of the City. In this year, at the January Quarter Sessions, there were only three small cases for trial; and the March calendar included only five trifling cases. At the April Sessions there was only a single case, in which a police constable pleaded guilty to larceny; and in July the Chairman was presented with a pair of white gloves. Would it be believed by the Prime Minister that, notwithstanding these facts, extra police were still imposed on the City, and that it was still burthened with extra taxation? Though Mr. Clifford Lloyd had carried his irritating policy to another atmosphere, still an extra tax was imposed on this peaceful City. He would ask the House to put the statements of the highest judicial officers against any trifling reason that might be given for the retention of this cruel tax. He thought that unless they heard something startlingly new there was a strong case for the intended Resolution of his hon. Friend.

MR. SYNAN said, that, being more or less personally connected with the City of Limerick, within a few miles of which he lived, he could bear testimony to the truth of what his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) had said as to the peaceable condition of the City during the periods to which he had referred. There were three periods to which his hon. Friend had called particular attention—one was the military riot in 1881; another was the visit of Mr. Clifford Lloyd in 1882; and the third was the period since the City returned to its normal condition in 1883 and 1884. The House could scarcely believe that, at that moment, extra police were kept in Limerick; and that, at the Assizes, which expired a few days ago, a compulsory presentment of £400 was levied on the City, besides a compulsory presentment of £400 made at the Spring Assizes. Why should that be, when the City was in its normal condition, and when every citizen, and all those living within a few miles distance, could give personal testimony to that fact? He asked the House and the country why should the military riot of 1881 be the cause of levying a compulsory contribution upon the citizens? A few weeks ago there was a military riot in Lichfield, in England. Was there any allegation there that there should be an extra police or military force imposed upon the citizens of Lichfield? On the occasion of the military riot at Limerick in 1881, the citi-

zens asked for an inquiry from the Government; and if that inquiry had been given, it would have been proved conclusively that there was no necessity whatever for an extra police force. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would remember that, besides this extra police force, the City of Limerick was now paying £1,500 a-year for a night watch to keep order in its streets. Those extra contributions came like the last straw on the camel's back, to break and to reduce to bankruptcy a great portion of the citizens. Barring the military riot of 1881, the judicial statistics of 1880 and 1881 conclusively proved that the City was in a normal state of tranquillity. When Mr. Clifford Lloyd came the state of the City was normal. Mr. Clifford Lloyd made the City his head-quarters for four counties, and he had his police force organized in Limerick for the purposes of the whole district. Why the citizens of Limerick should bear the expense of that force he (Mr. Synan) was totally at a loss to comprehend. The people of Limerick, who did not want any protection—and, in fact, protested against it—were compelled by Mr. Clifford Lloyd to accept protection. The citizens of Limerick were very badly able to pay this extraordinary levy of £2,200. If the Chief Secretary for Ireland knew as much about the matter as he (Mr. Synan) did, the right hon. Gentleman would press upon the Prime Minister the necessity of conciliating the goodwill of the citizens of Limerick by relieving them of this burden altogether, or at least from a great portion of it. Of this sum of £2,200, £291 was levied by compulsory presentment before 1881, and £481 from 30th March to 30th May, 1882, when the City was proclaimed under the Crimes Act. The sum levied by compulsory presentment since the proclamation of the City was £689, a compulsory presentment of £400 was made at last Spring Assizes, and another of a like amount at the present Assizes. Would the Chief Secretary show any justification for these levies whatsoever? The Lord Lieutenant went to Limerick last year for the agricultural show, and surely he could bear testimony to the tranquillity of the City. When he was there, there was no necessity whatsoever for an extraordinary police force; but Mr. Clifford Lloyd filled the City with police, and lined the railway with police for a distance of 12 miles. Mr. Clifford Lloyd made the Lord Lieutenant believe that that force was necessary; and he was afraid the Lord Lieutenant was abused by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, who made use of his position for the purpose of raising himself in the opinion of the Government, and enabling him to take a higher position in Egypt, which he was not able long to retain. Would the evidence of Mr. Clifford Lloyd be relied on as against the evidence of those who lived in Limerick or its vicinity? The citizens were hardly able to pay their ordinary rates, and it was cruelty to make this extraordinary levy of £2,200. How were the Government to levy this sum? The Corporation refused to make the levy. It had no physical body; and they could not attach the Corporation; and surely the Government did not mean to attach the members of the Corporation or the citizens, for not paying a tax which they said they had no right to pay. He appealed to the Government to consider this case upon its equitable grounds, and win the goodwill of the 40,000 citizens of Limerick by giving up, if necessary, the whole of their demand. He would wish to see the Limerick Corporation compromise with the Government by giving up their own force, and allowing the special force to be put in its place under the control of the Corporation. The Corporation would not lose anything by this arrangement, and the peace of their City would be better kept at night than under the present antiquated system. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to hold out the olive branch to these 40,000 citizens. Let him tell the House that he had determined to abandon a portion, if not the whole, of this unjust exaction. At any rate, he hoped the Government would not make the people of Limerick pay for Mr. Clifford Lloyd's despotism.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), in the historical account he gave of the transaction he took so much exception to, was quite accurate as to his dates, so far as he (Mr. Trevelyan) could follow them, and had been as brief as, under the circumstances, was possible. He would endeavour to follow the hon. Member in that respect, though he might, perhaps, put a different complexion upon

the same transactions. The matter was divided by few steps. The hon. Member for the City of Cork stated that long before—certainly for 12 years before—1882 the peace of Limerick was safeguarded by a free force of 80 men. Where, however, he wished to join issue with the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was with regard to the more recent part of his historical narrative. He could not agree with the hon. Member in thinking that that movement, which he described as "a formidable movement, accompanied by a considerable amount of turbulence and crime," did not extend to the City of Limerick. The City of Limerick was in a very serious state during the height of that agitation in Ireland—in a state which he was glad to say was very different from what it was in at the present moment. On the 30th May, 1882—the hon. Member was quite correct in saying so—the force of 80 men was increased by 50 extra men, not under the Crimes Act, as was supposed, but under the 13th section of the 6 *Will.* IV. c. 13, which permitted the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim a city in a state of disturbance, and to introduce extra police, a moiety of the cost of which should be paid by the community. What was the state of Limerick before the introduction of these men? There was a series of riots, very serious several of them; but all of them sufficiently serious as showing that there was a bad spirit among the rough portion of the population, specially directed against the police, and of a character and extent and bitterness which rendered the force of 80 men not sufficient to preserve the peace of the City, and, above all, not sufficient to preserve their own safety and the safety of those who were concerned in the maintenance of order. There were several occurrences in Limerick which showed that there was a sympathy there with the violent state of feeling in agricultural matters, which was the great cause of the disordered state of Ireland at that period. On the 23rd of June, 1881, as the police were escorting sheriffs and bailiffs they were attacked and stoned by a large mob, and with great difficulty reached their destination. That showed, as he had said, that there was a great deal of sympathy in a certain part of the population of that town with that violent state of feeling on agrarian matters then prevalent. On the 2nd of July a subconstable was attacked and stoned by the mob while arresting a man. On the 3rd of July two policemen in Nelson Street were attacked with stones. On the 4th of September there was a very serious riot indeed, which undoubtedly ended in an attack upon the police of a most dangerous and ominous nature, ending in the police being attacked and stoned from all sides and brought into a situation of very great danger. On the 16th of October there was another very serious riot, not unconnected with recent political events; on the 6th of November there was stone-throwing; and on the 13th of January the police were attacked while escorting Land League prisoners, the stone-throwing being so severe that nothing but the rapid movement of the cars prevented a serious calamity. In the same month there was a case of larceny of an immense quantity of dynamite, and an attempt to blow up the police quarters. On the 10th and 23rd of April serious riots had taken place; and on the 20th of May three policemen had been attacked by a furious mob. In consequence of these occurrences, in May, 1882, 50 extra police were introduced into the City, and there they stayed for a year and a fortnight. All this time negotiations, the nature of which it was unnecessary to describe minutely, were going on between the magistrates and the Town Council on the one hand, and the Irish Government on the other, the object of the local authorities being to represent the police force as unnecessary, and asking it to be removed, and the Irish Government maintaining the opposite opinion. On the 12th of June, 1883, the first modification of the situation had taken place, and the extra police had been reduced to 20 men. Things had still further improved, and on the 22nd of August the Government came to the conclusion to reduce the extra force to 10 men, at which it stood at present, the cost of these 10 men being to the City £344 a-year, or about $\frac{3}{4}d.$ in the pound on the valuation of Limerick. That was an extremely small sum for so considerable a city to pay. The hon. Member for the City of Cork was unwilling that he (Mr. Trevelyan) should quote the case of English cities; but one of the first he had before him was Northampton, where the local rates paid £2,846 every year for police

—that was to say, a sum exceeding by £500 the total of those arrears that were now owed by Limerick. The state of things in Limerick, at present, was that there was a debt of £2,376, or thereabouts; that the town paid £344 a-year by way of extra police; and that it likewise paid £1,500 a-year for a force of 23 or 24 night watchmen, who preserved the peace of the streets, the situation being, he must say in passing, that the opinion of the Irish Government was that this force, which the citizens of Limerick paid £1,500 a-year for, did not contribute in any material degree to the peace of the City. ["Oh, oh!"] That it did so was only the opinion of the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Synan). It might be that its construction was more agreeable to the civic authorities of Limerick; but as efficient guardians of the peace, he did not think these watchmen stood very high, and one of the propositions which had been made by the Irish Government to the local authorities of Limerick included the reduction and gradual extinction of this force. Whatever might be the final arrangement between the Irish Government and the Limerick civic authorities, everything he had read in the matter lead him to think that there was no surer way of relieving the citizens of Limerick from their burden than the extinction of this antiquated and very useless force. He now came to the arrears, of which a sum of over £2,300 still remained to be paid. Into the legality or illegality of that charge he could not enter in that House. The question had been tried before the Queen's Bench, and the Queen's Bench had found that the Government had a right to this money. On an application to the Judge of Assize, the Judge had held that there was no course but a fiat to compel the Town Council to levy the money. It had then become the legal duty of the Town Council to strike a rate for the purpose, and a *mandamus* had finally been granted to compel them to do so. If there was any sum of money that, according to the laws of this country, was justly due—he was not speaking of any question of moral or administrative right or wrong—it was this sum that was justly due by the City of Limerick for extra police. Not only was it due, but the Government had it not in their power to excuse it. There was no method by which it could be paid, except the statutory method—payment by the citizens of Limerick. This £2,300 was the arrears of several years, and he had said that, if divided over those years, it would have come to only £800 or £900 a-year. It was not, he would repeat, in the power of the Government to excuse the payment of it. If the Government were to excuse this sum, because the local authorities objected to pay it, there would then be an end to all regular government in Ireland. ["No, no!"] Why, it was a clear case of refusing to pay taxes, legally imposed, after as fair an appeal to the Courts of Law as was possible. It was impossible that the Government could remit the sum. But there was one thing which the Government were prepared to do, now that things had returned to their normal state in Ireland. The Government were extremely anxious to act in accordance with the opinions of responsible Corporations and responsible Representative Bodies, where those Bodies existed. If the Corporation of Limerick were seriously of opinion that 80 men of the old free force were sufficient to do the duty of their City, the Government would try to make arrangements to make these 80 men do the duty. But it must be understood, and to this he requested the attention of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, that if it should be proved that these men, who did the duty of the City up to the troubled times, were not sufficient now, not only by the existence of crimes of a very grave description, but by serious riots, and especially by riots directed against the authority of the police, then the Lord Lieutenant would be perfectly justified in resorting, not necessarily to the Crimes Act, but to Section 13 of the Act of William IV., and of proclaiming the City as being in a state of disturbance. But if, however, the local authorities were prepared to say that the City was not now in a state of disturbance, and that—they caring, as they were presumed to care, for the peace and honour of the City—the duty could be henceforth done by the force which did it formerly, the Lord Lieutenant would seriously consider whether he should not revert to the old state of things. As to the arrears of the past, he was sorry to say he could hold out no hope whatever. The hon. Member for Limerick had

asked him how they were to be exacted. Well, he would say, in reply, that was their business. They certainly intended to get in the just debts of the Government, and not to give a terrible example to the rest of Ireland; but, at the same time, in the matter of keeping the peace of a City like Limerick, they were anxious to act with and not against the local authorities, who, he firmly believed, were as anxious as men could be for the peace of a great City.

Mr. SEXTON said, that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Trevelyan) had argued the question in a narrow, dry, and unsympathetic spirit, and more in the spirit of a lawyer than of a statesman. He had evaded the essential point of difference between English and Irish cities in regard of the police force. The night watch of the City of Limerick, which the right hon. Gentleman had ridiculed, had, in recent years, been greatly improved in efficiency by the care of the Corporation; the peace of the City did not suffer by their guardianship; and if the Corporation of Limerick were given what the people of Northampton had—the charge of their own police—poor as they were, they would be found not unwilling to defray its cost, rather than submit to the humiliation and outrage of being governed by a police force over which they had no control. But, as it was, Limerick was the city selected by the Government for the Pasha, who had disgraced himself in Egypt, to play his pranks. The Government wished to impose a tax of 1*s.* in the pound on a struggling community, which already paid annually for local taxes more than 10*s.* in the pound. The line which separated the artizan, the labourer, and even the small shopkeeper from the condition of the pauper, was very thin in the City of Limerick; and what the Government desired to do was to drive those people over that line. By their experiments during the last three years, the Government had increased and intensified the poverty of those struggling citizens. They had obtained the fiat of the Judge of Assize and the *mandamus* of the Court of Queen's Bench to enable them to enforce that unjust tax for extra police, not only against the feeling of every respectable man of every creed and Party in Limerick, but against every local authority; for in this matter the Government had not a respectable man in Limerick on their side. The Corporation, the Grand Jury, and the City Magistrates were against them. He maintained, however, that the charge was illegal, for various formalities required by law to give it validity had not been complied with; and he would challenge the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland to answer his criticisms in that respect. Passing to the merits of the question, he said it had not been denied that, even in most troublous times, a force of 80 police was ordinarily sufficient to maintain the peace of Limerick. He complained that there had been a suppression of material facts in the narratives given to the House by the Chief Secretary for Ireland as to what had led up to the excited state of affairs which originally prevailed. An excursion train went from Waterford to Limerick, bringing on it a number of Cavalry soldiers, who spent the day in Limerick, got drunk, and acted in the most rowdy manner, hustling the citizens they met, insulting them by offensive allusions to their country and creed, and attacking them on the railway platform. A conflict with the military resulted; and very soon afterwards, when the crowd were excited by the outrage on their country and their faith, they came into contact with a body of police, who were ordered by the Chief Constable left in charge of them to fire on the people. That was the first of a series of weapon firings which excited the temper of the people of Limerick. He asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would deny that the Government themselves were so convinced of the misconduct of the police that they had to pay compensation from the public purse? If kindness had been used towards the people, and if there had been in Dublin Castle a conscientious Government, who had sent down a person of a calm and judicious temperament, quietness and peace would have been restored in 24 hours. But instead of that, they sent down Mr. Clifford Lloyd, a man of personal arrogance, and intoxicated with the lust of power, and for his train and retinue the citizens of Limerick were now called upon to pay 1*s.* in the pound. He (Mr. Sexton) had stayed in Mallow a short time while Mr. Clifford Lloyd was there, and the town had more the appearance of a

place in a state of siege than an ordinary town inhabited by peaceful citizens. He wished to know why the supposed military necessities of Mr. Clifford Lloyd had to be paid for by the City of Limerick as a financial area? Mr. Clifford Lloyd was sent to Ireland as the Pasha of a Province; and, whatever the right hon. Gentleman might say with regard to the identity between the citizens of Limerick and the rural population in the course of the recent movement, he (Mr. Sexton) would say to him that it was the condition of the rural population and the passions excited by the landlords that sustained the movement; and the relation of the City of Limerick at the most was not a relation of interest, but a relation of sympathy with the bulk of their fellow-countrymen. He asked, therefore, why the burden should have been thrown upon the City, and not extended over the Province? He would tell the Chief Secretary for Ireland that the Corporation of Limerick had no power to levy these rates at all; nor did the Acts of Parliament, under which they operated, entitle them to collect this money. The rates fell due, and should have been collected under the spring and summer levies of 1882 and the spring levy of 1883. The right hon. Gentleman had graciously said that Limerick had returned to its normal state, and the 10 extra men should be removed. They asked that those 10 men should be sent away immediately; that the Proclamation, which was always unjust, and was now absurd, should be removed; and that the money demand upon the City of Limerick should be abandoned. Nothing could be more unwise than to persist in a demand of that kind. The Government would find that the game was not worth the candle; and he (Mr. Sexton) advised them to abandon, with as good a grace as they could assume, a demand which, with all their strength, and with all their skill, they might not find it so easy to enforce.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he thought that the discussion that evening had been of a character to throw a good deal of light upon the past method adopted by the Government for maintaining order in Ireland. Having listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, he was free to confess that he was not altogether without sympathy with the position which had been taken up by the hon. Members from Ireland. He wished the House to recollect, in considering this subject, who were the parties primarily responsible for the state of disorder in Limerick, and in regard to which this extra police force was necessary. Her Majesty's Government were the parties primarily responsible; because he (Lord Randolph Churchill) recollected perfectly well that, in the spring of 1880, when the late Government left Office, the City of Limerick was as calm and peaceful as the House was at the moment he was speaking. It was not until the Government abandoned all the precautions and all the extra powers which the Irish Government up to that time had been armed with for preserving peace and order—it was not until the Government, for the sake of gaining popularity among the Irish electors of this country, gave a signal to all the elements of disorder in Ireland that they might work their will and let themselves loose—it was not until then that disorder began to appear in Limerick. He was not blaming the present Chief Secretary for Ireland for this; his Predecessor the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) was primarily responsible. But had the present Government been content to follow the example of their Predecessors, and taken reasonable precaution for the preservation of order in Ireland, they would not have been discussing, at that moment, the question whether Limerick should pay this large debt to the Government or not. He therefore thought the House ought to place the blame upon the right shoulders, and should remember that the primary responsibility for all those disorders rested upon the Government. He was amused at the attitude taken up by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in regard to this sum of money, when he remembered the loose and immoral way in which the Government dealt with arrears of rent to Irish landlords. He said it was a just debt owing to the Government; that those were arrears, and must be enforced; and that the Government must collect the debts legally due. He should like to know why the Government were to possess rights denied to Irish landlords—why was this rigid economical view to be taken in their case? There was

another reason why he should be inclined to make some excuse for the citizens of Limerick, and that was because he was not at all tempted to disagree greatly with the criticisms passed on Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He had always held one opinion about that gentleman. Although Mr. Lloyd might be, and he had no doubt was, a well-intentioned servant of the Crown in Ireland, his acts towards the people were certainly not equal to the excellence of his intentions. Wherever that gentleman went, whether in Ireland or in Egypt, he somehow managed to be the source of disaster and disturbance. He thought it was not unfair, therefore, with regard to those disturbances and disorders in Limerick, to lay the blame not only first of all on Her Majesty's Government, but, secondly, on the agent whom they employed. But the practical point was this—how were the Government going to get this money? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland evaded that point, and said that that was a matter for him. But it was a matter for the House of Commons also. It appeared to be involved in considerable legal doubt whether the Government were entitled to levy this tax; and whether the Corporation had not the legal technicalities on their side. Was the Chief Secretary for Ireland going to create disturbances in Limerick for the purpose of recovering this £2,300? It was eminently a matter for compromise. The citizens of Limerick would smart under a sense of an intolerable grievance if this £2,300 was extorted from them, and the right hon. Gentleman would thereby be creating great mischief and trouble. That would be exceedingly ill-judged, especially since the right hon. Gentleman now stated that, in accordance with the desires of the Corporation, the Government were going to do away with the extra police.

MR. HEALY said, he thought the House was to be congratulated on the statesmanlike speech of the noble Lord, who was probably better acquainted with Ireland than nine-tenths of the Gentlemen who sat on the Treasury Bench. He held in his hand a book called *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, by his nephew, George Otto Trevelyan, a gentleman who, he believed, was at the present moment on the Treasury Bench. Although the rights of the work were reserved, he trusted that the Privileges of the House would protect him if he read a short extract from it. At page 252 there was a statement of a remarkable character, which bore directly upon the subject upon which the House was now engaged. It was a statement which dealt with the Reform Bill of 1832, and of the agitation connected therewith, and the writer said—

"But those very men were now binding themselves by a declaration that, unless the Bill passed, they would pay no taxes, nor purchase property distrained by the taxgatherer. In thus renouncing the first obligation of a citizen they did, in fact, draw the sword, and they would have been cravens if they had left it in the scabbard."

But the most remarkable part of the statement was to come. The writer went on to say—

"Lord Wilton did something to enhance the claim of his historic house upon the national gratitude by giving practical effect to this audacious resolve, and, after the lapse of two centuries, another great rebellion, more effectual than its predecessors, and so brief and bloodless that history does not recognize it as a rebellion at all, was inaugurated by the essentially English proceeding of a quiet country gentleman telling the collector to call again."

If that passage were read to the Limerick Corporation at a penny reading, it would bring down the house, for they had it under the hand of the right hon. Gentleman, *litera scripta manet*, that to resist the imposition of taxes—not exceptional taxes under the Prevention of Crime Act, but the Queen's Taxes—was an "essentially English proceeding." He would ask the right hon. Gentleman why what, in the case of 1832, became "an essentially English proceeding" should be absolutely wrong in the case of the Corporation of Limerick when it became an essentially Irish proceeding? He wanted to know if the Corporation and citizens of Limerick were not entitled to tell the right hon. Gentleman and his policemen to "call again?" Was the phrase to be confined to *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay?* The right hon. Gentleman must not be offended—indeed, he should be honoured—when he found the citizens of Limerick making quotations from his work, and acting upon them. He asked the right hon. Gentleman what were histories written for? Knowing the great weight attached to the words of the right hon. Gentle-

man, he could assure him that the Corporation of Limerick had made this work their daily study; and he could assure the House, as a matter of fact, that the Mayor of Limerick, a gentleman of no mean research in the historical world, himself went to bed at night with *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay* under his pillow; and that he meant to follow the right hon. Gentleman's advice, and refuse to pay what he considered to be an unjust tax. The right hon. Gentleman stated that the collection of this tax was entirely a matter for the Government; but he begged leave to assure the right hon. Gentleman that it was a matter which also concerned the people of Limerick; and he must say that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) took up an exceedingly statesmanlike position when he said that, for the sake of this beggarly sum of £2,300, the Government proposed to apply the torch of civil discord, and light up anew the fires of 1881. They must remember the Corporation of Limerick, who had this matter in their hands, were a number of gentlemen chosen from the citizens by vote. The Corporation of Limerick took a legal view of the question. How could they avail themselves of retrospective taxes in point of law when they would be at the mercy of any man from whom they collected a single 6*d*.? The Corporation of Limerick, who were not without legal advice, regarded their position as being quite as impregnable as that of the right hon. Gentleman. That being so, he thought the suggestion of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock was an extremely wise and prudent one —namely, that the matter was eminently one for a compromise. He hoped the noble Lord would not forget that when he occupied a prominent position on the opposite Bench. The cost of the extra police—one-half of the Chief Secretary's salary—was a paltry sum for the Government to exact from the people of Limerick at the cost of the irritation which the injustice produced. Besides, the townspeople were entitled to protection during the watches of the night from the Irish Constabulary, and ought not to be called upon to pay specially for their protection during the night. If the Corporation refused to pay the extra tax, would the Chief Secretary put the members in prison? What means did he propose to put in force to enforce the payment of the tax? He might put the Mayor and Corporation of Limerick in gaol; but some of them were used to that experience. From his own prison experience he was entitled to advise the Corporation that if they went to gaol for contempt of Court they would be first-class misdemeanants; and he would himself prefer to go to gaol for three months, even with a plank bed, than pay this £2,300, no matter how rich he might be in worldly wealth. The Corporation regarded themselves as the custodians of the honour of the rest of the citizens, and it was now a point of honour with them to prevent this inroad upon the pockets of the citizens. Each man in the Corporation represented not himself, but 2,000 or 3,000 citizens; and they would indeed be cravens at heart if they allowed the veiled threats of the author of *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, after having drawn the sword, to induce them to return it to the scabbard, and terrify them into paying this £2,300. It was exceedingly unpleasant to go into matters of this kind. He was sure the right hon. Gentleman did not wish to send anyone to gaol. The right hon. Gentleman never did that; but of course they went notwithstanding. The Chief Secretary should remember that this was not a quarrel with his opponents in that House. They only spoke the sentiments of all classes in Limerick. It was a question of cash, and when they touched any man in his pocket they found it was an exceedingly soft place. The Corporation of Limerick, in refusing to pay this tax, would have behind them the sympathies and good wishes of the entire population. The example they would give would spread to other parts of Ireland; and he would ask the Government, in the interests of order and good government, whether it was worth their while to enter into this quarrel, more especially when it was a quarrel which had been, to a large extent, commenced through the instrumentality of the unfortunate Mr. Clifford Lloyd? He had read a letter published the other day from an Egyptian gentleman, the editor of an Arab journal, in regard to Mr. Clifford Lloyd's conduct at Alexandria and Cairo. This Egyptian gentleman said that Mr. Clifford Lloyd's ap-

pointment in Egypt had revived brigandage all over the country, and that never before were there so many murders and robberies, or so much brigandage in Egypt, as during the *régime* of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. If, then, when Mr. Clifford Lloyd changed his seat of action from the Shannon to the Nile, the same unhappy state of things followed, they were, at least, entitled to the inference that a great deal of it was owing to Mr. Clifford Lloyd. However much they might have been inclined to pay Mr. Clifford Lloyd's own bodyguard at Limerick, they might have been spared the bodyguard of the lady members of his household. ["Oh!"] The right hon. Gentleman might "Oh" as much as he liked; but he (Mr. Healy) thought the citizens of Limerick were not entitled to pay for the guardianship of such women as Mr. Clifford Lloyd surrounded himself with. Looking at the facts, he was entitled to say that Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and not the citizens, was the main and sole cause of the unfortunate state of things which had arisen in the City of Limerick.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY said, this was the second time the name of Limerick had been a thorn in the side of an English Government, and a disgrace to an English Ministry. The first occasion was a case in which the English Government broke its promise, and it was only reasonable for Irishmen to expect that an English Government would break its promise. The present case, however, was a case of one of the worst forms of human despotism—namely, parochial despotism. Irish Members had listened with some interest to the speech of the Chief Secretary, which, for fear of being un-Parliamentary if he used a stronger expression, he would call an indifferent speech. The Chief Secretary was directly responsible for the present condition of things in Limerick. It was during his administration, and shortly after he had succeeded to Office, that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was appointed to Limerick. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was one of the greatest curses inflicted upon Ireland since the unfortunate Act of Union. There was, as far as he knew, only one curse greater, and that was the administration of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who had succeeded Lord Castlereagh in the affections of the Irish people. Mr. Clifford Lloyd, however, had succeeded Major Sirr in the affections of the Irish people; and, having been appointed by the present Chief Secretary, it was to the right hon. Gentleman they looked for some explanation of his extraordinary career. His hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had made some singularly happy citations from the work of the present Chief Secretary. No one in that House could admire more than he (Mr. J. H. M'Carthy) did the literary genius of the Chief Secretary. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was one of the most remarkable literary men of the time. His *Life of Charles James Fox* was worthy of that uncle he admired so much, and whose biography he had so eloquently written. His *Cawnpore* was one of the most valuable and the most beautiful contributions that had been made to modern historical literature. But he (Mr. J. H. M'Carthy) was not thereby bound to admire the position the right hon. Gentleman occupied as a politician. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had mistaken his vocation. The Chief Secretary was purely a man of letters. As a man of letters he was eminent and charming; but in political affairs he was hopelessly out of place. If not so unsuccessful in his administration generally as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), in the appointment of Mr. Clifford Lloyd he was as unfortunate as ever his Predecessor was. He (Mr. J. H. M'Carthy) hoped the Corporation of Limerick, much as they might admire the Chief Secretary as a literary man, would regard him as a politician with the same indifference that he did, and that they would tell him to "call again" when he came with this insufferable demand for this unjustifiable and unwarranted tax. He should like, as far as he could, to encourage the Corporation of Limerick to fight this matter out, and invite the Chief Secretary to "call again" as often as he liked. He thanked the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) for the brilliant and eloquent help he had given to the Irish Party; and he would appeal to the noble Lord, as one of the few Members of that House belonging to either of the two great Parties who really had a future before him, when the time came for him to administer Irish affairs, to bear in

mind the aid he had lent that night to the exposure of an Irish grievance, and the defence he had made of Irish liberty.

MR. HARRINGTON asked why it was that the recommendation of the Mayor and Corporation of Limerick was to have more weight with him and the Lord Lieutenant at the present time than during the last three or four years they had been agitating this question? The position taken up was simply this —that the right hon. Gentleman, and the Lord Lieutenant, and a gentleman of infamous memory in Ireland—Mr. Clifford Lloyd—were the only men who could truly judge the requirements of the City of Limerick for the preservation of the peace of the City. A number of petty cases had been quoted by the right hon. Gentleman to prove that from the advent of Mr. Clifford Lloyd in Limerick various slight disturbances took place in the City; but the right hon. Gentleman forgot to state that the disturbances commenced with collisions between the townspeople and a number of artillerymen who were brought into the City who insulted the citizens. The policemen took part with the soldiers; and the fact that they fired upon an unarmed and defenceless people accounted for the ill-feeling which had been created and the disturbances which followed. The disturbances, however, were only of a trivial character. The County Court Judges and the Judges of Assize invariably, during the period of which the Chief Secretary had spoken, had complimented the citizens of Limerick upon the peaceful character of their proceedings. The Judges of Assize—and they all knew how anxious the Judges were to furnish the Chief Secretary with an opportunity for stigmatizing the people of Ireland whenever he wanted an opportunity — had invariably complimented the citizens upon the order and peace that were preserved in the City. The petty cases the right hon. Gentleman had quoted as a justification for the imposition of this iniquitous tax on the people might well suggest to the minds of hon. Members on both sides of the House why there had been the introduction of a large force into a City that was perfectly peaceable and orderly, and in which the people were steadily endeavouring to improve their own position. The object was to create disturbance and agitation, and the question was whether this was not the very thing which produced the disturbances and the state of things to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred. They all knew that the force was gathered together for the protection of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and that his presence there was the origin of the agitation. He would therefore put it to the House whether it was not possible that some of the crimes and midnight outrages in Limerick might have been invented or directly incited by the police for the purpose of founding charges to support their agitation for increased pay and the improvement of their position? They all knew that the agitation thus got up was of so formidable a character that the Government had actually to cave in and consent to improve the position of the Constabulary. The right hon. Gentleman had wound up his speech in reply to the observation of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), as to what were the practical means he intended to take to collect the tax, by stating that that was a question for the Government themselves. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that it was not a question reserved for him alone, and that it was not a question which the citizens of Limerick alone would have to face; but the Irish Members who represented the Irish people would also have to face it, and by every means left them among the few legitimate means which his *régime* of terror had left in Ireland, it was his duty to advise the people in the words of the right hon. Gentleman himself—

"To draw the sword, and that they would be cravens if they left it in the scabbard."

In addition to many debts of gratitude the Irish people owed to his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), they owed to him their thanks for furnishing the people of Limerick with that which would be their war cry during their contest with the right hon. Gentleman and the Government. It was not the last they would hear of the expression which his hon. Friend had discovered in studying the works of the right hon. Gentleman, and that in very numerous instances the tax collector would be told to "call again." The right hon. Gentleman would find that if he engaged in a conflict with the people he would be worsted. What

ordinary means were there open to the right hon. Gentleman? How could he force the Corporation to sign warrants for the collection of the tax? And did he intend to send the Corporation to prison if they refused to sign them? The citizens of Limerick had given ample evidence in the past of their readiness to resist an unjust and iniquitous imposition. They had not been afraid of walking into the right hon. Gentleman's chains. What were the few instances the right hon. Gentleman had quoted in support of his assertion as to the disturbed state of the City? One was the case in which three policemen, endeavouring to rescue a man, were assaulted by a mob of roughs. Those were things which occurred every day in the English towns; and if they occurred daily and hourly in towns that were governed by the people themselves, how much more likely were they to occur when the police were in absolute authority over the people, and the people were the serfs instead of the masters? What was the state of the country during the time these disturbances in Limerick were taking place? Why, there were absolutely a dozen people in gaol awaiting trial under the Prevention of Crime Act. Every day the citizens of Limerick saw men dragged from their homes whom they knew to be as peaceful and as law-abiding as the right hon. Gentleman himself, and whose character stood much higher than his was ever likely to stand; and because, in a few cases, sympathy had been manifested with the citizens of Limerick against the oppression to which they had been subjected, they were to be burdened with this heavy tax. There was one portion of the argument of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to which the Chief Secretary did not attempt to make a reply. Some hon. Gentlemen had referred that night to the special genius of the right hon. Gentleman. If the right hon. Gentleman did claim any special genius it was a knack of overlooking the strength of his opponents' case. The argument to which the right hon. Gentleman had not replied was that the force which had been drafted into Limerick had been entrusted with the preservation of law and order, not in connection with the City of Limerick, but with the whole Province of Ulster. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was placed in charge of Londonderry and Ulster generally, and while he had distinct duties to perform in connection with those counties, especially in connection with the rural districts, he had directed his attention to the citizens of Limerick, because he chose to take up his abode in that town. He was attended by a most magnificent retinue of policemen; he surrounded himself with military and police wherever he went; and he brought about a simple reign of terror. So essential was the preservation of Mr. Clifford Lloyd considered to be, that a confidential Circular was issued by the County Inspector of Clare, stating that if any man appeared before the police under suspicious circumstances they were not to wait and challenge him, but to shoot him down. The citizens of Limerick were now called upon to pay an enormous tax for the state of things which this tyrant had brought about during his term of office—this bosom friend of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary, and this evil adviser of the Government. It was not necessary to refer to the career of Mr. Clifford Lloyd in Egypt. As soon as he was brought sufficiently forward, and they were able to focus their attention upon his acts, evidence was soon forthcoming that, instead of being a blessing, he was a curse and a trouble. He would conclude by assuring the right hon. Gentleman that when he said it was his duty to extort this tax, and his business to levy it, he did not know the magnitude of the task he was undertaking. If he seriously supposed that he could reduce the citizens of Limerick to the position of cringing before him, or tamely knuckling to his behests, he was very much mistaken; and he would find, if he persisted in entering into a quarrel with them, that he would only come off second best, with ignominy and disgrace. This had now become a matter of principle with the Corporation and citizens of Limerick, who felt the honour of their town at stake, and neither fine or imprisonment would induce them to give way, although the matter at issue was only the collection of a miserable sum of £2,000 or £3,000. The citizens of Limerick were prepared to act in the same spirit as that which had animated their forefathers.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he rose to express a hope that the Corpora-

tion of Limerick would see their way to continue the struggle to the bitter end. He was sure they had law on their side, as well as justice; they had been well advised, and must succeed. But even if they had not technical law on their side, he should urge them to persevere, if only in the hope that they might see a new development of Liberal government in Ireland by the imprisonment of an entire Corporation. However great a man the Chief Secretary was, he would find it difficult to draw an indictment against a whole municipality. He should be very glad to see the Chief Secretary employing his ingenious mind in the task of framing an indictment for consigning to prison a whole Corporation. That would be so interesting and instructive as an illustration of Liberal government in Ireland that it would secure the attention of the whole civilized world, and would well become a Government who went about lecturing other Governments, like those of Russia and Austria, as to their way of keeping their people in subjection. When it was decided to imprison an entire Corporation, representing the whole of the inhabitants of a town, he wished the right hon. Gentleman no worse fate than to be the instrument for the development of the new departure. He would like his hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) to study the statement of the Limerick Corporation, and lay it before the great and populous town he represented. He would be glad if every English Member would take the statement to heart, and ask himself what would be his feeling if an English community, originally peaceable and capable of well governing themselves, were to find their Representatives consigned to prison for the misdeeds of some person who had been called in to rule over them? He would remind the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary of an anecdote, with which he was, no doubt, familiar. There was a ruler in Ireland before his time—a man of culture also—Lord Carteret, afterwards Lord Granville. Lord Carteret was sent over to govern the country, and on his arrival he was met by Dean Swift, who asked him, with his usual good humoured roughness—"What do you want here? You are a man of intelligence and education. What, then, do you want here? Let them send you back again, and leave us our boobies and blockheads." That was what they wanted — they wanted a man who had never written books from which citations could be made against himself and his Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had never, as far as he knew, written a book, or if he had, most certainly nobody had ever read it. The right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary had, however, written books, which people read, and were able to quote from against himself. They were able to find in his own writings the strongest condemnation of his own system of government. Therefore, speaking as a humble brother in the same profession of literature, he asked the right hon. Gentleman to forsake his present unsuitable occupation, and to give the Irish people their boobies and blockheads back again.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he thought that some notice might have been taken, by the Treasury Bench, of the remarks they had listened to for the last hour-and-a-half. The case of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) would surprise nobody in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said the remission of the police tax in Limerick would set a bad example to the rest of Ireland. He thought the Corporation of Limerick, on the contrary, were to be congratulated on having set an admirable example to the rest of the Irish people by the manful resistance they had made to the tax, and he thought the conclusion to be drawn from the debate would be that they had only to carry their resistance just a little further. No English official ever dreamt of redressing a wrong in Ireland until the people were goaded to the very verge of revolution. The Corporation of Limerick might have been going on for years passing resolutions which would have only filled Earl Spencer's waste-paper basket, without securing the slightest attention to their case. It was the old, old story. The wrong was there; it could not be denied; but they must wait until the people drew the sword and refused to replace it in the scabbard before the English Government would give redress. He advised the people of Limerick to follow the example which had been set in the Reform agitation, and which was re-

ferred to in the works of the Chief Secretary, and that they would tell the tax collector to "call again." If the Corporation of a great English city were placed in the position of Limerick, what would they do? They would at once take the action which the Corporation of Limerick had been driven to take, and they would brave the terrors with which they were threatened by the Treasury Bench, and prefer to go to gaol rather than pay so odious a tax. In such a case would any English Secretary stand up in that House, and say that surrender or compromise was impossible? Was what they were doing calculated to make the people of Limerick enamoured of English rule? They had a city to all intents and purposes as orderly as any village in the rural districts in ordinary times. It had been complimented by the Judges upon its peaceful and orderly character, and at a time when the country all around was seething with excitement. And this was the reward the people of Limerick got for their tranquillity. The right hon. Gentleman had laid before the House a budget of trumpery assaults upon the police, and stone-throwing matches that might have been disposed of in the course of half-an-hour by an ordinary police magistrate. The right hon. Gentleman gave those statistics—supplied very likely by Mr. Clifford Lloyd, or by somebody who had that gentleman's records in his possession—as an excuse for keeping up the present feeling of oppression and heart-burning among the people of Limerick. He was by no means satisfied that all the ill-feeling had not been created by the police themselves, who had been brought into Limerick not to put down the turbulence of the citizens, but to create disturbances. He would say more than that—namely, that the principal and most dangerous disturbance which had occurred in Limerick for years past was the police strike directly provoked by the action of the Government. There could not have been an instance of more poetic vengeance than that of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's Prætorian Guards falling out among themselves, and it was then that one of the greatest dangers to English rule occurred in Ireland. Beyond all doubt the ill-feeling which had been brought about and kept up in Limerick was simply that Mr. Clifford Lloyd had pitched his head-quarters there, and brought trouble and disturbance with him as he had done everywhere else. Could the right hon. Gentleman show any instance in which anything had been really accomplished by the police in the interests of the preservation of peace and order in that City? Instead of gaining respect for the law the police had succeeded in implanting in the minds of the people hatred and detestation of the law. They had even set the minds of the magistrates against them, and had aroused a spirit of resistance which induced the Corporation to express their readiness to go to gaol rather than impose upon the people 1*s.* of this tax; and not only in Limerick, but throughout the whole of Ireland, things had been a great deal worse than they were before. From one point of view nothing could be better than the attitude the right hon. Gentleman had taken up that night. He had done just what the enemies of English rule would like to see—he had aroused a feeling that justice was not to be obtained nor redress to be had from Her Majesty's Government. All he (Mr. O'Brien) could say was, that he had perfect confidence, if the right hon. Gentleman carried on the struggle to the bitter end, he would find that eventually the people would triumph, because their cause was just. Whatever the action of the right hon. Gentleman might be in that House, the people of Limerick would, after they heard the right hon. Gentleman's statement, adopt the course which had been recommended to them, and tell the tax collector to "call again."

Mr. GRAY said, that some time ago, in consequence of a distinction which Mr. Justice Lawson had thought it desirable to confer upon him, the citizens of Limerick did him the honour of granting him the freedom of their City. At that time he was very proud of the distinction; but he must certainly say that he was still more proud of it now that the citizens had made this most courageous and proper resistance to as iniquitous an impost as was ever placed upon a free people. He believed the citizens of Limerick were determined to persevere to the last. He had no doubt they would be successful, and that their names would live long in the history of Ireland, as Hampden's did in English

history for the resistance he made to ship money. He did not profess to be in a position to criticize the literary capacity of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, nor would he venture to pronounce an opinion upon his capacity as a statesman. But if there was any quality which struck him as remarkable in the right hon. Gentleman it was that he recognized, sometimes, at least, what was practicable and what was not practicable, and he could see what was possible and what was impossible in his position as Irish Secretary. Now, he wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman realized that the position which the Corporation of Limerick had taken up was one from which they would withdraw? It was absolutely impossible for them to withdraw. He had not gathered from the right hon. Gentleman any information as to how he intended to proceed in his attempt to enforce the payment of the tax. He was aware that many underhand attempts had been made by the emissaries of the Government to coerce the Limerick Corporation and induce them to submit quietly to the tax. All kinds of rumours of what the Government would do if the Corporation dared to resist the order of the Executive had been circulated. Well, he believed that all that kind of thing was mere "bunkum," full of sound and fury, but signifying absolutely nothing. Whether the tax was an anomaly or not it was a most iniquitous and unjust impost; and the Representatives of the citizens of Limerick would be wanting in their plain and obvious duty if they did not offer a most determined resistance to it. Already serious injury had been done to Limerick by the action of the Government in this matter. From the wealthiest citizen down to the poorest factory girl there was not one who had not suffered by it owing to its effect upon the trade and commerce of the place. Were, then, the Government to punish the citizens further by levying a tax amounting to 1*s.* in the pound for their own default and blunders? If the right hon. Gentleman had really said the last word on this matter, they were entitled to ask how he intended to proceed? The Habeas Corpus Act was in force, and the right hon. Gentleman could not clap the Corporation into prison without assigning a reason, and without their having committed a specific crime. What was the crime? They simply refused to vote the money. Was that a crime? They might take a horse to the water, but they could not compel it to drink. If the Corporation refused to vote, was that a crime? The right hon. Gentleman might put the Corporation into gaol; but he defied him, by the exercise of any ingenuity, to make them say "aye," when they were determined to say "no." They took the attitude of peaceable, passive resistance. They had the support of the whole of Ireland in that resistance. They had the support of the whole of the Irish Members; and the right hon. Gentleman might as well remit the tax at once, because he had no power to enforce it. He could not send down his own officers to collect the tax. What, then, did he propose to do? What member of the Corporation was he going to punish, because he would not levy the tax? Suppose the members of the Corporation chose not to attend the meetings, would that be a crime, and would they be punished for not attending? Suppose some of them were sick, were they to be punished for that? Suppose they failed to form a quorum, and some of them took a holiday trip, were they to be sent to prison for that? The thing was absurd. He could tell the right hon. Gentleman that the Corporation were not going to be terrorized over in this matter, as the right hon. Gentleman seemed to imagine they might be, by big words. Indeed, the debate in the House that night had settled the matter once for all. He saw the Prime Minister in his place, and he would make an appeal to him. Would the Prime Minister himself look into the circumstances of this extraordinary case, and see whether it was either good policy or common justice to involve the country in the turmoil and disturbance which must ensue from an abortive attempt on the part of the Irish Executive to levy this tax? Every Member of the Government, even the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, must know that this tax was unjust. They might have judged Mr. Clifford Lloyd by the course he had followed in Limerick. They had sent him to Egypt, and he attempted the same policy; but the Fellaheen of Egypt were not to be tyrannized over and taxed simply because Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been placed over them. He had been

speedily removed from Cairo on account of his misdeeds, and because he had insulted every person with whom he came into contact, from the Khedive down to the humblest Egyptian citizen. They had taken him away from Ireland because they could no longer keep him there; but they now proposed to make the citizens of Limerick pay a tax of 1*s.* in the pound simply from a mistake of the Irish Office in sending Mr. Clifford Lloyd to tyrannize over them. Such a thing was not to be heard of. Was it not enough that Mr. Clifford Lloyd should insult every person in Limerick, without taxing the citizens in addition? The Corporation of Limerick, in this matter, had right and justice on their side. With right on their side they were bound to win, and the sooner the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister recognized that fact the better it would be for his Government in Ireland.

MR. BARRY said, he was exceedingly reluctant, at that late hour, to take part in the discussion; but he was slow to believe that, after the case which had been represented on that side of the House in favour of a compromise, the Government had said the last word in the matter. It must be clear to any impartial mind that when the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was making his defence of the Government he had an extremely weak case, and he must have felt how extremely weak that case was. It must be remembered that the matter was surrounded in a maze of legal doubt and uncertainty. The position taken by the Corporation of Limerick, from the point of view adopted by the Irish Members, was absolutely legal; and if the Government persisted in entering upon a struggle with the Corporation, it would be taken up by other Bodies in Ireland, and would become a grave matter indeed. He thought the Government ought to be anxious to wipe out and obliterate the odious recollections of the last two years of the tyrannical rule of Mr. Clifford Lloyd. What would happen if this struggle were fought out to the bitter end? The memory of all that had passed during the last few years would certainly be revived, and the feeling of exasperation and bitterness at the action of the Government would be intensified. There was another point which had been somewhat overlooked during the debate—namely, that when this extra police force was supposed to be necessary in Limerick, and for which an extra tax was now sought to be raised, both the Court of Quarter Sessions and the Spring Assizes, and even the Court of Petty Sessions, reported that in that part of Ireland crime was at a very low ebb indeed. If there was any reliance to be placed on such statements, the declaration of the Judges and the Magistrates went clearly to show that the advent of Mr. Clifford Lloyd brought about disturbances, and placed the people of Limerick in an absolutely false position. He wished to support the appeal which had been made to the right hon. Gentleman in favour of a compromise. The Government might carry out this struggle with the Corporation of Limerick to the bitter end; but was the game worth the candle? He could understand it if there were a question of principle involved. The right hon. Gentleman might then stand to his guns; but no question of principle was involved, and the whole matter was left in doubt and uncertainty. If ever there was a case in which a compromise might be adopted, it was this; and in the interests of peace and order he urged upon the right hon. Gentleman not to let the dispute go forward in order that it might be fought out. Legal questions had been raised in the course of the debate, and as the case seemed to be a very strong one, he thought the Solicitor General for Ireland ought to favour the House with his opinion upon it. Half-a-dozen Members on that side of the House had declared their doubts as to the legal position of the matter. Why, then, did not the hon. and learned Gentleman get up and explain the legal position of the Government, telling them what the Government were going to do, and how they proposed to get the money? He thought it would be unfair to the people of Limerick if the Law Advisers of the Government remained silent and allowed the question to remain in doubt.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, the hon. Member had asked a question as to the legal position of the Government, and he thought it right to say that the legal position of the Government in the matter was perfectly clear. As to the general policy of the ultimate course to

be pursued, it was for the Irish Executive to decide; but there was no doubt as to the legal aspect of the case. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and other hon. Members had argued that a portion of this tax was in a different position from the rest—namely, that portion of it which had been refused by the Corporation before the month of May, 1882. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had referred to the Act of William IV., which gave certain power to the magistrates. The legal position of the Government rested upon that Act, and upon a subsequent Act—the 11 & 12 *Vict.*, c. 72, which empowered the Lord Lieutenant from time to time to draft into any town in the country any force he might consider necessary. It was under that power, and not under the terms of any Proclamation, that the payment of the earlier portion of the tax became due; because by that statute all the powers created under the earlier Act in respect of taxes for the maintenance of the police were continued. Therefore that portion of the tax which accrued up to the end of May, 1882, was legal under the Act of Victoria; and no lawyer would venture to contradict that assertion; no lawyer could entertain a doubt that, having regard to the legislation on this subject, it became the binding duty of the Corporation themselves to discharge the liability. A presentment was made, and the presentment itself had such binding force that it was presumed to be legal until it was quashed. More than that, the Government had proceeded by way of *mandamus*, in the Court of Queen's Bench; and not only did the Government succeed, but the Corporation, by their solicitor, said they did not intend to defend the case. Therefore, the case was absolutely undefended, and the legal right of the Government was completely established. That was the only question he would deal with; and he contended that the legal position of the Government was absolutely established, and that no legal answer to the claim existed.

MR. SEXTON asked if it was not the fact that as the Town Council had met as a Presentment Sessions, and had refused to pass the sums of money asked for, the Government was bound to give six months' notice to the Corporation. He wished to know if they had ever served that notice?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER) said, that if the hon. Gentleman had information to that effect he was probably right. It was a point of practice with which he was not acquainted; but, assuming that it was as the hon. Gentleman had said, still, if this presentment was made once, it would be presumed by every Court of Law that everything necessary to give validity to the presentment had been done. It was said that there was an accumulated arrear. But it hardly lay in the mouth of those who, for six or seven half-years, had made legal default, to urge that as a reason against the claim. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) urged that the claim might be rightly resisted, because it was a debt, and the Government had passed an Arrears Act. But in that case the debt ceased to be a debt, having been dealt with by the law; and there was no analogy between the two cases. The position which the noble Lord assumed was a strange one, after a *mandamus* had been issued, and after the highest Court of the Realm had decided that there was no answer to the claim. He had been asked to point out how the debt was to be enforced.

MR. HEALY: Tell the tax collector to "call again."

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER) said, he did not admit that it was the duty of a Member of the Government to state at full length all the remedies they might put in force. He had no doubt that the law could be made good, and that the legal position of the Government was perfectly tenable.

MR. GORST said, the hon. and learned Gentleman had promised that he would only deal with the legal aspects of the case. The hon. and learned Gentleman had not, however, fulfilled that promise, because he had not dealt with the legal aspects of the case at all. He accepted, as far as it went, the law laid down by the hon. and learned Solicitor General; but he wished to deal also with the justice of the case. Assuming that the hon. and learned Gentleman was right that the expense of the extra police force sent into Limerick before the City was proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant could be

legally recovered from the citizens, it was a very strong power, and one which ought to be used with great discretion and circumspection. It had not been found necessary to proclaim the City of Limerick until the 30th of May, 1882; but the Government had been quartering these extra police upon the City since the 1st of October, 1881. It was a very strange power to be given by law. He accepted the law of the hon. and learned Solicitor General; he did not dispute that the tax was perfectly legal, and that the citizens of Limerick were bound to obey it. Who were bound to obey it? Surely those who were bound to obey it were the citizens of Limerick who were existing at the time, and it ought to have been levied on the ratepayers who were on the rate-book in 1882. What was it, however, that the Government were now seeking to do? They were seeking to levy the rate on persons who were the present ratepayers of the City of Limerick, many of whom had probably gone to live in the City since the summer of 1882. The Solicitor General said it did not lie in the mouths of those who refused to pay it in 1882 to refuse to pay it now; but it did lie in the mouths of those who were not citizens in 1882, and who, by the action of the Government, had had an unjust tax imposed on them. He dared say it might be legal; he did not dispute that it was perfectly legal; he presumed the Courts would decide so; and it would not be respectful for the House of Commons to upset the decision of the Courts; but, although it might be legal to impose the tax, it was certainly not what was known as common justice to do it. Surely, in the case of Ireland, it was not necessary for the Government, at the present moment, to stand on their strict legal right, but they ought to act in accordance with the dictates of common justice and equity; and he appealed to them whether it was in accordance with common justice and equity to make the ratepayers of Limerick of the present day pay a tax which ought to have been paid by the ratepayers of 1882, but which were not paid because the Government did not take the necessary steps to enforce payment. Although the Solicitor General contended that the Government was the people, and although he (Mr. Gorst) did not dispute the technicalities of the law, was it right to insist upon levying these arrears in a manner that was opposed to all the principles of natural justice? So much for the legal argument. The Solicitor General had gone out of his way to misunderstand and misconstrue the argument of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) as to the Arrears Act. The argument was a very good one, and was addressed to the Government themselves. The Government, for the sake of public policy, and for reasons he, for one, had always appreciated, had thought fit to pass a law through Parliament which relieved tenants who legally owed certain sums of money to their landlords from the obligation or necessity of paying them. No doubt, those arrears were just as much the property of the landlords as the arrears in the case of the Limerick police tax were the property of the Government; and the only ground on which they had been remitted was that of high public policy. The noble Lord said that the Government had called on the landlords to forego their legal rights on the ground of high public policy, and argued that they ought themselves to follow the same rule. There were certain sums, according to the strict letter of the law, due to the Government. He had not touched upon the question of policy or the legal point; he had confined himself to the bare question of justice, considering the lapse of time since the arrears were incurred, and upon whom the obligations would rest.

Mr. KENNY said, the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) remarked, at the opening of his speech, that he would not go into the legal position of the question as discussed by the Chief Secretary; but the hon. and learned Member had discussed a point arising out of the legal argument which was of great importance—namely, whether the present ratepayers of the City of Limerick were liable for the debts, assuming them to be debts, of their predecessors? He questioned very much whether any old Statute of William IV. would make men responsible for debts due years before, and for which they were in no respect, directly or indirectly, liable. Now, the Chief Secretary had asked, why did not the Corporation of Limerick enter an appearance in the Court of Queen's Bench against this *mandamus?* What would have been the value of that appearance?

Did any person believe that the fact of the Corporation of Limerick entering an appearance in a Court, presided over by Mr. Justice Lawson or Chief Justice May, would be anything more than a farce? The Court had not so much as read the affidavits of the Town Council, affidavits that set forth clearly the case of the Corporation of Limerick; and when Judges disregarded these and refused to inquire even into the manuscripts before them, but with a light heart granted a *mandamus*, what would be the special value of the Corporation going to the expense of counsel and appearing in a Court, the verdict of which would practically be known beforehand? He did not believe that the law as it existed could enforce the payment of these debts; and, furthermore, he was distinctly of opinion that it was the duty of the Corporation of Limerick, a duty they owed to their fellow-citizens and the people of Ireland, to resist the imposition of a most unjust and iniquitous tax. He was not in favour of the recommendation of his hon. Friend who sat near him as to the desirability of effecting a compromise—he believed there was no room for a compromise; it should be war to the knife right out, and he believed the members of the Corporation of Limerick would be great fools if they volunteered to pay 1*d.* of this alleged debt; in his opinion they owed nothing, and should resist the imposition, which was unjust. These demands, these charges, were made in the first instance for personal attendants, practically, upon Mr. Clifford Lloyd. Everyone knew that, wherever this gentleman went, whether in Limerick or in Cairo, he must have a body-guard around him and his friends, male and female. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was magistrate for Clare, while he made Limerick his head-quarters; he drafted a number of police into the place, and the police knew that, so long as they had Mr. Clifford Lloyd at their head, they could do as they liked; and they got drunk, they created disturbances, and startled quiet citizens. Wherever Mr. Clifford Lloyd went he brought his gang of policemen with him. When he went to Ennis he had 40 policemen with him, and there they created disturbances among the inhabitants. So also when he went to Tulla, and to a number of places in Clare and Limerick. Were these small towns to be placed in the same position as the City of Limerick for the special protection of Mr. Clifford Lloyd? He must say it would be a most disastrous thing, in his opinion, if the Corporation of Limerick did not hold out to the end. Limerick had successfully resisted a siege, and could again if necessary. It would be monstrous to think that the Corporation had any just or fair right to impose this unjust tax on the present ratepayers, knowing, as it was known, that the present ratepayers were in no respect responsible for the debts of their predecessors. He sincerely trusted, and hoped with some confidence, that the Corporation and citizens of Limerick would show a firm front, no matter what force was brought against them. No matter what force those who were anxious to recoup themselves for a rash expenditure would bring against them, let them show a strong resistance and the Government would find that in the endeavour to collect this tax they would be only throwing good money after bad.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 55; Noes 17: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 168.)

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £32,134, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings."

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he wished to take that opportunity of making a few remarks in regard to a subject upon which he had asked a Question—namely, the care of tapestries at Hampton Court. It appeared there was some difficulty with regard to ar-

riving at a conclusion as to whose care they were under, whether of the Lord Lord Chamberlain or of the First Commissioner of Works, and on this particular subject he wished to make a few remarks. He asked a short time ago if some valuable tapestries at Hampton Court were to be restored, and the First Commissioner said the Lord Chamberlain had it under his consideration. He asked again this year——

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE rose to Order. He wished to know whether the hon. Member could open this question? He had explained that the tapestries were not under the charge of the First Commissioner; they were the property of the Queen, and were not included in this Vote or any Vote in connection with the Office.

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): If the care of the tapestries to which the hon. Member alludes is not included in this Vote—if it does not come within the duties of those whose salaries are included in the Vote—the hon. Member is totally out of Order in referring to them.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he thought it came under the Vote in question. There was a charge for the custodians of Hampton Court, who were paid through the First Commissioner. On that account he called attention to the subject. [Moreover, he was told, Hampton Court was maintained at the expense of the public. It was very difficult to draw a conclusion as to whether the tapestries——

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): Hampton Court is dealt with under Class I. already passed by the House. It is not in this Vote.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he begged to move a reduction of the Vote for the expenses of First Commissioner by £1,000. On this subject——

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): That is not in Order, for the tapestries not being under the charge of the First Commissioner, no question can be raised on that account for a reduction of the Vote.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he thought he was in Order in moving a reduction of the Vote in consideration that the tapestries were part of the decoration of the building in which they were, and that they were not properly looked after by the First Commissioner.

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): It being no part of the duty of the First Commissioner to look after the tapestries, because they are not public property, it will not be in Order to deal with the subject of tapestries under this Vote.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, might he be allowed to show his case? He could prove that when the fire took place at Hampton Court last year certain tapestries were taken down and put up again by the First Commissioner of Works. The Secretary of the First Commissioner gave orders to put them up in a rotten state. He gave orders that they should be put up permanently; and, therefore, he (Mr. Guest) contended the tapestries were under the care of the Office of Works. If the First Commissioner put them up they were as much under his control as any part of the Palace. It would be difficult to draw a line between what part of the contents was under the control of the First Commissioner and what part was not. The furniture was under his control, and how was a line drawn at tapestry? He contended the care of the latter did come under the Vote, and he moved a reduction of the salary of the First Commissioner on consideration that the contents of Hampton Court, which he contended was national property—virtually national property—were not properly attended to.

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): Inasmuch as these tapestries are not national property, and are not under the control of the First Commissioners of Works, whatever may be said about the building, and the portion dealt with under Class I., the hon. Member is not in Order in discussing the subject.

MR. SEXTON moved that Progress be reported, in order that information upon this subject might be given to the Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he should support that Motion, because he thought it was desirable that the Committee should have some information as to whose authority these valuable possessions were under—whether they were

under the control of the Lord Chamberlain or the First Commissioner of Works. There was a difference of opinion on the matter, and it was almost impossible for the Committee to obtain any actual information; and meanwhile these valuable tapestries were going to decay.

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): The hon. Member cannot discuss this question on the Motion to report Progress.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he thought there was something in what the hon. Member had said. The First Commissioner stated after the fire occurred that he was at the Palace, and gave orders there. He recollected well the interest the right hon. Gentleman took in the whole matter, and, therefore, it was clear there was a strong conflict of opinion upon the subject of authority; but at that rate now he thought it would be better not to proceed with these Estimates. He had a long speech to make that night; even if he had to speak at 3 o'clock he intended to make it; and he did not think it was fair to the Committee to take these important questions at that hour. He should support the Motion, and he thought it would be only fair to the Committee if, after the long Sittings there had been lately, the consideration of these Estimates was postponed.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he did not think a postponement was necessary. It was true that he had to go down to Hampton Court Palace and take precautions; but the tapestries were not national property. They belonged to the Queen, and were under the charge of the Lord Chamberlain.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST asked whether it was not the fact that the officers of the First Commissioner had ordered the tapestries, when they were much damaged by water, to be dried and re-hung in the Palace last year?

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): The hon. Member cannot discuss this matter on the Motion to report Progress.

MR. HEALY said, he thought that if a point of Order had not been raised by the First Commissioner this Motion would not have been made, and the time of the Committee would not have been wasted. The hon. Member was, perhaps, technically out of Order; but if he had been allowed three or four minutes to make his little complaint the whole thing would have been over. There would be a Division, and then how would the First Commissioner be any better off? He should support the Motion, and he would submit that if time was to be saved, and Motions were not to be provoked, the Members of the Treasury Bench should refrain from provoking them.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND suggested that this Vote should be postponed, and the Motion to report Progress be withdrawn.

MR. WARTON said, he thought the First Commissioner had been very wrong in raising the point of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): The hon. and learned Member cannot discuss that point upon this Motion.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, the whole difficulty might be settled if the First Commissioner would say where the limit was drawn between the authority of the First Commissioner and of the Lord Chamberlain with regard to the contents of Hampton Court Palace.

THE CHAIRMAN (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL): That question would in itself be quite in Order; but it cannot be discussed on the Motion to report Progress. If that Motion is disposed of the question will be in Order.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he hoped the First Commissioner would postpone this Vote.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY said, he believed that the subjects of some of the tapestries in Hampton Court Palace were taken from the "Triumphs" of Petrarch. As one of the greatest admirers of Petrarch living, he should have great pleasure in supporting the Motion.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 21; Noes 50: Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 169.)

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he should be happy to explain the difference between the First Commissioner of Works and the Lord Chamberlain. The First Commissioner was responsible for

all the buildings of the Palace, and the maintenance of the buildings: but the pictures and tapestry and other things of that kind were in the charge of the Lord Chamberlain. He therefore had no concern in the tapestries, and he had no responsibility for the pictures—they were solely under the charge of the Lord Chamberlain. They could be removed from Hampton Court to any other Palace. It was true that when they were damaged by the fire the tapestries were redried and put up again. The matter was under the consideration of the Lord Chamberlain. The responsibility did not rest with him (Mr. Shaw Lefevre).

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he thanked the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) for the information he had received from him. He only drew attention to the matter because he considered it of importance, and because he believed that the question properly arose in connection with the Office of the First Commissioner of Works. There could be no doubt that all the tapestries at Hampton Court, unless properly examined and repaired, would be desperately damaged. They were at present in a very bad state, and now, whilst they were being put up and refastened, they could be put in repair with very little trouble. Of course it required a person with some knowledge of the needle to remedy the defects. He would not proceed further with the matter at the present time.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

MR. HEALY said, he should like to ask the First Commissioner of Works a question. He understood that the Government had had occasion to dismiss a certain set of clerks in consequence of malpractices—that the Government had discovered that a whole series of peculations had been going on for many years, and he was informed that the First Commissioner of Works had made a change in the *personnel* of the Furniture Department. If, however, the change was such as had been described to him he certainly believed that it would lead to as many malpractices as had occurred before. He was informed that the arrangement was that, instead of going straight to the manufacturer for the purchase of articles of furniture, the Government went to the merchant. Why should that be the case in the Furnishing Department any more than it was in any of the other great spending Departments of the State? He could not see why an immense expenditure of hundreds of thousands a-year should be conducted through the merchants of London when they could deal straight with the manufacturers. He wished to know whether it really was the case that they dealt with the merchants as he understood it? The argument of the Department was that all these goods required to be fitted; but why could they not buy from the manufacturer, and get servants of their own to do the fitting? The persons who hitherto had had temptation placed before them had fallen into it; and, that being the case, he could not see why they should continue the system of placing temptation before anyone. They could not be blind to the fact that when they went into the City and made contracts with merchants they were dealing with people who had many opportunities of "getting at" the officials. Was it the case that, in spite of the reform brought about by the right hon. Gentleman in one respect, there were still defects in other respects?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was true that some time ago he had discovered that inferior linoleum was being supplied to the Department. In consequence of that, he initiated an inquiry which resulted in the dismissal of these officials and the reorganization of the Department. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) was not quite correct in what he said as to the practice resulting from that change. The hon. Gentleman had said they could go direct to the manufacturers and obtain their supply of linoleum from them; but that was not the case.

MR. HEALY: I was not referring to one article, but to all articles.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, with regard to this special article, the manufacturer could not supply it direct to the Government. The method practised in the particular article was such that the manufacturer could not supply direct to the Government. It could only be bought through an agent. Several gentlemen tendered—all agents of manufacturers—and the Government accepted the lowest. He had found that the system of adver-

tising for goods was not carried out to the extent to which it was represented to him to be the case. Since the change he had effected, he had directed that tenders should be applied for as openly as possible. In some cases only a limited number of persons were asked to tender; but that was in connection with special articles, where there was a very limited number to choose from. He had laid it down as a rule that, where it was possible, tenders should be invited; and he had not the slightest doubt but that in future it would be found that the system adopted would work to the public advantage.

MR. HEALY said, that, as he understood it, the peculations had arisen in consequence of various articles being obtained through intermediaries in the City of London. He was under the impression that the articles obtained were got by these intermediate means, and not by direct means; and that it was this mode of obtaining goods which had led to the fall of the set of clerks.

MR. CARINGTON said, he should like to know why these persons had been dismissed.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was not the case that the general practice was to obtain goods through agents. That was only the case with certain articles, like this linoleum manufactured by a special firm, where the firm did not supply goods directly to the public, but only through agents. With regard to the cause of the dismissals, these officers had been sent away for gross neglect of duty. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had not dismissed them for fraud; but for gross neglect of duty.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the last answer fully illustrated one of the faults of the present system. The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works seemed to consider that it was necessary in obtaining linoleum that they should purchase one particular kind. Why was it necessary that one kind, and only that particular kind, should be purchased?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE remarked, that experience had shown that Staines's linoleum was the best article of the kind to use—in fact, that it was almost essential for the use of some Government Offices. It was the only article which could be used for the passages of those Departments where there was a great amount of traffic.

MR. WARTON said, he would now move to report Progress. They had had a great deal of work to do that night; and, seeing that the Government had thrown over a great many measures that blocked the way of the Estimates, there would, no doubt, be a great deal of time for the discussion of the various Votes in the remaining days of the Session, and therefore it was not essential that they should go on very late that night. They should consider the Estimates duly and properly. He moved to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

MR. COURTNEY said, he hoped that, before making that Motion, his hon. and learned Friend would at least allow the present Vote to be taken.

MR. WARTON: Well, this Vote, and this Vote only.

MR. COURTNEY said, that if they took only three Votes in the course of an evening, as they did yesterday, they could not expect the Prorogation to take place at a convenient period. He thought the Committee might very easily take this Vote and the next Vote to-night.

MR. WARTON: Very well; take those two.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he saw China mentioned three or four times, and he wished to know whether the Board of Works were specially interested in China? It would be much better, he thought, that the Vote should appear under the head of Embassies.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that before an answer was given to the last question, he should like to have some clear understanding arrived at as to the system adopted in the Department. It was absurd to talk about this particular kind of linoleum, in regard to the purchase of which these officials had been discharged, being better than any other linoleum. It was well-known that that particular linoleum had been sent in to the Railway Companies for their approval with other kinds, and that it had been beaten in the market over and over

again. He did not know why this kind should be preferred to another; and he should not be able to account for the preference given to it if, from his official experience, he was not aware that contracts were sometimes made in consequence of the personal influence of members of the staff.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he could show that that was not so, by pointing to the fact that he had been specially informed that this linoleum was almost necessary for certain public Departments. If the hon. Member (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would communicate to him his knowledge of the better kinds of linoleum, he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would institute other inquiries and endeavour to get at the bottom of the matter. If the Government could find a better description of article than that they were using at present they would be very glad to adopt it.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Consult the Railway Companies.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The linoleum we use is considered necessary, especially in the Post Office, where there is a very large amount of traffic.

COLONEL NOLAN: Do all the Embassies come under the Vote?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: No.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that China and Constantinople seemed to come under this Vote, and what he wanted to know was why these two came under it, and other places under another? It could not be very convenient to have payments scattered around in this way under several Votes.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The *personnel* comes under this Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN: The *personnel* of all the Embassies?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Yes; we have a surveyor at China.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works seemed to attach the greatest importance to having the best quality of linoleum; but he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) believed that these clerks had been dismissed because an inferior quality had been delivered. What he should like to know was, whether or not there had been a system of giving commissions going on in the Office of the First Commissioner of Works—giving commissions for passing an inferior article as the best article? What check had the right hon. Gentleman introduced to prevent such a proceeding? Why had these officials been dismissed? Was it for having taken these commissions—for passing off on the State an inferior article on the allegation that it was a superior one?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the superintendent of the Furniture Department had for four or five years in succession been, they discovered, receiving inferior linoleum instead of the best.

MR. H. H. FOWLER: Was he paid anything for the transaction?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I cannot say. We, of course, had very strong suspicions in the matter. Among other causes for the dismissal of the superintendent of the Furniture Department was this—that he had told the head of his Department and myself that a good article was being supplied, and on the strength of that representation we renewed the contract three successive years. We found, on the last occasion when he informed us that a good article was being supplied, that the contractor had failed, and had paid to his creditors only 1*s.* in the £. The superintendent of the Department knew that, and yet did not inform us of it. He knew it, and yet allowed the contract to be renewed with the knowledge of the fact. The other clerks were dismissed because it was their duty to go to the several Departments and see the article delivered. It was their duty to examine the linoleum when delivered, and report as to whether it was according to contract. They knew perfectly well what the requirements were; and yet when an inferior article was supplied, and they were questioned, they stated that they had never examined it at all. They had certified that it was equal to the best linoleum without having examined it. They were consequently dismissed, forfeiting all right to pension.

MR. HEALY asked whether every article purchased by this Department was not in the same position? The Department supplied everything in the way of fittings and furniture; and he wished to know whether every article was not obtained through agents in the City of London, thereby even at the present time exposing existing clerks to the temptation which had been too powerful for the clerks who had been dismissed?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the temptation would be the same, whether the article was supplied through the manufacturer or through an agent.

MR. HEALY said, he did not think that was so.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Why not?

MR. HEALY said, he would undertake to explain to the right hon. Gentleman why it was not the same thing. It was a very different thing; because, in the first place, when dealing with the manufacturer, they would be dealing with a person who was one of a very small class. In the case of linoleum, it was admitted that there were a very small number of manufacturers. The firm had its reputation to maintain—they had the guarantee of the name of the firm.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the manufacturer would not supply the linoleum direct; therefore the Government were obliged to get it from the agents. He had already explained that there were a few articles supplied in that way. The great bulk of the articles were supplied direct from the manufacturer, and when that was the case the trade were asked to tender. In the case of furniture, for instance, the Department generally invited seven or eight of the leading manufacturers to send in tenders. It was thought wise to ask only firms of good reputation to tender for furniture, and the Department chose the lowest price sent in.

MR. GRAY said, he had been amazed by the assertion of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works that the temptation to commit fraud was the same whether they were dealing with the head of a manufacturing firm or an agent. He ventured to say there was no business man in the House who would endorse the opinion which seemed to commend itself to the right hon. Gentleman. Any man who had any knowledge whatsoever of business knew that in nine cases out of 10 the corruption of which they complained was practised by the middle men. They were frequently persons who had no reputation, and he was sure there were many Members of the House who, having to deal in considerable quantities of goods, would not think of going, or of permitting their manager to go, to middle men; they would go direct to the firm, and rely upon its reputation for their protection. The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had argued that the temptation to the clerk was precisely the same whether they dealt with the agent or with the manufacturer; but he (Mr. Gray) could hardly credit that. He certainly did not believe it was the experience of business men.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that if a clerk was fraudulently inclined he could as easily receive a bribe from a manufacturer as from an agent; and there were just as many manufacturers who would bribe a clerk as agents. It was unquestionably the fact that if, in the case of furniture, they invited tenders from all the world, and took the lowest one, the probability was they would get articles of the lowest type of manufacture.

MR. ILLINGWORTH considered that the First Commissioner of Works was perfectly right. It was notorious that in every Department there was just the same liability to corruption in cases where the manufacturer tendered, as in cases where goods were obtained through an agent. There was no more security against corruption in the one case than the other. What was wanted was, that there should be the greatest surveillance over the actions of the *employés*. He was sorry to hear from the First Commissioner of Works that he had no evidence upon which he could undertake a prosecution. Of course, there might be overwhelming evidence as to the negligence of the servants, but not as to the fraud. He was surprised that hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House had not comprehended that which was plainly stated by the right hon. Gentleman. There were certain articles which manufacturers would not supply to consumers; they would only supply those who sold again. In the case of Staines's linoleum, there was no alternative but to get it through an agent, who, of course, received a small percentage for his work. It was necessary that furniture should be made of good and well-seasoned wood; and, therefore, it was wise for the Department to confine themselves to houses which possessed good reputations. Anyone who had any experience at all knew that, if people dealt with a fourth-rate furniture manufacturer, it was very possible for them to give 15*s.* for an article that was only worth 10*s.* It was well-known, too,

that those who were open to be bribed, and those who wanted to transact business with the Department, were always at work, in the hope of getting some advantage out of the State. All the Committee could ask for was, that there should be as much vigilance exercised at head-quarters as possible.

MR. DAWSON said, the system of confining contracts to a few contractors who had obtained a reputation entirely shut out from the competition a new manufacturer who wished to do an honest business. [*A laugh.*] The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) might laugh—he was prone to that amusement; he might be a great political economist, and have many high qualities; but he and his Colleagues showed no appreciation of business. He was sorry to find there were so many theoretical business men on the Treasury Bench. His object in rising was to point out that, if the Department continued the system of confining contracts to respectable firms, they would shut out men of enterprize, who wished to make a reputation and obtain an honest living. Contracts were not entered into without security. The smallest manufacturer could be obliged, if his reputation was not made, to satisfy the Department by ample security that he should supply for 15*s.* 15*s.* worth.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £25,000, Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid).

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

PRISONS BILL.—[BILL 293.]

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

MR. WARTON: What is this Bill about?

MR. HIBBERT said, it was merely a Bill to settle doubts which had arisen since the transference of prisons to the Secretary of State. Doubts had arisen as to whether the Secretary of State had the same powers in regard to prisons as the Local Authorities had under the Prisons Act of 1865. The Bill was intended to settle those doubts, and also to give power to the Secretary of State to utilize the parts of the Milbank Prison that were formerly used for convict prisoners for local prison purposes.

MR. HEALY said, he thought it was a very objectionable thing that the Bill, which was read a first time last night, should be put down for second reading to-night. Hon. Members had had no opportunity of examining the Bill. He should like to propose some Amendments as to the proposals with regard to visits. Under the circumstances, the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. Hibbert) would do well to consent to the adjournment of the debate. In order that time might be given to examine the Bill, he (Mr. Healy) begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

MR. HIBBERT assured the hon. Gentleman that he had no desire to take any undue advantage of the House. He thought that if the Bill was issued yesterday morning, sufficient time would be afforded hon. Members of seeing what the object of it was.

MR. HEALY said, he would not block the second reading if the hon. Gentleman would put it down for Monday.

MR. HIBBERT said, he would be quite content to put the Committee stage off for several days, if that would meet the wishes of the hon. Gentleman. He would, for instance, defer the Committee until Thursday next.

MR. HEALY asked leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL.—[BILL 278.]

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. COURTNEY said, this was the annual necessary Bill in connection with the Board of Works, to enable the Board

to carry out schemes which had been approved by Parliament.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

MR. WARTON: Only £4,000,000, is it not?

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

—o—

VENTILATION OF THE HOUSE.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Select Committee be appointed 'to inquire into the Ventilation of the House.'"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

MR. SEXTON said, he was at a loss to understand upon what principle Members for this Committee had been selected. There were two Scotch Members nominated. Now, Irish Members were more continually in the House than others; and he thought the right hon. Gentleman might fairly increase the number of the Committee to seven, and add one Irish Member.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he had communicated with the hon. Member who usually acted for the hon. Members opposite, and he did not think it necessary that an Irish Member should be asked to serve. As he told the hon. Member, he thought it desirable to have a small Committee, consisting, as far as possible, of experts. Had the hon. Member intimated a wish to that effect, certainly an Irish Member would have been nominated.

Motion *agreed to.*

The Committee was accordingly *nominated* of,—Mr. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, Sir LYON PLAYFAIR, Sir JOSEPH PEASE, Mr. GILES, and Dr. FARQUHARSON, with power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

POST OFFICE PROTECTION BILL.

[*Lords.*]

(*Mr. Fawcett.*)

FIRST READING.

Bill read a first time.

MR. WARTON said, this was a Bill only just brought from the House of Lords, as to which a promise was made as far back as the 1st of April. He thought, at least, the next stage should be deferred to Tuesday, that it might be properly considered.

MR. HEALY said, he hoped in future the Government would not have these Bills from the House of Lords read in an informal way at the Table, no one knowing what was going on; it was little less than an attempt to cheat Members out of their right.

Bill to be read a second time upon *Tuesday* next, and to be *printed.* [Bill 297.]

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

Resolutions [July 17] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 299.]

REVENUE, &C. BILL.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the Customs and Inland Revenue and to the Audit of Public Accounts, and for other purposes connected with the Public Revenue and Expenditure.

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 300.]

House adjourned at a quarter before Two o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 21st July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Naval and Greenwich Hospital Pensions * (203); Cholera Hospitals (Ireland) * (204).

Second Reading—Yorkshire Registries (192); Prisons (Ireland) (Cost of Conveyance of Prisoners) * (196).

Committee—Report—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) * (132); Elections (Hours of Poll) (179); New Parishes Acts and Church Building Acts Amendment * (171); Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) * (178).

Report—Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) * (202).

Third Reading—Naval Enlistment * (175); Bishopric of Bristol * (181), and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Educational Endowments (Ireland) * (173).

INDIA (BENGAL) COURT FEES BILL, 1881—CASE OF LOUIS RAMAY.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, in rising to call the attention of the House to the excessive fees levied on suitors in the Civil Courts of Bengal; and to ask the Secretary of State for India, Whether, if Louis Ramay, a Frenchman who was imprisoned because he was unable to pay the costs, about £300, of a suit for his inheritance against the administrator, which was decided against him, was still in prison, he would order his release; and if he had no objection to lay Sir Richard Garth's Minute on the Court Fees Bill, 1881, on the Table? said, that if he did not make a long speech he hoped it would not detract from the importance of the subject, and his noble Friend the Secretary of State was already acquainted with the figures. Up to 1867 the tax on suitors in Civil Courts amounted to one-fourth of the expenditure; now it amounted to nearly double the cost of the Civil Courts of Bengal. An initial fee of 475 rupees was levied on a suit for a bond for 10,000 rupees — that was to say, a one-and-twentieth part of the value. If the object of those heavy fees was to check litigation it did not succeed, for Sir Richard Garth pointed out that it had the effect of preventing cases being settled out of Court. In 1880, the Secretary of State for India was asked in the other House what sum the Government of India realized by this tax upon suitors over and above the expenses of the Court establishments? Lord Hartington, in reply, stated £45,000 as the sum realized. It appeared that that sum was arrived at in this way—the cost of all the Courts in India, both Civil and Criminal (British Burmah included), was deducted from the amount of the tax receipts. It was unjust that the Civil suitors of Bengal should be made to pay for the Criminal Courts of all India, for the maintenance of Criminal Courts was a primary duty of the Government, and was of equal interest to all the inhabitants of India. Sir Richard Garth, however, said that Civil suitors in India not only bore the burden of the Civil Courts, but of the Criminal Courts also, besides contributing, in addition, a large surplus, amounting probably to not less than £100,000, for the benefit of the general public. He would ask the Secretary of State if he could explain the discrepancy between these figures and those supplied to Lord Hartington; and if he would lay Sir Richard Garth's Minute on the Table? As to Louis Ramay, his father was a Frenchman, and at his death the administrator declared the son to be illegitimate, and refused him his inheritance. There were no printed reports of the hearing of the case, so he did not know on what grounds the administrator had prevailed; but, from what he had heard of the case, he thought Louis Ramay had been treated with injustice. But, besides the grievance of losing the inheritance he had looked forward to, he had been imprisoned, because he was unable to pay the heavy fees exacted by the Indian Government for fulfilling its duties to its subjects. That afternoon he had received a letter from Calcutta stating that Louis Ramay had been set at liberty; and if his noble Friend the Secretary of State had given the Indian Government a hint to that effect, he hoped he would say so.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that the Secretary of State for India had no power in any case to order Louis Ramay's release; but if he was in prison for the reason alleged in the Question, he could obtain his release by declaring himself insolvent. This was a matter of ordinary law. As to the last paragraph of the Question, he was unable to lay Sir Richard Garth's Minute on the Table of the House, as it had not been officially transmitted to him. The subject of Court fees generally was under the consideration of the Government of India; but he would remind the noble Lord that the question was one of extreme difficulty, great care being requisite to avoid fixing the Court fees at a figure which would practically amount to a denial of justice; and, on the other hand, to guard against their lowness giving encouragement to the prevailing love of litigation. There were several questions to be considered, and they could only be properly determined by those who had practical knowledge of the Courts in India.

ORDNANCE SURVEY—THE MAPS FOR ANGLESEA AND CARNARVONSHIRE.

QUESTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked Her Majesty's Government, when

the new large Ordnance Survey Maps for Anglesea and Carnarvonshire would be ready?

THE EARL OF CORK said, that according to the arrangements that had been made for completing the Ordnance Survey of the country Carnarvonshire would be commenced in 1886, and Anglesea in the following year. The publication of the plans would be proceeded with as they were drawn and completed; and all of them would, it was expected, be issued by 1890. An earlier date for proceeding with the work in Carnarvonshire and Anglesea could not be adopted without delaying the plans of other localities and creating inconvenience and delay by upsetting the general arrangements.

ELECTIONS (HOURS OF POLL) BILL.

(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

(NO. 179.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in moving that the House go into Committee, said, he was asked, on the second reading of the Bill, whether the Government were willing to extend the provisions to counties? Personally, he was decidedly in favour of such an extension; but looking at all the circumstances under which the Bill came up to their Lordships, and the fact that the matter was very fully considered in the House of Commons, he had to state that he could not undertake to accept an Amendment including the counties in the Bill.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee on the said Bill."—(*The Earl of Kimberley.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 (Hours of polling in boroughs with more than three thousand electors.)

THE EARL OF POWIS moved, in subsection 3, to extend the Bill to boroughs which were not Parliamentary, but which were Municipal, and had large populations of over 10,000; for instance, boroughs like Accrington, Barnsley, St. Helens, and Crewe, and some 21 in all. He did not see why the hours of polling should not be extended to them. He asked the noble Earl to make the Bill apply to them; and it could easily be done by striking out the words which limited the Bill to Parliamentary boroughs.

Amendment *moved*, in page 1, lines 19 and 20, leave out ("of a parliamentary borough.")—(*The Earl of Powis.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that, as far as he was personally concerned, he would not have been adverse to a much larger application of this Bill than it had been found convenient to make; but after having expressed himself as unable to accept its extension to the counties, he could not accept the Amendment now proposed.

THE EARL OF POWIS observed, that the question of extending the Bill to municipal purposes did not raise any of the controversial questions which were connected with elections in counties. municipal elections were held in a Town Hall, or some other building where the polling could be carried on in one place. He would ask the noble Earl to consider, before the third reading of the Bill, whether there was any valid objection to including the 21 towns to which he had proposed that it should apply.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that if the Government adopted this extension, he would move to extend the Bill to counties.

Amendment *negatived.*

Bill *reported*, without Amendment; and to be read 3ª *To-morrow.*

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS — FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD HENNIKER, in rising to ask the Lord President of the Council, Whether foot-and-mouth disease was making any progress in the country; and whether he had reason to suppose that Local Authorities generally had made such regulations as would place them in a favourable position to prevent an extensive outbreak of disease? said, he asked this Question as to the progress of foot-and-mouth disease in the country as it was said that there had been some fresh outbreaks of disease lately. On such occasions he thought it of much consequence that those chiefly concerned should know the exact state of the case from an authentic source. It gave those who had to deal with the disease an opportunity of knowing how best to meet

it, and it made owners and buyers of stock careful not to have any communication with infected districts. However, the second part of his Question was the most important. A great deal had been said about the importation of disease; and Parliament had passed an Act to deal with this. It would not, of course, be right for him to go into that part of the question, as it had been settled; but he referred to it because, although there was a great deal to be said in favour of keeping out disease, there was a great deal, too, to be said in favour of the use of the powers of the Act by Local Authorities. It would never do for Local Authorities to fancy that they were protected now that the Act was passed, and to relax their Orders and Regulations. He had now had a good deal of experience, as Chairman of the Local Authority in his own district for some years; and he had found the powers given to Local Authorities ample to deal with an outbreak of disease when put into full force. When the disease broke out on the last two occasions, directly the county was closed, and all the powers were put in force, the disease had disappeared in a very short time. Their Lordships would recollect that the last outbreak came so quickly upon them that it was impossible to deal with it at once; the remedy would have been worse than the disease; but directly it became manageable the powers put in force had the desired effect, and the disease entirely disappeared. He should be glad to mention here that he was strongly of opinion that it was of the greatest possible assistance to the Local Authorities to have the markets closed by the Privy Council as soon as possible. When some of the markets were open it was very difficult to carry out regulations. Of course, it was very difficult to secure absolute obedience to regulations; but he was glad to hear from an experienced farmer in his district the other day that the regulations had never been so strictly carried out as they had been this year. He had said so much in order to prove to their Lordships the great importance of the carrying out of the Act by Local Authorities; and he might further refer to the great importance of Local Authorities being prepared to act at once when disease appeared. Prompt and vigorous action was always the best. It might seem hard to put everyone to inconvenience for a few cases; but, as a matter of fact, if nothing was done till the disease spread the inconvenience was ten times worse. He hoped the noble Lord would be able to tell the House that he believed Local Authorities were prepared to act promptly, and that they had done so generally speaking. He hoped, too, that they would hear that the machinery necessary for prompt action was in good working order. If not, he hoped that his Question might call the attention of Local Authorities to the importance of being ready, and that his remarks had so far met with the approval of the House as to be a means of urging them to act. Before he sat down he should like to refer to the importance of adjoining counties acting together. It was most important to mention this in good time, for an agreement could not well be come to at the last moment. Last year the Suffolk Local Authority, over which he presided, had invited, at his instance, the Authorities in adjoining counties to meet in conference and discuss some joint line of action. He was sorry to say that only one county (Norfolk) had agreed to the proposal. It was true that one of these counties (Essex) was differently situated to Suffolk, as it was a Metropolitan county; but the agreement they had come to with Norfolk avoided any difficulty. It was this—that neither county should make fresh regulations without notice to the other, and that, as far as possible, the regulations should be the same. Their Lordships would see the importance of this agreement, for nothing made it so easy to avoid regulations: particularly on the borders, as that they should be different. In fact, he would go further, and say that such a state of things was most puzzling to those who did their best to obey the law. He hoped such agreements as he had mentioned might be encouraged by the Privy Council; but he by no means wished to hamper the discretion of Local Authorities. He had mentioned this as he thought it an important point to discuss when the subject of being ready to meet an outbreak of disease was before the House. In conclusion, he begged to ask the Question of which he had given Notice.

LORD BELPER, who had given Notice of the following Question:—To ask the Lord President of the Council, Whe-

ther he would consider the desirability of making some arrangement by which Local Authorities should have the earliest possible notification of fresh outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease in other counties, especially in those counties which were immediately adjacent to their own? said, that he would put his Question now, so that an answer could be given at the same time. He cordially agreed with the remarks that had fallen from the noble Lord who had just sat down, especially as to the necessity for prompt and concerted action on the part of the Local Authorities. The Privy Council was the only reliable authority from whom such information as he (Lord Belper) desired could be gained; and as Local Authorities could not prohibit the import of cattle into their districts or counties until they could declare that these counties were infected or contained infected areas, it was of the greatest importance that the Local Authorities should have the earliest possible notification of fresh outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease in other counties. He suggested that the Privy Council, on the receipt of a notification of an outbreak, should immediately communicate the information to such counties as they thought might be likely to have importations of cattle from the infected areas.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in answer to the noble Lord who had spoken last, said, that the Privy Council had not hitherto undertaken to give information of outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease to the various Local Authorities in the country. That was a point which he did not think had come before him until now, and he thought there would be very considerable difficulty in the Privy Council undertaking that duty. Certainly it would be very difficult to undertake it on a large scale, and if foot-and-mouth disease were widely prevalent. But the case seemed to be one in which they might fairly expect the Local Authority in whose district the disease had appeared to give notice to their next door neighbours. It would be naturally a case for joint action. It would be very natural that adjoining counties should agree among themselves that each one should give notice to its neighbour of any outbreak. The noble Lord suggested that Local Authorities might be required by order of the Privy Council to do so. That was a point worthy of, and it would receive, his careful consideration. In answer to the Question of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Henniker), the fact was that about a month ago foot-and-mouth disease, they had reason to hope and believe, was all but extinct in the country. But since then there had been a slight revival, but not of a very serious character. At that moment there were six centres, one in each of the counties of Cheshire, Leicestershire, Worcestershire, the West Riding, and two in the county of Norfolk. But although the centres were few, the disease was there; and he entirely agreed with the noble Lord that without prompt action on the part of the Local Authorities they were in danger of having a fresh extension of the disease. He could not say—he wished that he could—that Local Authorities generally had put themselves in a position to be prepared for the appearance of the disease in their respective districts. He would state what had been done. In March last, when the general stoppage of fairs and markets was coming to a close, the Privy Council passed a temporary Order giving very large powers to Local Authorities, particularly of slaughtering animals infected, or supposed to be infected, and what was most important, very extensive powers for the purpose of securing absolute isolation of the infected places. He meant an isolation in respect of persons and of every means of conveying the disease as distinct from the mere isolation of the infected animals from other animals. By that Order the Local Authorities were empowered to make stringent regulations for preventing the access of anyone to the animals affected except those who had charge of them, and to disinfect the clothes of all persons who had been in contact with them, and generally to secure the complete isolation of the infected place. At the same time, a Circular was issued in order to impress on Local Authorities the necessity of adopting special precautionary measures, and representing that if they were duly taken there was a reasonable probability of the complete suppression of the disease. In the case of the Local Authorities deciding not to have recourse to the extreme measure of slaughtering the animals, then they strongly recommended them to do the next best thing—to

adopt complete isolation. He was sorry to say that that Order had not had all the effects they had hoped from it. In every case in which foot-and-mouth disease had appeared since then they had at once, on obtaining knowledge of the circumstance, sent an Inspector from the Privy Council to the place to ascertain the facts, and still more to confer with the Local Authorities and with the owners of the animals, with a view to seeing that all possible precautions should be taken. That course of proceeding had been of very great use; but, evidently, it could only be adopted by the Privy Council on a small scale, and in regard to a few centres. It would obviously become impossible if the disease were to spread over the country. As a result of the inquiries of the Inspectors, it appeared generally that there had been no organization formed beforehand by the greater number of Local Authorities in the country for the purpose of being prepared against the appearance of disease in the districts—he meant organization for the special purpose of isolating infected places, and of preventing the extension of the disease from any centre. In the great majority of cases the Local Authorities were content with declaring an infected circle or area, and with preventing any movement of animals into or out of that area. That was not sufficient for the purpose of securing the county or the country against a further extension of disease. He was not surprised to hear the noble Lord, in connection with this subject, refer to the Foreign Animals Wharves. Certainly when one thought of the excitement that would at once be caused if a case of foot-and-mouth disease were reported in any of those places, the disease having come from abroad, it did seem somewhat astonishing to find the amount of apathy which was exhibited as to the appearance of the disease in any fresh centre. He hoped the Local Authorities would not fail to see that one centre of disease was as dangerous as another, and that they might be induced to imitate the precautions taken in the Foreign Animals Wharves. The animals there were slaughtered; but besides that, the most careful system of isolation was maintained for the purpose of making it as nearly impossible as might be that infection should escape. That was the course they were earnestly desirous that the Local Authorities should pursue. The system was well known. It had been tried with the best effects by several Local Authorities in Scotland, England, and Wales, and in almost every case it had had the effect of isolating the disease in the places where it had shown itself. He did not mean to imply by these remarks that a great deal had not been done by the Local Authorities for the purpose of preventing the spread of the disease. Generally speaking the Inspectors of the Privy Council had been well received, their advice had been taken, and a great deal was being done in the counties he had mentioned for the purpose of preventing the disease spreading. The desirable thing was, and the urgent duty of the Local Authorities was, to make use of the ample powers conferred upon them, and of the experience which had been gained in other districts, in preparing themselves at once against the possible appearance of the disease in their own. If they were so prepared measures might be taken with promptness, and a vast amount of subsequent trouble and loss might be avoided. He hoped the discussion would call the attention of Local Authorities to the necessity of the case, and the critical nature of the present moment, when the disease might either be entirely stamped out, or might be allowed to spread once more over the country.

LORD BELPER said, he would not have suggested the arrangement he mentioned had there been any other means of conveying the information.

LORD HENNIKER asked whether the noble Lord approved the joint action in regard to counties?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he was not aware that that could be provided for by the Privy Council; but he had no doubt it would be a most beneficial course to take.

YORKSHIRE REGISTRIES BILL.

(*The Lord Wenlock.*)

(NO. 192.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD WENLOCK, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, asked

for the indulgence of their Lordships' House while he explained, as briefly as possible, the objects of the Bill. The Yorkshire Registries Bill was promoted by the Courts of Quarter Sessions of the three Ridings of Yorkshire to consolidate and amend the Acts relating to the public registering of deeds, conveyances, and wills in Yorkshire. Their Lordships were doubtless aware that Yorkshire and Middlesex were the only two counties in England that enjoyed a system of registration of transactions relating to land. The statutes by which this system was established had existed 180 years, and no Act had since been passed to amend them. But they showed that, in some respects, they were ill-suited to the requirements of the present day, and the West Riding had been several times in communication with the Government of the day as to the desirability, nay, even the necessity, of some modification in the Acts. It was also doubtless in the recollection of their Lordships that last Session a private Member in the House of Commons brought forward a Bill with this object, without any communication with the Justices. They had, therefore, promoted the Bill, which he now hoped would pass the second reading. He would point out that the two main objects of the Bill were—first, the amendment of the law as to the effect of registration, and as to what might be registered; second, simplification of the mode of election of Registrar, and the manner in which the business of Registrar was to be conducted. Registration was first given to Yorkshire, and had proved since to be a means to afford protection against fraud to all persons buying or mortgaging land. For that purpose it was necessary that all dealings in land should be registered. Under this Bill, it was hoped that registration would become practically compulsory. He wished to point out the alterations proposed by the Bill, which he hoped would bring about this result. By the Bill every deed would have priority according to the date of its registration—in the absence of fraud. Registration was to constitute actual notice of the instrument registered for all purposes. The Register might be corrected by the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, and official searches might be made by the Registrar, and the certificate of the result should be a sufficient protection to solicitors and others who were bound to search. Provision was also made requiring registration of a memorandum of any lien or charge for unpaid purchase-money, or of any equitable mortgage by deposit of title-deeds. Power was also given to Courts of Quarter Sessions, subject to the approval of the Lord Chancellor, to organize a thoroughly good system of indexes, without which it was impossible to carry on a good system of registration. It also provided that deeds might be registered in full. It was very often useful that anyone searching the Register should be able to see the deeds affecting the land in which he was interested in full; but as many persons did not like the idea of exposing to the public all the transactions regarding their dealings with land, this was made optional, and the rule, which was now only applicable in the North Riding, was now extended to all the Ridings. It was hoped by this plan to do away with the necessity for "abstracts of title," which were often very expensive. A more simple mode of registration was also provided in place of the present complicated method. The Bill also enabled documents to be sent by post, instead of, as at present in many cases, compelling the personal attendance of witnesses. The second part of the Bill applied to the election of future Registrars. It was not intended to interfere with the privileges of the present Registrars; but that in the event of a vacancy occurring the election would vest in the Courts of Quarter Sessions, instead of by the present £100 freeholders. There was no list kept of the freeholders, nor did any Corrupt Practices Act apply to elections of the Registrars; and so it happened that very great and heavy expenses fell on the candidates. It was estimated that if an election in the West Riding were contested to the end among the 7,000 freeholders of that Riding, the expenses to the candidates would be £15,000. Under these circumstances, and considering all the inconveniences of the present unsatisfactory arrangements, this Bill provided a new mode of election, as already described. It also provided that the Registrar should be paid by salary, and that the fees taken in the Registry Office should be paid to the county rate, out of which rate also the salary of the Registrar and the expenses of the Office would be

paid. These were the chief objects as foreshadowed in the Bill, and he had every confidence that their Lordships would pass it. He did not wish to touch on such matters as compulsory registration of titles, a subject which was open to much argument; but as regarded registration of assurances, he could assure their Lordships that the scheme was much appreciated in Yorkshire. As a proof of the utility of the offices in Yorkshire, he held in his hand a statement that in 1882 some 21,000 assurances were registered in the three Ridings; while in 1876 that number was exceeded in the West Riding alone, so that evidently the system as regarded Yorkshire was popular. He thought it would not be inappropriate to read to the House an extract from the Report of Mr. Osborne Morgan's Committee in 1879—

"That registration of titles is in the abstract to be preferred to registration of assurances may at once be conceded, for the former aims at presenting the intending purchaser or mortgagee with the net result of former dealings with the property, while the latter places the dealings themselves before him, and leaves him to investigate them for himself. It must not be forgotten, however, that if every assurance relating to land were registered, a basis would be laid which would make the registration of possessory titles a comparatively simple matter."

They had a registration of assurances in Yorkshire, and all they asked for was that the system of that registration should be improved. The Yorkshire Law Societies appointed a Committee which attended before the Select Committee in the House of Commons, and proposed Amendments, some of which were in the Bill. He also had reason to believe that the Bill, in its present shape, was approved by Yorkshire solicitors. Under these circumstances, he trusted their Lordships would assent to the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Lord Wenlock.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he did not rise for the purpose of throwing any difficulty in the way of the Bill passing; but he was bound to say that it did not realize his idea of a substantial step in the direction of that result which most persons who wished for a reform in the transfer of real property desired to see. It was, however, an improvement upon the existing system of registry of deeds in Yorkshire. So long as they had a registry of deeds, whether in part or in their entirety, they must have various disadvantages which they would not have under a system of transfer by registration only. He had looked at the Bill sufficiently closely to see that the greater part of its provisions, if they did not accomplish all which might be desirable, were, at all events, in the direction of usefulness, and were likely to produce good results. There were, however, some points as to which he was not satisfied that the Bill was not susceptible of amendment. He alluded, in the first place, to the clause dealing with contested wills and intestacies, the meaning of which he thought might be made a little clearer. The Bill provided that where a will was contested, and could not be registered within a period of six months after the death of the testator, the person claiming an interest under it could within that time register a notice of the will; and if the will was established within two years its date of registration should be held to be that at which the notice was registered. The next clause seemed to allow, without any limit of time, any person who claimed as heir of any land, and believed that the owner died intestate, to register an affidavit of intestacy; and then it went on to say that—

"Where any such affidavit of intestacy has been duly registered, any assurance or will made or executed by any person who would be empowered to make or execute the same in case of such intestacy and duly registered should have priority over any will of the supposed intestate, the date of registration of which should be subsequent to the date of registration of such assurance or will, and not within or under this Act to be deemed to be within a period of six months after the death of the supposed intestate."

He thought the second clause should be amended, so that the power to register an affidavit of intestacy should take effect at the end of the time allowed for registering the notice of will—namely, at the end of six months. He thought that would be soon enough for all parties, and it would make it clear that the two clauses should be taken together. He thought, also, that the priority, to be obtained by registration, ought in this, as in other cases, to be limited to titles by purchase for valuable consideration. Another objection referred to the appointment of Deputy Registrars. By Clause 37

the Court of Quarter Sessions, with the approval of the Lord Chancellor, could appoint as Registrar any person who had been a barrister or solicitor of seven years' standing, or a person who for five years had been Deputy Registrar. No doubt that was a proper qualification; but by the 3rd sub-section of the same clause the Registrar might, with the consent of the county authority, nominate any "fit" person to be his deputy. It did not state anything as to the qualifications of the deputy; but if he was to be allowed after five years to become Registrar it was, he thought, essential that there should be some qualification before he could be appointed a deputy. He did not speak without experience of the evil effects which resulted from the appointment of persons to discharge important public functions without proper qualifications. He hoped some Amendments in the directions he had indicated, and such others as might be found necessary, would be made in the Bill, and he would, therefore, offer no opposition to its now being read a second time.

EARL CAIRNS said, he quite agreed that the changes proposed by the Bill were changes for the better, and improved the working of the system. He considered a registration of titles preferable to a registration of assurances. But as long as the Yorkshire Registry was so much used it was desirable to make it as effective as possible. Subject to the observations of the noble and learned Earl referring to matters which could be settled in Committee, he would be very glad to leave the Bill to the House.

Motion *agreed to:* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 21st July, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 29 to 36.
Resolutions [July 18] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Building Societies Acts Amendment * [301].
Second Reading—Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 8) * [283]; Indian Marine * [291].
Committee—Report—Trusts (Scotland) [279]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [278].
Committee—Report—Third Reading—Turnpike Acts Continuance * [294], and *passed.*
Considered as amended—Third Reading—Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878 (Districts) * [284], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

—o—

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND).

MR. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any decision has been arrived at with regard to an increase in the grants to Irish Industrial Schools; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will consider the great need of an establishment of the kind in West Clare, where extensive and suitable buildings, recently unofficially inspected by the authorities, have been built by the Sisters of Mercy of Kilrush?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government, I regret to say, cannot at present increase the number of Industrial Schools. I shall be obliged to give the same answer in a great many cases, I will not say more deserving, but, in some cases at least, as fully deserving. I regret that I cannot see any prospect of making an exception in this case.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) — STIPENDIARY MAGISTRATE AT BRIGHTON.

MR. WARTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Mr. Charles Gilbert Heathcote has been appointed Stipendiary Magistrate for Brighton; whether that learned gentleman has ever had any business at the bar; whether he is the brother of Mr. J. M. Heathcote, Chairman of the Liberal Committee at Brighton at the elections of 1880 and 1884; and, whether he possesses any special qualification for the appointment?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Heathcote. In making appointments of this kind I always consult those whom I think are the best fitted, of their per-

sonal knowledge, to give information as to the qualifications and professional ability of candidates. The testimonial on which I appointed Mr. Heathcote was a letter from the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Bulwer), who wrote to me to say that he had known Mr. Heathcote for many years as a member of his Circuit, and could speak of him with confidence as a man of great ability, considerable legal attainments, tact, and good temper, and a thoroughly accomplished gentleman. Mr. Heathcote was also a distinguished University man. He took a first-class in the Classical Tripos, and was a Scholar of Trinity, and a Fellow of Emmanuel. I have not inquired into the political opinions of Mr. Heathcote's brother. Indeed, my own personal observations show me that brothers do not always hold the same political opinions; and I should think it extremely hard if the political views of one brother were held to be an obstacle to the appointment of another. That is my answer to the hon. and learned Gentleman, and I hope my statement will make him feel some regret that, for Party purposes, he has, without foundation, made this attack.

MR. WARTON: It is not for Party purposes; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman has not answered my second Question.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have since made inquiries; and I find that the statement in the Question as to Mr. Heathcote's brother having taken part in the last election at Brighton is entirely without foundation. The brother left Brighton last March.

MR. WARTON: The right hon. and learned Gentleman has not answered the second part of my Question.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is a Question which the hon. and learned Gentleman ought not to ask, and which I decline to answer.

EGYPT—EXPENSES—SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any Supplementary Estimate or Vote of Credit will be presented to the House, before the Prorogation, to defray the cost of any expedition that may be necessary for the relief of General Gordon and the defence of Egypt?

Sir William Harcourt

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am in communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the necessity for a Supplementary Estimate on the subject; and I would ask the noble Lord to postpone his Question for a few days, until a decision is arrived at. If it should become necessary to have a Supplementary Estimate at all, there will be an explanatory statement on the part of the Government.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he would repeat his Question on Thursday.

EGYPT—TORTURE, &c. IN EGYPTIAN PRISONS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What English official is at present responsible for the prevention of torture and other atrocities in the Egyptian prisons; whether any compensation will be made to native Egyptians who have been imprisoned and tortured contrary to the Code; and, what is the present total number of persons in Egyptian prisons, specifying those who have been tried and those who are awaiting trial?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Dr. Crookshank is the English official who, under the general direction of the Minister of the Interior, is responsible for the working of the Egyptian prison system. Her Majesty's Government are unaware that any Egyptians have been imprisoned and tortured contrary to the Code. I cannot state the exact number of persons at present in Egyptian prisons. The internal administration of Egypt is not carried on by the Home Government.

NAVY (HEALTH) REPORT, 1883—OPERATION OF THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS IN PROTECTED PORTS.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether care will be taken to remove from the Statistics in the Navy Report for 1883, the error by which, in the ports subjected to the Contagious Diseases Acts, 4,000 boys were reckoned as men, so that the average of venereal disease was greatly lowered in favour of the subjected ports; whether he is aware that, though partial correction has been made of the error since the publication of the Report for 1882, yet the misleading summary of the

figures is retained, without correction, on pp. 72 and 76, and is referred to in support of the commendation of the Acts contained in the "Introductory Letter;" and, who is responsible for the error, and for the long resistance offered from its first insertion, when it was pointed out by Dr. Nevins to the Department?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In answer to the first Question of my hon. and learned Friend, I have to say that the tables to which he takes exception cannot appear at all in the Navy (Health) Report for 1883, because, owing to the changes made during that year in the administration of the Contagious Diseases Acts, the materials for them no longer exist. With regard to the further Questions, I must point out that there has been no error in the matter. What the Admiralty undertook to omit was the last page of the Report containing a direct comparison of percentages of venereal disease in five protected and five unprotected ports; but in the letter in which this omission was promised, written on the 5th of May, 1883, Dr. Nevins was informed that—

"My Lords propose to omit this comparison altogether, but to retain the statistics with regard to the ports in question, for they may be useful as showing the fluctuation of disease in different years among similar bodies of men."

No dissatisfaction was expressed with this arrangement, and the summaries to which my hon. and learned Friend alludes form part of the statistics which it was thus intimated would be retained. The year 1882, however, is necessarily the last for which, even in this modified form, these tables can be prepared.

EGYPT—LOSS OF LIFE IN WAR.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will supply the House with information showing the loss of life in Egypt, and showing the details set forth in a Motion for a Return in to-day's Paper?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: If the hon. Member likes to move for the mortality in the British forces since the occupation of Egypt a Return shall be prepared; but as regards mortality among the natives, I can only refer him to replies made by the Prime Minister on the 15th of May and myself on the 24th of March to the effect that we have no data from which to compile such a Return.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON desired to know whether the noble Marquess meant that General Graham and Admiral Hewitt had not given approximate estimates of the losses among the native troops at El Teb and Tamasi?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: They have given some estimate of what they were informed was the loss of life; but they have given no Return of the number actually killed. Indeed, it was not in their power to do so.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked whether the noble Marquess would object to add to the Return the estimates which Admiral Hewitt, General Graham, and others had made in regard to the slaughter of the Egyptians?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes; I should object to give a Return which is really based upon no accurate information.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEER HOSPITAL CORPS.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for War, When the regulations for the embodiment of a Volunteer Hospital Corps will be promulgated?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: This scheme is not yet sufficiently advanced for the issue of Regulations; but it will be fully considered when the Estimates for next year are prepared.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE CONSTABULARY DEPOT, PHŒNIX PARK.

MR. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a vacancy has occurred, or is about to occur, in the office of Adjutant in the Constabulary depôt, Phœnix Park; and, whether, as the commandant of the depôt is invariably a Protestant, and the majority of the recruits and constables there are Catholics, a Catholic will now be appointed according to the usual rule?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Inspector General informs me that a vacancy in the office of adjutant in the Constabulary depôt, Phœnix Park, has not occurred, but that he has heard unofficially that the present adjutant has expressed an intention shortly to retire. There is no

rule as to the religious profession of the holder of this office, nor is it intended to make one. It is the desire of the Inspector General, in the event of a vacancy occurring, to appoint the most eligible officer without reference to religion.

INLAND REVENUE OFFICERS—PROMOTION.

MR. DEASY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he is aware that, owing to the ambiguous wording of the last paragraph, on page 6, of the Instructions supplied to Officers of Inland Revenue regarding promotion to a Division, many Ride Officers have been misled as to its meaning, and consequently, through no fault of their own, have had their promotion deferred; whether the Board of Inland Revenue have received numerous complaints from such Officers; whether steps will be taken to alter the wording of the said paragraph, so as to make its meaning clear; and, whether Officers, who have been deceived by those Instructions, will now be accorded those places on the official list to which they would otherwise be entitled?

MR. COURTNEY: The wording of this Instruction has been the same for at least 25 years; its meaning is well understood; and very few complaints have been received from officers professing to have misunderstood it. There does not appear to be any necessity to consider the question.

MR. DEASY: Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the paragraph referred to runs as follows:—

"After one year from the date of his appointment to a Ride, an officer may apply for promotion to a Division;"

and the interpretation put upon those words is that unless the officer applies at the end of 12 months exactly he will lose his place on the list, and his juniors in the Service will then obtain promotion before him? But the meaning attached to it by many officers is that they are entitled to promotion by seniority as heretofore; but that in this case a petition must be sent in on application made after 12 months.

MR. COURTNEY: I am not aware that any such interpretation has been put upon it, and do not think there is any foundation for that statement.

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—BALTINGLASS UNION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that the conduct of Mr. Dagg, clerk of the Baltinglass Union, was impugned by the popular candidate at the late election; whether, on investigation by an officer of the Local Government Board, Mr. Dagg was found only to have committed errors of judgment; whether these errors resulted in the return of the Conservative candidate; whether the Conservative majority of the Board of Guardians have since recommended an increase of Mr. Dagg's salary; whether a numerously signed petition on the part of the ratepayers has been sent to the Local Government Board protesting against the proposed increase; and, what action the Board intend to take in the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: A fortnight ago I informed the hon. Member that the candidate declared elected was found on inquiry to have received a majority of valid votes, and I stated that the errors of judgment on the part of the Returning Officer did not affect the result of the election. The Board of Guardians have recommended an increase in the salary of the clerk of the Union, and petitions have been signed adverse to the proposal. The Local Government Board have not yet decided whether they will sanction the increase.

MR. HEALY asked whether, after so many clerks had been reprimanded through these elections, the Government would not take some action in the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: In one case the Returning Officer was removed and another substituted.

MR. SEXTON asked whether, the increase of salary in this case had not been recommended by a partizan Board to show their approval of the Returning Officer's conduct in this case?

MR. HARRINGTON asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had read the Report of the inquiry, and saw that the Returning Officer threatened an action for libel against the defeated candidate for moving for an investigation?

MR. TREVELYAN was understood to say that he had not read the evidence at the inquiry.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POSTMASTER AT KILMORE, CO. ROSCOMMON.

MR. DEASY asked the Postmaster General, Whether any vacancy has arisen, or is about to arise, in the office of postmaster at the village of Kilmore, county Roscommon; and, whether, in the event of such vacancy arising, care will be taken that the post office is retained in the village?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that no vacancy had arisen regarding the post office referred to. When a vacancy arose care would be taken to have the office placed in a convenient situation.

EGYPT—THE MUTINY AT ASSIOUT.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will inform the House what measures Her Majesty's Government intend recommending the Government of the Khedive to adopt for the purpose of punishing and making an example of the Turkish troops who recently mutinied at Assiout?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The discipline and internal economy of the Egyptian Army are matters resting with the local authorities; and Her Majesty's Government do not propose to send any orders from home on the present incident.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO"—MAINTENANCE OF THE FAMILIES.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will be good enough to inform the House what sum has been awarded and paid by the Government towards the maintenance of the impoverished widows, wives, and children of the captive crew of the *Nisero?*

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: A list of 25 names was sent in to Lord Granville, prepared, I believe, by Messrs. Pinckney, the owners of the vessel, and an application was made for £500 on their behalf. Of this list, however, 11 persons, including eight foreigners, had no relative who could be traced; on behalf of one no application was understood to be made; and three others were described as not being dependent on their relatives among the captured crew. On behalf of the remaining 10 persons, who mostly come from Liverpool, Lord Granville has suggested to the Lords of the Treasury that a sum of £300 should be awarded, and that this amount should be intrusted for distribution to the Committee for the fund now being raised at the Mansion House with the kind consent of the Lord Mayor.

LAW AND JUSTICE—FORGERY OF THE WILL OF THE LATE MR. JAMES WHALLEY—CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST CHARLES THOMAS.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, in the interests of justice, it is intended to take criminal proceedings against Charles Thomas, who, in an action tried in the Queen's Bench Division, High Court of Justice, last November, was declared to have been a party to, or privy to, the forgery of the will of the late Mr. James Whalley, of Leominster?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that he had communicated with the Director of Public Prosecutions, and found that he was making inquiries into this case. The matter required great caution in taking action upon it; for if proceedings were taken, it would lead to a very long and expensive trial. The matter would be most fully considered.

INDIA—THE CHOLERA—THE SALT TAX.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether experiments conducted each on a considerable scale by Mr. F. C. Brown in Malabar for fifteen years, 1822 to 1837, by Dr. Bedman, Madras Army, in Hoashungabad in 1857, during a violent cholera epidemic, by the Deputy Commissioner, Khundnea, Central Provinces, in 1863, and in a number of gaols in India since these dates, have established the value of salt as a preventive; and, whether therefore, Government will endeavour to reduce the salt tax in India from its present rate of over 1,000 per cent. on the prime cost of the article?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I am aware of the circumstances referred to in the Question of the hon. Member; but I understand that the highest medical opinion of the present day does not support the idea

that salt has any specific influence on cholera, though an insufficiency of salt certainly renders persons more liable to epidemic disease. I have already informed the hon. Member that a further reduction of the Salt Tax is not at present practicable.

THE LUNACY COMMISSIONERS—THE REPORT.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, with reference to the Report of the Lunacy Commissioners just laid upon the Table, Whether, with regard to App. E. p. 330, which is a Return for County and Borough Asylums of the average weekly cost of maintenance, &c., he will ask the Commissioners for a statement of the annual cost as well; whether his attention has been called to the incomplete Return of Expenditure in Lunatic Hospitals, App. F.; whether the omission of the expenditure of the Manchester Royal Lunatic Hospital will be supplied; and, if he will be good enough to cause at least an approximate Return of the Cost of Lunatics in Poor Houses to be given, and show in concrete form the total number of lunatics of all classes maintained from public sources, and the cost of maintenance?

MR. HIBBERT: The total annual cost of all English lunatic asylums appears in the copies of the abstracts of asylum accounts transmitted to the Lunacy Commissioners under the Act 16 & 17 *Vict.* c. 97, s. 58, and are annually laid on the Table of the House after careful examination and correction; but hitherto have never been ordered to be printed. These abstracts will be laid upon the Table in the course of a few days, and will be accessible to Members in the Library. As regards the omission in Appendix F, it must be understood that the information contained in that Appendix is given by the courtesy of the superintendents of the hospitals, and there is no power to compel them to send it. The Medical Superintendent of the Manchester Royal Lunatic Hospital has, in regard to his Return, had four letters addressed to him on the subject without effect. As regards the cost of lunatics in workhouses, no separate accounts are kept by Boards of Guardians of such costs; and it would not be possible for the Local Government Board to furnish such a Return.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE BARBAVILLA CONSPIRACY CASE.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that Cole, the informer, examined in the recent Barbavilla conspiracy case, has been pardoned; has the Government in this case departed from the usual practice of requiring an informer to leave the Country; have the Executive received a Memorial from the Catholic clergymen of the district in which Cole resided, stating their opinion that it would be dangerous to the public peace that he should come to reside in that locality; whether it is the fact that he has come to reside there; and, will he state whether the district or the county is to be charged for the extra police kept for his protection?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that it was hardly correct to state that Cole had been pardoned, because he was not convicted, and it was not usual to give pardon to unconvicted prisoners. It was not intended to proceed against him. It was a fact that he had returned to Westmeath. He was anxious to go back as he had a valuable property there, which it was not possible to dispose of at present; and as he had a large family dependent on him, it was felt that it would be unjust to compel him to leave the country. A Memorial had been received as stated; but it was not considered that his presence would be dangerous to the peace of the locality. The police, who were protecting him, were not charged on the district. They were part of the county force.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) — PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that, under the Public Health Act, should a visitation of cholera occur in Dublin, it is uncertain whether the duty of taking extraordinary precautions will be vested in the Corporation or in the Boards of Guardians; whether he is aware that, under the Act of last Session, the Local Government Board is given power to decide this question; whether he is aware that, until such a decision is made, no adequate precautions can be taken by either sanitary authority; and, whe-

ther, in view of the fact that adequate precautions, in the way of extraordinary measures for the abatement of nuisances, for the provision of extra hospital accommodation, and for thorough and effective scavenging, whitewashing, &c. must necessarily take a long period to carry out when, as in Dublin, thousands of tenement houses have to be dealt with, he can hold out any hope that the Irish Local Government Board will take action at a time when action may be really effective?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board are in communication with the Corporation of Dublin in regard to measures to be taken should a visitation of cholera occur in Dublin, and unless the Corporation make any well-founded objections they are willing to empower that body to carry into execution any regulations which may be made under the 149th section of the Public Health Act for the prevention of the spread of infectious disease in Dublin. On hearing from the Corporation, the Local Government Board will furnish them with a copy of a draft order which has been prepared, and which will show them the duties which will be imposed on them in the event of the 149th section being put in force. The first point to be aimed at is, however, to prevent the introduction of cholera into the country. With that view careful orders were framed last year, and with the concurrence of the Admiralty and the Commissioners of Customs, the duty was imposed on the Coastguard and Customs officers to inspect, and, if necessary, detain ships arriving in which there had been any disease. These orders are still in force, and the Admiralty and Commissioners of Customs have been urged by the Irish Government to impress upon their officers the necessity at the present time for the exercise of great caution in carrying out the duties imposed on them by this order. A copy of the order was sent last week to each Port Sanitary Authority, with a circular calling their attention to its provisions, and requesting that the medical officers of health appointed under it should have their attention again directed to their duties. As regards Dublin, the Local Government Board Inspector reports that the medical officers have been put on the alert, that the Coastguards and Customs have been communicated with by the Sanitary Authority, and that the floating intercepting hospital is ready and fully equipped with every requirement, and may be occupied at any moment in the event of a case of cholera coming into harbour. As regards portable hospitals, the Local Government Board have invited plans and estimates from a large firm in Dublin, and are making inquiries as to the cost and other particulars respecting the portable hospitals kept in stock by a London firm.

MR. GRAY: When was the Corporation communicated with?

MR. TREVELYAN: On Saturday. The Port Sanitary Authority was communicated with on Thursday.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been drawn to the recent report on the threatened outbreak of cholera, in which the College of Physicians in Ireland state, inter alia, that—

"The College are of opinion that the existing Port Hospital Ship, except as a temporary measure, is an inadequate and unsuitable provision against a possible invasion of cholera through the Port. They think that an isolated intercepting hospital, containing at least twenty beds, should be prepared within a convenient distance of the river, to which patients suffering from suspicious diarrhœa, cholerine (cholera nostras), or cholera, on board vessels arriving in the Port, should be instantly removed. Abundant air space, free ventilation, an efficient system of warming, and sanitary applianccs of the most approved kind, should be provided in the intercepting hospital. These measures have proved successful elsewhere;"

whether he is aware that, 1883, the Corporation of Dublin, being advised by the highest medical authorities, desired to erect an hospital hut in a convenient situation on the Pigeon House Road, at the entrance to the Port of Dublin, and that a site for that purpose was granted by the Earl of Pembroke; whether he is aware that the Military authorities resisted this proposal, notwithstanding the declaration of the Medical Officer of Health, the Medical Officer of the North Dublin Union, the Medical Officer of the City Prisons, the City Analyst, and the authorities of the Local Government Board, that no danger would be incurred by the erection of the hut in the place in question; whether, in view of a probable visitation of cholera, he, as President of the Local Government Board, is

satisfied to permit the Military authorities to interfere with the provision by the responsible sanitary authorities of the city of adequate safeguards against the importation of cholera into the Metropolis of Ireland; and, what action he intends to take in the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am awareof the views expressed in a Memorandum prepared last year by the College of Physicians in Ireland in respect to hospital accommodation, and which, I believe, they have repeated within the last few days. The difficulty as to a site for a proposed hospital at the entrance to the Port of Dublin occurred 11 years ago. The Correspondence is already before the House, having been published in full in the Report of the Local Goverment Board in 1874. The difficulty in procuring a site under such circumstances within the district of a Sanitary Authority, should they recur, will be met by the Cholera Hospitals Bill now before the House in the event of its becoming law.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, GREETHILL, CO. GALWAY.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a letter, of which the following is a copy, which was sent by Mr. Thomas J. Crowe, agent to Mr. Acheson S. Ffrench, a landlord in the county Galway, to Mr. John O'Brien, a tenant of a holding on the estate of Mr. Ffrench:—

"Monivea Estate Office,
"16 March, 1884.

"John O'Brien.

"Dear Sir,—I am directed by Acheson S. Ffrench, Esq., Monivea Castle, to tell you to vote for Mr. Laurence Smith, as guardian for Greethill, and you will also give notice to all our tenants to vote for Mr. Smith, and try and keep down the rates in that quarter of the estate. You are now called on to see that all our tenants and yourself will vote for Laurence Smith, Esq., as Mr. Ffrench wishes to have him elected, and will take no excuse.

"Yr. friend
"THOS. J. CROWE.

"I would be sorry if you put Mr. Ffrench against you. So do your best among our tenants to have Mr. Smith elected, and do all you can for him;"

and, what steps will be taken in regard to the writing and sending of this letter?

MR. TREVELYAN: I understand that Mr. Crowe admits that he wrote the letter quoted. The letter is certainly a strong one. But I have already more than once stated, and with respect to cases occurring on both sides, that the Government are not prepared to put the Intimidation Clauses of the Crimes Act into force in such matters. I think, however, that as Mr. Ffrench is, as I understand, in the Commission of the Peace, this case ought to be submitted to the Lord Chancellor with a view to his Lordship considering whether Mr. Ffrench ought to be asked if Mr. Crowe's letter was written by his direction, as it purports to have been.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MR. J. G. FITZGERALD, DISTRICT INSPECTOR.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, late District Inspector of National Schools in Ireland, addressed certain Letters to the secretaries of the Commissioners of National Education on the 8th, 24th, and 28th of May 1882; whether those Letters were an appeal to nineteen of the Commissioners from the conduct and action of the senior secretary, Dr. Newell, one of the paid Commissioners; and, if so, what were the decisions of the Commissioners appealed to at their first subsequent consideration of the Letters referred to; whether the senior secretary and the paid Commissioner attended at those meetings, and took part in the proceedings; and, whether he will cause those Letters, or else authenticated Copies of them, to be laid upon the Table of the House during the present Session of Parliament?

MR. TREVELYAN: In January, 1879, Mr. Fitzgerald was dismissed by the Commissioners of National Education from the office of District Inspector of National Schools, in consequence of his having endeavoured to obtain payment from the Commissioners of an expenditure not incurred in the Public Service, and of the grave mis-statements and contradictions by which he endeavoured to sustain this improper claim. This decision of the Board was, on successive appeals from Mr. Fitzgerald, reconsidered by the Commissioners, who, on the 20th May, 1879, made a final order declining to accede to his applica-

tion for a new inquiry. Three years later, in 1882, but not on the precise dates specified in the Question, Mr. Fitzgerald addressed a printed statement and various letters to the Secretaries, appealing for a reconsideration of his case. This appeal was, after careful consideration, adversely decided upon by the Commissioners on the 7th November, 1882. The Resident Commissioner and the Senior Secretary were not present on that occasion—the former on account of illness, the latter because it was not his turn for duty. I do not think any public advantage would result from laying the Papers on the Table, or that it would be proper to do so. The Commissioners inform me that they contain very scurrilous and unfounded statements with respect to officials connected with their Department.

EMIGRATION (IRELAND)—THE TUKE AND GASKELL COMMITTEE.

MR. KENNY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any of Her Majesty's ships are employed on the West Coast of Ireland for the purpose of conveying emigrants, under the direction of the Tuke and Gaskell Committee, from the islands and different parts of the mainland to the points at which the Transatlantic steamers wait; whether this service is afforded to the Tuke and Gaskell Committee free of cost; and, whether the object is to get the emigrants out of the Country without attracting public notice?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Four of Her Majesty's vessels, stationed on the West Coast of Ireland, have been occasionally employed in assisting the embarkation of emigrants in connection with the scheme of Mr. Tuke's Committee. If any expense was incurred, it was so slight that it is not intended to make any charge. The object of giving this assistance was to aid in a philanthropic undertaking for the benefit of the more destitute districts in the West of Ireland; and had there existed a desire to get the emigrants out of the country without attracting public notice, I can imagine nothing more likely to defeat that intention than the open employment of Her Majesty's vessels in the work. It is not proposed further to employ any vessels of the Navy on such duties during this season.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE DUBLIN POST OFFICE.

MR. GRAY asked the Postmaster General, If it is true that an inequality exists as to the footing upon which the postal and telegraph branches of the Dublin Post Office are placed, the former ranking as a "Metropolitan," and the latter as a "Provincial" establishment; why such an inequality of rank exists; and, will he take steps to have the two branches placed in the same rank?

MR. FAWCETT: Although the Dublin Office is sometimes called "Metropolitan" and sometimes "Provincial," there is no such difference in the classification of the two branches of the Office as that implied in the Question of the hon. Member.

PUBLIC HEALTH—THE CHOLERA—IMPORTATION OF RAGS.

DR. CAMERON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether there is any truth in the statement contained in *The Daily News* of the 18th instant, that a cargo of rags from Marseilles to Goole, forbidden by the sanitary authorities to be landed at that port, have been landed near Hull?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, a Goole newspaper correspondent stated that the announcement that the steamer *Baron Hambro* had arrived at Hull with rags from Marseilles for Goole caused much excitement, Goole having suffered terribly from previous epidemics of cholera. The authorities in London promptly warned Goole, and steps were taken by the local authorities to prevent the landing of the rags. It was further stated that the rags had been landed near Hull. The Board, as soon as they were aware that the rags in question were on their way to the port of Hull, issued an order conferring powers on the Hull Port Sanitary Authority for the purpose of taking the necessary precautions in the event of its being proposed to land the rags at Hull. The Board telegraphed to Hull on Saturday inquiring whether the rags had in fact been landed. It was stated in a letter received on Saturday from the Town Clerk that the medical officer of health considered it impossible to disinfect the rags, assuming that they required disinfection, and that they must either be destroyed or sent back to Marseilles.

The consignee alleges that the rags are woollen, and partly new tailors' cuttings, and that they were baled and on board the steamer before there was a case of cholera at Marseilles in a form which can be called an epidemic in the town. He had just received a telegram which stated that if the consignee declined to take back the rags they would be destroyed.

MR. MONK asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he would consider the advisability of issuing a General Order prohibiting the importation of rags from any French port whatsoever?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that it had been ascertained that rags had conveyed small-pox and other infectious diseases; but all inquiries had hitherto failed to discover that cholera had ever been conveyed by rags. Although he had issued a General Order against importation from Marseilles and Toulon—which he had taken upon himself, not supported by medical authority—he should not feel justified in applying that Order to French ports generally. French rags, as a rule, were clean, and the greater portion came from Dieppe, and were supposed to be Northern rags. Out of a total annual importation of 19,000 tons into this country, between 12,000 and 13,000 tons were French rags. Under these circumstances he did not think he would be justified in prohibiting the whole importation.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES)—TEACHERS' PENSIONS.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, If it is the case that applications are received by the Department of Education from Members of Parliament in favour of persons whose claims for a pension is under the consideration of the Department; and, whether such applications result in any benefit to the persons on whose behalf they are made?

MR. MUNDELLA said, the Code laid down that "applications for a pension will be received only from the managers" of a school or Training College, and he thought it would be well if the correspondence on the subject was also limited to them. It was true, however, that Members of Parliament had written to him in favour of pensions for particular teachers; but such recommendations, unless based on personal knowledge of the work or circumstances of a teacher, were of no value. The pensions were awarded exclusively on the merits of each case; and he believed that in no single instance had a recommendation from a Member of Parliament or any other person been allowed to affect improperly the award of a pension.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE TUBBERCURRY PRISONERS.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Having regard to the undertaking given as to the case of the Tubbercurry prisoners, what is now the intention of the Crown with respect to their trial?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER): It was the full intention of the Crown to proceed with this trial at the present Assizes; but in consequence of its being sworn that advertisements had been circulated through the county and amongst the jurors and published in the local newspapers, making certain statements in respect of the trial calculated to affect it, the Judge postponed the trial; but the Crown is still anxious for and will take steps to secure a speedy trial.

MR. O'BRIEN: Why was not the case against Fitzgerald proceeded with; he was not connected with the locality?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER): The same circumstances governed all the cases.

MR. SEXTON gave Notice that he would call attention to the matter on the Vote for the Law Charges in Ireland.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — SCHOOL ATTENDANCE—MEDICAL CERTIFICATES.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether, in view of the hardships arising in those cases where School Boards require a medical certificate before they excuse a sick child from school attendance, and where the parents are unable from poverty to pay for such certificate, he will advise School Boards that they ought either to dispense with such condition or else provide the certificate at their own charge?

MR. MUNDELLA said, that whenever the Department received any in-

quiry or complaint relating to such cases as that to which the Question referred, they intimated to the local authorities that, in their opinion, the cost of the certificate should be defrayed by them. Of late they had had no complaints whatever on the subject.

STATE OF IRELAND—ORANGE PROCESSION, GLENARM, CO. ANTRIM.

LORD ARTHUR HILL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a paragraph which appeared in *The Belfast News Letter* of the 14th July, describing the conduct of the police at Glenarm (county Antrim), on the 12th July, in pulling down an Orange arch; and, under whose orders the police were acting when they destroyed the arch alluded to in the newspaper paragraph?

MR. SEXTON asked whether the Catholics were not a majority in the place referred to; whether, in order to insult the Catholics, the Orangemen hung the arch on the house of the parish priest?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he had not seen the newspaper report referred to; but he had ascertained that the arch was put up against the wishes of the persons to whose houses it was attached, and that on a former occasion a serious disturbance arose in consequence of an arch having been erected in the same place. The District Inspector and a magistrate whom he consulted feared that a riot would occur if the opposite party interfered with it, and the police were therefore directed to take it down, which they did quietly and without causing any local excitement.

MR. SEXTON: Was it a fact that the arch was suspended at the house of the parish priest?

MR. TREVELYAN: I do not know.

MR. SEXTON: Well, I know.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENTS TO THE COMMISSION OF THE PEACE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many of the fifty gentlemen publicly recommended this year to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, for appointment to the Commission of the Peace in Irish counties, were approved of by the Lieutenants of their respective counties, and how many of them have been actually appointed to the Commission?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the Question was asked under the impression that only 50 recommendations of names had been made by the public to the Lord Chancellor since the beginning of the year. A great many more than 50 of such recommendations had been made, of which a good number still remained for consideration. Fifty was the number of gentlemen whose names had been brought under such recommendations to the notice of the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Lieutenants of Counties and who had been appointed magistrates; 46 of these were approved of by the Lord Lieutenants, and the remaining four were placed on the Commission without such approval.

SCOTLAND—LEAD MINERS IN THE ISLE OF ISLAY—THE TRUCK ACT.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to an application made in March last by Mr. R. Chappel of Islay, to the Procurator Fiscal at Inverary, to put in force the Truck Act for the protection of certain lead miners in the Island of Islay, and the reply of the Procurator Fiscal thereto; whether the following extract from the Fiscal's letter of the 11th of March has been brought under his notice—

"I find that, although the Act applies to an iron or coal miner, it does not appear to apply to a lead miner. I am therefore unable to do anything in the matter;"

and, if this is a true exposition of the Law, if Her Majesty's Government will take steps to have the Law amended?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): It is the case that the Truck Act 1 & 2 *Will.* IV. c. 37, does not apply to miners in lead mines. The Commissioners appointed in 1871 to inquire into the working of the Truck Act reported in favour of lead mines being included within the scope of the Act; but this has not yet been done. I shall inquire into the particulars of the case referred to in this Question, with a view to considering as to legislation.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA—COST OF ANNUAL CHANGE OF LOCATION.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he is

now in possession of the information respecting the periods and cost of the annual migration of the Government of India from Calcutta to Simla, which on the 1st of May last he promised to ask for from the Government of India; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House, a Return showing the annual dates since the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown in 1858, of the migration of the Government of India at Calcutta to Simla, and the dates of its return to Calcutta, and the extra annual cost upon the taxpayers of India in consequence of this annual migration of Government?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, no reply had yet been received from the Government of India to the despatch sent to them after the hon. and learned Member asked his Question on the 1st of May. The Return would take some time to prepare, as the accounts of former years were not compiled in the manner now adopted.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—TRIAL OF THE KILCROSS RIOTERS.

MR. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that forty-one prisoners charged at the Clonmel Assizes in July 1881 with having been engaged in a riot at Kilcross, county Tipperary, on the 6th of May previous, were, owing to the disagreement of the jury, sent to the following winter assizes at Kilkenny; whether the judge at Clonmel granted an application for costs made by counsel for the prisoners on account of the adjournment of the trials; whether only eleven prisoners received any costs; and, whether Mr. George Bolton, Crown Solicitor, received the costs for the remaining thirty prisoners; and, if not, could he explain the reason?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The prisoners were charged at the Clonmel Summer Assizes of 1881 with a riot, and the jury disagreed. The trial was then postponed to the next Assizes, and the presiding Judge directed that "the traversers should be paid the costs they would be put to by the postponement." The accused were subsequently tried at the Winter Assizes of 1881 and convicted. No application was made at the Winter Assizes in respect of the costs awarded; but costs were afterwards furnished and taxed to £46 10*s.* 8*d.*, which was paid. In October, 1882, a claim was made for the travelling and hotel expenses of 11 of the parties, which was taxed at £19 5*s.* and paid. A claim is now made on behalf of 21 others, and, if it is presented on the same scale as that paid, it may be considered. No sum in respect of these costs has ever been received by Mr. Bolton. If a claim be admitted, it will be paid.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Her Majesty's Government gave, as one of their principal reasons for not attempting the rescue of General Gordon in the Spring, that it was impossible for British troops to endure the heat of Southern Egypt in the hot season; whether British troops are now quartered at Assouan under canvas; whether the health of those gallant men is seriously imperilled by their being exposed, under canvas, to the scorching sun and excessive heat of Southern Egypt at this season; and, whether the maintenance of British troops at Assouan adds greatly to the expenses?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In general terms the climate was given as one of the principal reasons for not sending the troops asked for by General Gordon; but this referred to troops actively engaged in a campaign. I am not aware that the troops at Assouan are quartered under canvas. The latest information I possess points to their being either hutted or in process of being hutted. Some increase of expense is no doubt caused by troops being stationed at Assouan; but I cannot say what it is.

EGYPT (ARMY OF OCCUPATION)—DRUNKENNESS.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will state the result of his inquiries as to the punishments inflicted on British soldiers for drunkenness at Alexandria?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have not yet received the Report on the subject which I called for from the General Officer Commanding in Egypt; but the Judge Advocate General has supplied me with the following information:—

"From January 1 to June 30, 1884, 33 prisoners have been tried by district courts martial in Egypt for the offence of drunkenness. Of these district courts martial, one was held at Alexandria and eight at Ramleh, a suburb of Alexandria. It should be, however, noticed that in 22 cases out of the total of 33 the men were tried for other offences in addition to the crime of drunkenness. The punishments awarded have been, in the cases of non-commissioned officers, 'reduction' to an inferior grade or to the ranks, and in the cases of private soldiers have varied from one year's imprisonment with hard labour to 14 days' imprisonment with hard labour, in addition to fines. Of course, the heavier punishments were only awarded where the offence of drunkenness was aggravated by other and graver crimes."

PUBLIC HEALTH—STATE OF THE THAMES.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the President of the Local Government Board, If it is the intention of the Government to wait till the arrival of the cholera before they take any vigorous steps to purify the Upper and the Lower Thames, which is now in a state of semi-putrefaction, and which threatens, with the gravest danger, all who live in proximity to it?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: With respect to the Lower Thames, in reply to a Question which was addressed to me by the hon. Member for Finsbury (Sir Andrew Lusk) on the 14th instant, I referred to the action which was being taken by the Metropolitan Board of Works as to the sewage discharged at Barking and Crossness, and, as the hon. Member is aware, a Royal Commission are inquiring as to the alleged pollution of the river in connection with these outfalls. The Home Secretary asks me to say that he has addressed a letter to the Metropolitan Board on the subject and is waiting for an answer. By the Upper Thames, I presume the hon. Member means the part of the river on which Richmond and other places included in the Lower Thames Valley main sewerage district abut, and, as regards that part, I regret to say that at present I have nothing to add to my answer to the hon. Member for Finsbury on Friday last.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG said, that a full and complete answer would be delivered to-morrow to the letter to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the right hon. Gentleman whether, as experience had shown that the sewage was discharged at a point too high to be all swept out by a single tide, he would not consider the propriety of discharging it a considerable number of miles further down?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the hon. Gentleman's Question assumed that that was the duty of the Government and not of the local authorities. This was one of the main questions under consideration at present by the Royal Commission.

INDIA (NATIVE STATES)—NIZAM OF HYDERABAD.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Government are yet in possession of the Report of Major General Glasfurd, Settlement Commissioner of the Government of the Nizam of Hyderabad, relating to the cruelties practised in collecting the revenue, and the long detention of untried prisoners in gaol, which was communicated to the Viceroy of India on February 4th 1884; what has been the result of the communications addressed to the Government of India on the subject of this Report, as promised on May 8th; and, whether he will lay a Copy of this Report upon the Table of the House?

MR. J. K. CROSS: By the courtesy of General Glasfurd, who is at present in this country, I have received the Report about which the hon. and learned Member asks. The Report was made by General Glasfurd while serving as Settlement Commissioner of the Hyderabad State to the Nizam's Government, and not to the Government of India. The document, therefore, is not one which the Secretary of State can present.

MR. GORST asked whether the Report had not been communicated by General Glasfurd to the Viceroy of India?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The document was given privately to the Viceroy when he was at Hyderabad; but I should like to have it officially submitted to the India Office in a more formal manner before producing it.

MR. GORST gave Notice that he would call attention in the Indian Budget to the want of information on this document.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary whether he would not com-

municate with the Government of India on the subject?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, he had already done so, but had not yet received a reply.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON — DR. SCHWEINFURTH'S REPORT.

MR. CHAPLIN (for Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT) asked, Whether the Government have received any confirmation of the following statements with regard to General Gordon, recently published in *The Pall Mall Gazette*, by Dr. Schweinfurth, the great African traveller:—

"Berlin, Thursday. — You forget Gordon, whose fate in a few weeks will be fulfilled. It is the eleventh hour; under parties' disputes your noblest citizen's cry for help is suffocated; horrors related of sufferings in Khartoum unexampled; hopelessly abandoned, defence of his house against increasing numbers is desperate;"

and, whether the intelligence given by so-called pilgrims at Suakin as to the fall of Berber contradicts previous statements of pilgrims as to its safety?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No, Sir; no confirmation has reached Her Majesty's Government of the statements telegraphed by Dr. Schweinfurth, who has himself informed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin that the news was derived second-hand from Nubians recently arrived at Cairo, who had been cross-examined by a friend there. The statements of pilgrims as to the safety of Berber have from time to time been contradictory; and I informed the House on several occasions that the information of whatever kind obtained from this source must be received with caution. I may add that Mr. Egerton telegraphed from Cairo yesterday that Nubar Pasha had handed to him the following translation of a letter purported to have been received by the Mudir of Dongola from General Gordon:—

"Khartoum and Senaar are well defended (en bonne défense). Tell the bearer where and how many are the reinforcements. There are 8,000 men at Khartoum. The Nile is rising considerably."

In giving this telegram to the House, I think it necessary to add that its contents ought, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, to be received with caution; but in the opinion of Nubar Pasha, with which Mr. Egerton concurs, the letter of General Gordon is genuine. The Mudir has been instructed to forward the original to Cairo. Mr. Egerton also telegraphs that further information received from Major Chermside confirms the report that assistance had been asked from Berber of Osman Digna, apparently against General Gordon, of whose movements the rebels were afraid.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: May I ask my noble Friend whether the statement which also appears in the newspapers this morning is believed to be correct—namely, that the Mudir of Dongola had stated that he kept the messenger in order to take back a reply to Khartoum?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Mudir of Dongola apparently does wish for a reply to be sent.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: In what language is the letter from General Gordon?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In French, I believe; at least it was transmitted in that language to Mr. Egerton.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE NEW POST OFFICE AT MULLINGAR.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Postmaster General, What is the reason of the delay in commencing the erection of the new post office at Mullingar?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that some unforeseen difficulties had arisen with regard to the acquisition of a site for the post office at Mullingar; but he hoped that these difficulties would be overcome; and, if no further difficulty occurred, the new buildings would be commenced within a month.

IRELAND—FREE FORCE OF THE CITY OF CORK — DISTRIBUTION UNDER 20 AND 21 VICT. CHAPTERS 17 AND 3.

MR. PARNELL asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If he can inform the House under what Statute, and section thereof, a redistribution of the free force alloted to the city of Cork can be made once only in every quinquennial period; and, whether it is compulsory upon the Lord Lieutenant to adopt this period as the period for redistribution?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The distribution of the free force at present in existence for the City of Cork and other

cities and counties is under an Order of Council made the 27th July, 1882. The Statute is 20 & 21 *Vict.* caps. 17 and 3. There can be no redistribution before the 27th July, 1887, as under that Statute it can only be made every five years.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—EXTRA POLICE (CORK).

MR. PARNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, In reference to his statement that there are nine men of the extra constabulary force, the moiety of whose cost is not charged against the Cork Corporation as they do not perform effective duty, whether there are also two men employed as port enumerators, two as ship inspectors, two under the Contagious Diseases Act, and seven undergoing training in Dublin, or altogether thirteen constables who cannot be considered as performing effective duty in connection with the ordinary police duties of the City; and, whether the Corporation will be relieved from the moiety of the cost of these thirteen men?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that the Report which he had received stated that, in addition to the nine detectives referred to, one man was employed as quarterly enumerator, and three were employed as Shipping Inspectors under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act. One was temporarily employed assisting these three. Two were employed under the Contagious Diseases Act, and there were, at the time that the correspondence began between the local authorities in Cork and the Irish Government, seven detectives, against which there were recruits at the depôt. As regarded the Shipping Inspectors, the Act expressly stated that the police should execute and enforce under this Act every Order of the Privy Council, so that Cork could not claim any exemption. As regarded the men in training at the depôt, it should be clearly understood that the required number of Constabulary which must be maintained free of expense to the localities was apportioned between the several counties and cities, and that a certain portion of the number must necessarily consist of recruits in training. No county or city could claim to have the full number of men always present and on duty. Nevertheless, it was the practice, from the first settlement with regard to Cork police, to deduct all vacancies there, whether on account of the recruits at the depôt or from other causes. That was an exceptional arrangement in regard to Cork, which afforded a fair equivalent to the City for the necessary employment of the quarterly enumerator and of the Inspectors under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act. Accordingly, when the seven vacancies were deducted, the number of men charged for would be 23. The Government proposed carefully to consider the recommendation of the Cork Corporation on this subject; and he thought he might fairly say that the number of police would be reduced to 170, in which case, the extra men charged for would be 20, of which only one-half would be paid by the City.

METROPOLITAN BUILDING ACT—THE NEW HOTEL, NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE.

MR. GRAY asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether he is aware that the two top stories of the new monster hotel at the corner of Northumberland Avenue and the Embankment are apparently built of wood; and, whether this is in accordance with the Metropolitan Building Bye-Laws?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL HOGG: I beg to inform the hon. Member that the building in question is constructed in accordance with the Metropolitan Building Act. There is nothing in the Act to prevent two or more stories in the roof being built of wood, provided such stories are covered externally with incombustible materials. If such a system of building is objectionable it is a defect in the Act, and it would require another Act of Parliament to effect an alteration.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CROSSMAGLEN PRISONERS IN CHATHAM.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Under what circumstances did Major Blair, R.M. county Armagh, obtain a pass to visit the Crossmaglen prisoners in Chatham; was he authorised by the Government to see them; did he make any Report afterwards to the Home Office; and, who paid his expenses?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that Major Blair, being on a holiday, was passing through London, and being desirous to see the convicts, he applied for the usual order in such cases, and it was granted. He went down to Chatham for the purpose; but it turned out that the particular prisoner he went to see was not one of those who had been removed from Ireland. However, other prisoners who had been removed from Ireland expressed a wish to see Major Blair, and he saw one of them, who stated that he desired to be sent back to an Irish prison. No report was made by Major Blair to the Home Office. The removal of Irish prisoners to Chatham was a temporary measure rendered necessary by some want of accommodation in Irish prisons. Measures were, however, being taken to supply the necessary accommodation.

MR. HEALY said, he was much obliged to the right hon. and learned Gentleman for his courteous reply.

PARLIAMENT—CASUAL CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.

MR. WARTON: I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the statement he made in the House upon the 27th of October, 1882, in answer to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), in regard to the appointment of Casual Chairman of Committees, the time has not come for him to state if and when he intends to submit for the consideration of the House proposals for regulating their appointment? Within a recent period no less than three "Casual Chairmen" have taken the Chair.

MR. H. H. FOWLER: I wish, further, to ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether, having regard to the opinion which he frequently expressed during the Procedure debates that the Chairman of Ways and Means was not a Member of the Government, but an independent Officer of the House, he thinks it desirable that any Member of the Government should take the Chair in Committee of the Whole House except by the vote of the House on the Question being put?

MR. GLADSTONE: Let me first deal with the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). I admit that there is a certain amount of presumption in favour of the exclusion of Members of the Government from the Chair in Committees; but I think that those who are acquainted with the course of Business, especially when the House is very thin towards the close of the Sitting, and upon Bills of secondary consequence, would know that it would not be easy at all times to find any person sufficiently acquainted with the Forms of the House to be able to discharge the duties of Chairman except some Member of the Government. I, therefore, do not think it desirable to make any positive Rule of the kind suggested by my hon. Friend, excluding Members of the Government, although, to a certain extent, I agree with my hon. Friend. We all deeply lament the severe domestic affliction which has deprived us of the services of the Chairman of Ways and Means, for some little time at least. I have no doubt that he will make those sacrifices which, unfortunately, have to be exacted from the Officers of this House, and even sometimes from the Members of this House, in painful circumstances; but we cannot expect him to take the Chair for some little time, and his absence must be provided for. With regard to the Question of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), it is quite true that I referred to this subject in October, 1882, and in conformity with the opinion then given, in the spring of 1883 I put upon the Notice Paper a plan which had been a good deal considered with the aid of the authorities—a plan or regular system for supplying the Chair in the absence of the Chairman of Ways and Means; but, unhappily, one or two Gentleman gave Notice of Amendment to that plan, and it was impossible, on account of the pressure of Business, to find time for their discussion. On that account I removed the Notice, after a certain time, and I have not renewed it. At the same time, I shall be very glad to renew it, if there is a prospect of the adoption of some scheme without any large expenditure of the time of the House in discussing it. So much for the general subject. As regards the immediate necessity, I think it can be provided against, for there is nothing urgent in the case. The right hon. Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Sclater-Booth), the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), the First Commissioner of

Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair), have all kindly offered their assistance during the present week, so there is no immediate pressure. But as regards the general subject, I think it desirable that we should have a fixed system, and possibly I may receive encouragement to renew the Notice to which I have referred.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—THE REFORM DEMONSTRATION—ACCESS TO THE HOUSE.

MR. CHAPLIN: Mr. Speaker, in the interests of Members generally, I wish to put to you a Question in regard to the Order passed by the House of Commons, which refers to the free access of Members of this House. That Order was passed on the 5th of February last, and it runs as follows:—

"Ordered that the Commissioners of Police of the Metropolis do take care that during the Session of Parliament the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the sitting of Parliament; and that there be no annoyance therein and thereabouts; and also that the Serjeant-at-Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid."

I wish to ask you, Sir, if I am not right in supposing that this Order remains valid up to the close of the present Session?

MR. SPEAKER: The Order is a Sessional Order, and is no doubt in force. Under the circumstances, I shall instruct the Serjeant-at-Arms to convey to the Commissioners of Police notice of what has occurred; and I regret that Members should have been incommoded by the exceptional circumstances of this day in approaching the House.

MR. CHAPLIN: That being so, I will venture to put a Question to the Home Secretary; and, perhaps, the House will allow me, in explanation of what I have to say, to mention that I had occasion, not long ago, to be at St. Stephen's Chambers, and when I endeavoured to reach the House of Commons by the ordinary route across the road, I found so much obstruction that I did not attempt to proceed further. Fortunately, there is an underground passage, and having been defeated in my attempt to reach the House by one way, I was able to reach it by another. But I think the House will agree with me that it is not by underground passages that admission to this House ought to be obtained. I wish to ask the Home Secretary, whether it is with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, directly or indirectly, that this Sessional Order of the House of Commons has been violated and set at nought as it has been to-day?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, Sir; it certainly is not with the sanction of the Government that the Sessional Order has been violated. Nor, in my opinion, as far as I have seen, has it been violated. The Order was given to the Police on Friday, and it has been substantially carried out, that the approaches to the House by Parliament Street, King Street, and Storey's Gate, were to be kept clear, that there was to be a line of police down the centre of Parliament Street to keep the approaches open for Members' carriages, and that there was to be another along the pavement on the right-hand side coming down. It was my duty to come down from the Home Office to the House at 4 o'clock, and I observed that two-thirds of Whitehall was then perfectly clear, and that any number of carriages could have driven down it. No doubt, there was some difficulty in getting down Parliament Street, owing to its narrowness; but there was a perfectly clear roadway kept down King Street and George Street. Therefore, substantially, I believe the orders given to the Police under the Standing Order have, under considerable difficulty, been well and properly carried out. I may add that I should be doing extremely wrong if I did not bear testimony to the extraordinary good humour and good sense of crowds of people in the streets. I am sorry that I was not present on Friday when the Lord Mayor put a Question with regard to the instructions given to the Police; but I would appeal to his recollection whether there has not been far greater disturbance of the traffic on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's Show? Difficulties occasionally occur even on occasions very unlike the present. All I can say is, that more orderly or better conducted people than I have seen to-day, I have never seen. With regard to access to the Houses of Parliament,

although some Members may have experienced temporary inconvenience, there has been nothing serious to complain of as to any obstruction hon. Members have been subjected to in reaching the House.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I do not rise for the purpose of following the right hon. Gentleman in his expression of opinion as regards the conduct of the concourse of people he succeeded in bringing up to London to-day; but I would only ask, whether he is of opinion that the arrangements made by the Commissioners of Police under his authority have been such as were calculated to promote the general convenience of the public, and why the route of Parliament Street, Pall Mall, Piccadilly, and so forth, has been chosen, instead of other routes, which I need hardly indicate?

MR. LABOUCHERE: Pray indicate.

MR. J. LOWTHER: As the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) asks me to indicate them, I may say such routes as Birdcage Walk, portions of the Parks, Constitution Hill, and so forth, where there need be no disturbance or dislocation of the general traffic of the Metropolis, and no inconvenience to those engaged in commerce. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will account for the fact that this was not done.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I can account for it easily. I had nothing to do with selecting the route of the procession. I have no power and no right to interfere in the matter, or to dictate what route should be followed. The processionists could go along any street they thought fit. It was not for me to say that they should go down one street rather than another; and, therefore, as to the arrangements in regard to the route of the procession, I had no power to interfere with them. My duty was to see, if these processions took place, that peace and order should be maintained, and with the smallest possible inconvenience to the general traffic. Those were the orders I gave to the Commissioners of Police; and I took all the pains I could to consult with them as to the best method of carrying the orders into effect. It is unavoidable that a long procession passing down a street should cause some interruption of traffic where it crosses; but I was in hopes that the procession would have passed in two hours. I may remind the House that when the troops, a short time ago, came back from Egypt, the whole or most of these streets were stopped up for six hours. This only shows that when processions of this kind take place, there must be inconvenience to a certain extent. The business of my Office, and the business of the Police, is to mitigate these inconveniences as far as possible. As far as I know, and have been able to observe, the arrangements of the Police have been excellent. I have received a telegram, dated 4.19 P.M., from the Chief Commissioner, who says—"Head of the procession just arriving in Hyde Park. Great crowd. All very orderly." I have stated what my duty was in the matter. As far as I can tell, the Police have succeeded admirably in performing their duty.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: The right hon. and learned Gentleman says he had nothing to do with the route, and that the arrangements were managed by the Commissioners of Police. But they had certainly to consult the Secretary of State as to properly carrying out those arrangements. Does the Secretary of State say that he was not responsible for the route?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOUT: I consider that neither I nor the Police were responsible for the route. If I had undertaken to direct the procession, there might be some foundation for the statement that I am responsible.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Do I understand that neither the right hon. Gentleman nor the Commissioners of Police have any power to direct through what streets the procession should pass?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Certainly.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Then may I ask the right hon. Gentleman under what power I could be stopped in crossing St. James's Street?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The right hon. Gentleman would not have been stopped unless his presence had been thought inconsistent with the preservation of public order.

MR. REPTON: I know that several Members were unable to get along Pall Mall. No previous Home Secretary ever created so much confusion in the thoroughfare within my experience.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am very sorry that the hon. Member should have experienced any inconvenience.

MR. REPTON: I experienced no inconvenience personally.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: When the hon. Member speaks of no Home Secretary having produced such confusion in Pall Mall, I may remind him of a Home Secretary who, in 1866, produced far greater confusion.

MR. REPTON: What I said was, that no Home Secretary had ever made such arrangements. The right hon. Gentleman has entirely misrepresented me.

MR. CHAPLIN: Am I to understand from the Home Secretary that, in face of the Sessional Order which I have read to the House, he is still of opinion that no obstruction has been committed? I told him, and I repeat it, that I found considerable obstruction in coming to the House of Commons; and I have a right to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, whether, in future, when Her Majesty's Government desire to promote a Liberal agitation, he will undertake to carry out the Resolution of the House of Commons?

No answer having been returned,

MR. CHAPLIN said: I beg to give Notice that, in consequence of the gross neglect of duty on the part of the Home Secretary, I shall put a further Question on Thursday on this subject; and if his answers are no more satisfactory, I shall take the earliest opportunity of calling attention to the matter.

MR. SPEAKER: I could not allow a Question to be put in those terms.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I beg to give Notice that, on the Vote for the Metropolitan Police, I shall call attention to the serious public inconvenience which has been the result of the arrangements made by the Government for the furtherance of a Party demonstration, got up, as it is generally believed, at their own instance, and that I shall move a reduction of the Vote.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

In reply to Mr. BRYCE,

MR. GLADSTONE said, the Medical Act Amendment Bill cannot possibly be taken this week; but during the week the Government will consider what course they can take with regard to it.

MR. GRAY: Discharge the Order.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I beg to give Notice that, on Thursday next, I shall ask my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can give the House, and especially the friends of General Gordon, any information which can remove or lessen their anxiety as to his present position? I put this Question for Thursday, because it will give time to my noble Friend to communicate by telegraph with the authorities in Egypt, taking into account the very conflicting rumours, especially that received to-day, and as to the credibility of which information may be obtained. I shall also ask these two Questions—first, whether the rewards which the Government offered for information with regard to General Gordon are now in force, or whether they lapsed in the month of June; and, secondly, whether any information can be given as to the probable fall of the River Nile at Khartoum in the middle of September? Such a fall, I am informed, would make the sending of relief to General Gordon, or giving him any means of escape by the river, much more difficult than it is at present.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE ROYAL ACADEMY—THE CHANTREY BEQUEST.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I wish to ask the Prime Minister, Whether he has received any information from the Royal Academy with reference to the Chantrey Bequest?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am awaiting a communication from the Royal Academy on the subject; but the communication will take some little time to prepare, and I do not expect to receive it yet.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE ZULU VOTE.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Prime Minister, When the Zulu Vote would be taken?

MR. GLADSTONE: Viewing the moderate progress made with Supply, and the necessity of adhering to the order of the Votes, I have little hope that we shall be able to take the Zulu

Vote during the present week. I hope, however, to be able on Monday to fix a day for the consideration of this Vote, and whatever day it is taken it will be put down as the first Vote for the evening.

MR. GUY DAWNAY said, he had received a communication from the Prime Minister's Secretary to the effect that the Vote would probably be moved early this week. Next Monday would be inconvenient to him, as he had to address a political meeting in Yorkshire on that day, and on Tuesday he had to preside at an agricultural meeting.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he did not know the precise terms of his Secretary's reply; but he would endeavour to see whether the hon. Member's convenience could be consulted.

INDIA—THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

In answer to Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor),

MR. GLADSTONE said, the Indian Budget could not be taken until Supply was entirely or nearly closed.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £17,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that before this Vote was passed, he wished to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury whether any answer had yet been made by the Treasury to the representations of the Comptroller and Auditor General, dated the 22nd of March in the present year, in reference to the Secret Service Vote? He also wished to know whether it was intended that the £10,000 which had been added to this Vote should come out of the Consolidated Fund? The last paragraph of the Comptroller and Auditor General's letter was in these words—

"I will take this opportunity of calling your Lordships' attention to the sum of £10,000 chargeable on the Consolidated Fund, on the authority of the Act 1st Victoria, chap. 2, section 15, for Secret Service, but at present debited to the account of the Consolidated Fund on the simple receipt of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury. I have to state as Controller and Auditor General that there should be, in this case as in the case of all votes of money, a certificate of the actual expenditure within the year, and the surrender of any unexpended balance, in accordance with the declaration required under the Act."

He might mention that until 1882 there was absolutely no audit at all of the Secret Service money; but at that time an Act was passed requiring certain certificates and affidavits to be made by the Secretary of State with regard to the issue of money from the Treasury on account of Secret Service. In 1875 there was an Act passed, under which the Commissioners of Audit, who were the authorities, were empowered to investigate certain appropriations of public money, including Secret Service money; but the enactment under which the Comptroller and Auditor General now investigated the expenditure of voted Supply repealed that Act, and certainly there did not appear to be any satisfactory requirement under which the Comptroller could claim to make a thorough investigation into the distribution of Secret Service money. But the Comptroller and Auditor General was bound as a matter of duty, before reporting to the House, to investigate, as far as he could, the appropriation of this and all other moneys. Before the Public Accounts Committee the other day the official representative of the Comptroller and Auditor General was obliged to admit, in reply to certain queries addressed to him, that there was absolutely no audit whatever of this sum of £10,000 drawn from the Consolidated Fund for Secret Service money, and, in consequence, a letter he had read was addressed to the Treasury. The month went by, and no reply was made by the Treasury; but it was represented to the Committee that it was necessary the Treasury should put themselves in communication with the various Secretaries of State and the other high officials concerned in the distribution of the money. The Public Accounts Committee were assured, however, by the representative of the Treasury, that every despatch would be used to secure an answer to the letter before the last

meeting of the Committee on Public Accounts. The last meeting had been held, and no reply from the Treasury was forthcoming. Therefore the Public Accounts Committee were not in a position to deal with the subject, as, perhaps, it ought to have been dealt with. Unless the Secretary to the Treasury was able to give some information as to what the Government intended to do with regard to this sum of £10,000 drawn from the Consolidated Fund, as this was the last occasion on which it could come before the House this year, it would be passed over without any satisfactory explanation, either to the Comptroller and Auditor General, the Public Accounts Committee, or the House itself. He would like to know whether the Treasury had decided to fall in with the suggestion of the Comptroller and Auditor General with regard to the auditing of this particular sum?

MR. COURTNEY said, this was a matter of considerable importance and delicacy; and he was afraid that it was impossible for him to deal with it at the present time. The letter was sent from the Audit Office to the Treasury on the 22nd of March; and as it raised a question which had not been considered before, and one that involved an important consideration, the Treasury deemed it necessary to consult the Law Officers of the Crown on the subjects mentioned in the letter. Accordingly a case was prepared and submitted to the Law Officers. That occasioned some delay; but at the beginning of the present month they had received the opinion of the Law Officers. That opinion had been transmitted to the Comptroller and Auditor General, and the matter was now under his consideration. He did not think it desirable to enter now into any statement as to what that opinion was, as the matter was now before the Comptroller and Auditor General; and he was unable to say whether that Gentleman would accept it or be disposed to controvert it. Of course if the Comptroller accepted it the Correspondence would be given next year; but if he controverted it, it might be necessary to enter into further correspondence, and to consult the Law Officers of the Crown again. The Treasury had consulted the Law Officers of the Crown, had received their opinion, and had sent it to the Comptroller and Auditor General. The hon. Gentleman would see, therefore, that the question was not lost sight of, but was practically alive; and he might rest assured that it would not be passed over by the Comptroller and Auditor General.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had every ground for placing reliance in the Comptroller and Auditor General; but he did not place any reliance upon the desire of the Treasury to have the matter settled in the way the Comptroller and Auditor General wished. His experience was that the Treasury did not always act in accordance with the view of the financial officer of the House. The Secret Service Vote was one which required very serious consideration. There was an increase this year of £10,000. Last year the Vote amounted to £23,000, and this year it was £33,000; but even £33,000, as the Committee would gather from the observations already made, did not represent the whole sum, seeing that £10,000 had been drawn from the Consolidated Fund. There was a peculiarity attached to this Vote, and it was this—that there was a distinction between the Vote and the amount drawn from the Consolidated Fund. The Foreign Office drew, not from the Consolidated Fund at all, but from Vote entirely; the Vote was issued by the Secretary to the Treasury, who distributed it, as he distributed other amounts from the Consolidated Fund, to the Foreign Office, the Admiralty, the Colonial Office, the Home Office, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The Foreign Office, however, drew exclusively from the amount voted in Supply. The balance which was left was distributed among the different Secretaries of State; but the amount drawn from the Consolidated Fund was entirely given either to the Secretary of State, or the Chief Secretary, or Under Secretary for Ireland. They drew to the credit of the Treasury, the Treasury itself never touching one farthing of the Secret Service money. This £10,000, which was to a very great extent drawn upon for expenses other than Foreign Secret Service money, and which was spent entirely within England, and as he believed mostly within Ireland, was not audited at all; and when application was made by the Comptroller and Auditor General that provision should be made for the audit of this sum, he did not find

that the Treasury were at all anxious to fall in with that view. Therefore it seemed to him to be only fair that the Committee should know what were the exceptional circumstances, or what were the general features of the situation, which justified the Government in asking for an increase of £10,000 in this Vote. There was nothing in the state of Ireland, there was nothing surely in the state of England or Scotland, which could require that a sum of £10,000, over and above the sum which had been found more than sufficient in past years for the Service, should be asked for at the hands of the House. There was in Ireland a suspicion that a very large proportion of this Secret Service money was spent in that country. He fancied that to the use of this Secret Service money many of the discoveries with regard to the dynamite outrages in England might be indirectly traced. It was believed that if there was no prospect of obtaining the rewards furnished by the Government from the Secret Service Fund for the discovery of dynamite contrivances, it would not be to the interest of individuals to place dynamite in such a position that it might afterwards be discovered, and so enable them to secure the reward which their honest industry would not be able to procure for them. In the same way in Ireland it was believed that many of the outrages and offences, and many of the scares which had been witnessed during the last 12 months, were due to the fact that there were unscrupulous men at the beck and call of the Government, who were looking for rewards out of this fund, in return for services of a very questionable character which made it the interest of individuals to foment disorder and to mislead poor innocent dupes whom they afterwards made their victims. He could not, of course, expect the Government to give a detailed statement as to the distribution of the money. The Vote was limited some years to £23,000, of which £15,000 went to the Foreign Office, and about £8,000 was distributed between the Colonial Office, the Home Office, and the Office of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. This increase of £10,000 raised that sum of £8,000 to £18,000, and with £10,000 from the Consolidated Fund which the Foreign Office did not touch at all, they found no less than £23,000, used within the United Kingdom for Secret Service purposes. It was perfectly incredible that the requirements of a respectable and honest administration could be such as to necessitate a Vote of that kind, and he did not believe the hon. Gentleman would find anywhere that such circumstances existed. At any rate, if they did, they ought to be indicated.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that no one more than he disliked Votes for Secret Service; but unfortunately it was an accompaniment, and an inevitable accompaniment, of the existence of secret societies. The laws of this country were not adapted, or rather were not applied, so as to check the existence of secret societies. It thence became inevitable that the Government should meet the action of the secret societies in some degree with their own instruments. Every relaxation of the law, which had permitted the existence of secret societies, had, in his opinion, increased the necessity for having recourse to secret means—to Secret Service money—by the Government; and he, for one, though he deprecated the system, would do nothing to render its operation invalid. It was an evil. At the same time, it was, under the circumstances, a necessary evil, as it had produced some good results, or rather mitigations of evil. For these reasons he would do nothing which would have the effect of disclosing the details of the administration of this Secret Service money, and thus render its application ineffectual.

MR. RYLANDS said, he was of opinion that the criticism of this Vote in previous years had not been without effect. At that time it was understood that the £23,000 voted by the House of Commons was mainly devoted to the purposes of the Foreign Office; and he regretted that in the application of the Secret Service money by the Foreign Department there was no reason to suppose for one moment that there had been any advantages commensurate with the use of money in that way. He congratulated himself, therefore, that the criticism of the Vote in previous years had not been without good effect, because, by degrees, they had succeeded not only in diminishing the gross amount of the Vote by several thousand pounds, but of that gross Vote several thousand pounds had remained unexpended in each year, and the total amount actually

spent had fallen to £13,000. Certain objectionable charges had also been dropped; and he was of opinion that if the use of Secret Service money at all were justifiable, the actual amount expended each year should appear in the Votes. He ventured to hope that the time was not far distant when, as far as Secret Services were concerned, the Vote would be reduced to very small proportions indeed. He was sorry to find that within the last year or two the expenditure, which had been gradually diminishing, and which had fallen to a very small sum, had been materially increased. This year, not only did it reach the sum of £23,000 formerly voted, but they were also to expect a further charge of £10,000. He could not doubt that this very great change in the charge for Secret Services was not in any way due to the purposes for which they formerly voted the money. He admitted that when they looked over the events which had occurred in the last few years that the Government had been placed in circumstances of grave difficulty and great responsibility. They had had to fight with enemies of society who were taking steps of a most diabolical character, destroying property, and sacrificing innocent lives. This system had been going on to such an extent that he could not doubt the Government had been driven to make use of the Secret Service money with a view, if possible, of destroying the secret conspiracies which existed against the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects. He dismissed the question of Ireland. He did not suppose for a moment that this large expenditure was in any way in consequence of any antagonism to the Parliamentary Party who sat upon the Benches opposite; but he presumed that it was largely due to the present state of things with regard to the dynamite outrages. Therefore, however reluctant he might be to support this Vote, and he disliked it as much as any man in that House, when he found the Government compelled by the peculiar circumstances of the case, to come down to the House and ask for the Vote, he did not feel that he was in a position to refuse to accede to their request.

MR. J. LOWTHER remarked, that, with regard to this Vote, he could not say he approached it from the same point of view as the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, because he had always been of opinion that when the Government of the day came to Parliament, on their responsibility, and stated that a Vote of this kind was necessary, as long as the amount was within reasonable limits, Parliament was bound to accept their assurance without any lengthened discussion. He must admit that the times were somewhat exceptional; and, if rumour was not incorrect, Her Majesty's Government had additional reason for drawing upon this or some similar fund, seeing that even that very afternoon results had been attained which might or might not account for the subtle increase of the Vote. At all events, there was only a very poor look out if they were to rely upon those who had been invited by circular to contribute, according to their means, to the furtherance of the objects which he had thought that humble individual the British taxpayer was in his generosity about to defray. He did not think that such expenditure should be included in this Vote; and, therefore, he would ask the Secretary to the Treasury if it were intended to bring in a small Supplementary Estimate in order to meet the expenditure? On the present occasion he would accept the assurance of Her Majesty's Government that the amount was not included in the present Vote; and he thought the Committee would do well to accept that general assurance of the Government that the Vote, even in its augmented form, was necessary for the Public Service, and to place, for once, that amount of confidence in Her Majesty's Ministers.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he did not quite understand from the Financial Secretary why they should not entrust the Public Accounts Committee with the same authority for examining the expenditure of the £10,000 drawn from the Consolidated Fund as they did for investigating the expenditure of the remaining £23,000. He understood the Public Accounts Committee simply to desire information, in order to know what the actual sum spent was, and whether the remainder was repaid into the Exchequer. That was all that the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) asked, and it was a very reasonable demand to make.

MR. COURTNEY said, what he understood the hon. Member to ask was

that there should be vouchers submitted to the Comptroller and Auditor General for the payment of the two sums of £23,000 and £10,000. It was because such vouchers had not been given that the Correspondence had arisen between the Treasury and the Comptroller and Auditor General, the point being whether legal vouchers should not be required for the expenditure. The hon. Member for Queen's County had also raised a question as to the increase in the Vote this year by the sum of £10,000. Now, he (Mr. Courtney) regarded the Vote with the same suspicion as the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate); but it would be impossible to go into the circumstances which rendered an increase in the Vote necessary; and it seemed to him that a sufficient explanation was to be found in the peculiar circumstances of the times and in the events of last year. The secret and dangerous action of certain individuals to which the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) had referred was not imaginary; and he was afraid it was only to be met by the use of Secret Service money. Of course, there was the danger that in administering the Secret Service Fund some evils might be created in the attempt to get rid of others; but it was impossible for them to shut their eyes to what had happened in the last 12 months. The danger was a real one, and must be dealt with; and he thought the Government were justified in asking for the confidence of the Committee in support of the Vote.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the hon. Gentleman had accurately, to a certain extent, indicated what his line of thought was in putting his question; but he did not think the hon. Gentleman altogether saw its full reach. With regard to the sum of £23,000, most of which was issued to the Foreign Office, the system adopted was this—the Foreign Secretary gave to the Treasury a receipt for a certain sum of money—say £15,000. Of that £15,000, certain sums might be sent to our Ministers abroad—Consuls and others—for information and other kinds of service, on account of which it would be necessary to pay the individuals who furnished it. The discharge of those officials abroad was not sent to the Treasury, but was sent to the Comptroller and Auditor General as vouchers for the payment of the sums which the Secretary of State, by reason of his advances, had drawn. The Foreign Minister was required to go to the Court of Exchequer, or to one of the Judges in the High Court, and make an affidavit that he had actually expended, in secret services, the sums which had been advanced to him. So much for the Foreign Office portion of the Vote; but in regard to the other Secretaries of State, or the Chief Secretary for Ireland, there was no such system. A certain sum of money—say £10,000—was given to the Chief Secretary for Ireland for the purposes of this Secret Service; and there was no declaration required to be made to a Judge, and no certificate forwarded to the Comptroller and Auditor General, showing that the special agents employed had actually expended the money, or that it had been absolutely disbursed for the precise purposes for which it was advanced to the Chief Secretary. Then, again, there was no statement in regard to the appropriation of the £10,000 drawn from the Consolidated Fund. The Treasury, or the Secretary of State for the Home Department, or the Chief Secretary for Ireland, might have in his possession an accumulation from year to year of very large sums of money. With regard to the Votes advanced to the Foreign Minister, there was an account every year showing how much he claimed to be discharged from, by reason of his advances, to subordinate Ministers, and the balance, whatever it was, was handed back to the Exchequer; but with regard to the £10,000 drawn from the Consolidated Fund, there was no such system; and there might have been an accumulation going on in the hands of heads of Departments of enormous sums in connection with the Secret Service money. Now, he knew that that was not an imaginary difficulty. It would be in the recollection of many Members of the House that in the year 1872 the Foreign Office, when called upon to make a surrender of unexpended balances, had to acknowledge that they had £19,000 unexpended from previous Votes, although it had been mentioned that the Foreign Office had never more than one half-year's supply, or £7,500, in hand. But when they were pressed to surrender their balances, they handed over the sum of £19,000. In the same way, there was nothing to

prevent the Chief Secretary, or the Under Secretary for Ireland, from accumulating a very large sum of money, which he might afterwards use, practically, as he pleased for corrupt or illegitimate purposes. He did not believe that the present Chief Secretary for Ireland did misuse his power in that way; but there had been men connected with the Irish Government who would not object to do so, and there had been men, even in very high offices, who had been capable of doing most questionable things with the public money. For instance, they had had a man named French until recently at the head of the Criminal Detective Department of Dublin Castle, and the whole police arrangements had been practically under his control. There was no reason for doubting that that man had had the distribution of a very considerable proportion of the public money, and especially of the Secret Service money, at his disposal. Well, it had been discovered that French was absolutely unfit to be intrusted with anything of the kind, and there was no reason to suppose that his was a solitary case. Under these circumstances, it could not be a matter of surprise that the Irish Members regarded with some suspicion the increase of this Vote, which augmented so materially the power of the Castle Government in Ireland, to enter upon dark and dubious courses. He could not recall to memory what the amount repaid into the Exchequer the year before last in connection with this Vote was; but there was a certain sum. [General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: £1,000.] He found that the Government, not content with the £23,000 they received last year, when the circumstances were much more unsatisfactory than they were at present, were proposing now to take £10,000 more. Some months ago the British Commander in the Red Sea issued a Proclamation, offering a reward of £1,000 to anybody who would bring in Osman Digna, dead or alive. Of course, the Proclamation was at once repudiated when the House learnt of its existence. But the Proclamation was issued, and if it had been acted upon the reward would have been paid out of the Secret Service money. There was nothing to prevent the Secret Service money from being appropriated for such a purpose. The War Office did not draw any Secret Service money at all; but there were certain things which occurred two years ago, in regard to which an attempt was made to charge them against the Staff contingencies included in the first Vote of the Army Estimates. The Comptroller and Auditor General objected, and the Public Accounts Committee supported him. The sum was accordingly disallowed; but it was thrown upon the Secret Service Fund. In the same way, the reward for the assassination and bringing in of the dead body of Osman Digna could not have been charged against the Army Estimates; but it would undoubtedly have been paid out of the Secret Service Fund. Now, what assurance had the House that, if a reward for services, which would not bear investigation, or even avowal, was made by military or naval officers, that such reward would not be charged against the Secret Service Fund, even although the House itself would have disallowed it if it could have known of it. As the House repudiated the Proclamation in the case of Osman Digna, it would unquestionably have objected to the payment of the reward. The reward, therefore, could not have been paid out of any Vote for military services; but it could have been paid, in spite of the objection of the House, or of the officials of the House, out of the Secret Service money. That being the nature of the fund, it did, he thought, call for some clear explanation on the part of the Government whether any exceptional circumstances existed, either at home or abroad, to justify, not this particular sum, but any increase in the Secret Service money at all.

MR. COURTNEY said, the hon. Gentleman appeared to forget that the sum of £10,000 appeared in a Supplementary Estimate last year.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND begged the Committee to observe that if any payment had to be made under the Proclamation about Osman Digna, which, however, was not possible, as the Proclamation had been promptly withdrawn, it would be a public payment, and would be paid out of some special Vote for Egyptian expenses, and not out of the Secret Service Fund. That point, therefore, in the hon. Member's (Mr. Arthur O'Connor's) speech failed. So did another point which he made, and which

turned upon the character of Mr. French, who, it was assumed, might have been entrusted with expenditure of Secret Service money. The character of Mr. French, or of any other agent of the Government, had no bearing upon the question now before the Committee, which was whether the Comptroller and Auditor General should have any further audit, and in what way, of the expenditure under this Vote; what documents or certificates he was entitled to require to satisfy the terms of the Exchequer and Audit Act? Now, so long as the Service under this Vote was to be secret, it was clear that the Comptroller and Auditor General could only look to the Heads of the Departments. He could not inquire into the questions of how the money had been spent, and by what Government officers. This would be to destroy, to a certain extent, the secrecy of the Service. It was immaterial, then, as regarded him, whether the Government officers acted rightly or wrongly, or what was their character? It was for the Head of the Department to see to this. The Comptroller and Auditor General could only look to the Heads of the Departments. He (Sir Henry Holland) would not discuss the question what vouchers should satisfy the Comptroller and Auditor General, and satisfy the terms of the Exchequer and Audit Act, as the Financial Secretary to the Treasury had informed them that the Law Officers had reported upon the point, and that their Report had been submitted to the Comptroller and Auditor General. He ventured to hope that the Law Officers had reported that the Comptroller and Auditor General should be satisfied by a certificate from the Head of each Department as to the exact amount of Secret Service money spent in the year by the Department; and if such a certificate would not satisfy the terms of the Exchequer and Audit Act, he thought that Act should be amended.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he found it difficult to agree with the argument of the hon. Baronet—that what the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) called attention to—namely, the character of the agents employed in the distribution of this Secret Service money—was not germane to the question they were discussing—namely, whether there was no Department which ought to have control over the expenditure. He thought the character of the men entrusted with the distribution of the money in Ireland, who employed the agents, and who had complete control over the expenditure of the money, were among the first elements for the consideration of the House, when they came to discuss the question whether there ought to be some control over the expenditure. He failed to see any weight in the argument of the Secretary to the Treasury—that there was anything in the circumstances of the times which demanded an enormous increase in this Vote as compared with the same Vote last year.

MR. COURTNEY said, the hon. Gentleman was labouring under a misapprehension. The Vote now was exactly the same as the sums granted last year. It was necessary last year to grant an additional sum of £10,000.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he thought the Committee were entitled to have some definite information from the hon. Gentleman as to what proportion of the money had been expended, or was likely to be expended, for Secret Services in Ireland. He always observed that whenever this matter came up for discussion the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant disappeared from the House, lest he should be asked anything about the distribution of this fund. At the commencement of the Session, when the Supplementary Vote was asked for, he (Mr. Harrington) drew attention to the conduct of Mr. French, who was now in gaol; and he had pointed out that that man had the distribution of the Secret Service money in his own hands. He had further hinted at the purposes for which it was being applied—not for the purpose of preserving law and order, but for the propagation and carrying out of crime. He had also pointed out how the detectives, under the control of French, were used by him in an endeavour to shield himself from justice. It had now been established on the clearest evidence, in a Court of Law in Dublin, that French himself was in the habit of writing to his friends, who were participators in his crime, sending messages to the detectives under him to observe the actions of those who were employed to spy upon his movements, in an endeavour to bring him to justice. It was unnecessary to ask what

the funds were with which French and his fellow-detectives had been working. Could it be believed that they were carrying on their operations out of their own private resources? Every man of common sense in Ireland, who knew anything of this case, was aware that the head of the Secret Criminal Detective Department in Ireland employed these men for his own purposes, that he paid them out of the Secret Service money, and that he devoted it to the remuneration of his own agents and participators in his crimes—those who were endeavouring to shield him from that justice which was so speedily to overtake him. When the matter was discussed at the commencement of the year the Chief Secretary was absent; and, of course, the Secretary to the Treasury was unable to give any information upon the subject. And now again that the matter was brought on for discussion the Chief Secretary was absent, and the Financial Secretary was in precisely the same position in regard to Irish matters as he was on the former occasion. He (Mr. Harrington) thought the Irish Members were entitled to know, in general terms at all events, how much of this fund would be, or had been, expended in Ireland? Who was responsible for it? Was it the Lord Lieutenant, or the Chief Secretary, or this man French? On those subjects they were clearly entitled to information, considering the monstrous disclosures which had recently been made in regard to the conduct of the officers employed in Dublin Castle. At the same time, he was not surprised at the reluctance manifested by the Chief Secretary in coming into the House to take part in the discussion.

MR. WARTON said, he thought that when the Government of the day came down to the House and said that a certain sum of money was necessary for Secret Service, it was the duty of the House to support the Government, and vote the money. It was evident that the Government of the country could not be carried on without the employment of a certain amount of Secret Service money. What he did complain of was that no explanation of the Vote was given. They were asked to vote the same sum as last year, because a Supplementary sum of £10,000 was asked for last year as well as this. He thought there ought to have been a Memorandum to inform the House that there had been a Supplementary Vote of £10,000, and a similar Supplementary Vote last year. That would have been a business-like way of putting the matter, and would have enabled the House to see what the Vote really was. The Government were not doing justice to themselves in concealing the matter; and it appeared from the Vote itself that they were asking for £23,000, whereas, as a matter of fact, they were asking for £33,000. There was only one other observation he desired to make, and it had reference to the inconvenience which had resulted from abolishing the old Court of Exchequer. In olden times there was a definite character attached to the Court of Exchequer, of which Court the Chancellor of the Exchequer was just as much a member as any of the old Barons. One of the evils and inconveniences of spreading over a large number of Judges all the duties connected with the different Courts of Justice, including the Exchequer, was that there was no one left now to review this expenditure year by year.

MR. COURTNEY said, he was afraid that it was altogether out of his province to enter into the question of the apportionment of the duties of the Exchequer Court as a separate and distinct Court; but in reference to the objection made by the hon. and learned Member that the Vote did not contain any reference to the Supplementary sum of £10,000, the explanation was that it was not voted when the Memorandum for the Estimates was drawn up. It was voted in the spring, and had, therefore, to be inserted as a Supplementary sum. It was impossible to include it in the Memorandum, which had already been drawn up.

MR. KENNY said, he hoped that when the Chief Secretary appeared in the House by-and-bye he would have an opportunity, upon some other Vote, of affording some explanation in regard to the points raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), as to the conduct of the Irish administration. The Secretary to the Treasury had spoken of a Supplementary Estimate of £10,000, and had given an explanation of it; but he had not stated whether, if Osman Digna had been assassinated in consequence of

the Proclamation of the General commanding the Army in Egypt, and if the House had refused to vote the sum promised as a reward, the Arab murderers would have been paid out of the Secret Service Fund. So far as he was concerned, he should vote against the Vote altogether.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to answer this question—whether there was any repayment into the Exchequer of Secret Service money drawn from the Consolidated Fund for expenditure in any single year, just as there was a repayment of money voted in Supply and unexpended? Was there a repayment in this case, or was there a constant accumulation of unexpended balances, such as took place in the Foreign Office some time ago?

MR. COURTNEY said, the question was one which he was not in a position to answer.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR thought he could answer the question. He found from the last audited accounts that in 1882 a sum of £4,800 was surrendered. He was unable to say what was the case in 1883 and 1884, as the audited accounts had not yet been given. The points raised by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) were important ones; and he would advise the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee to call the hon. Member before that Committee and examine him.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: He is a Member himself.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR thought that was the proper place for the hon. Member to consider the question. It was impossible to find out from the Estimates how the money was applied, and it was palpably impossible for any Minister in that House to give an explanation.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he had not asked for an explanation as to the way in which the money was expended.

MR. HARRINGTON thought the questions he had put to the Government were not unfair. He was anxious to learn from the Chief Secretary whether the man French was intrusted with the distribution of this Secret Service money in Ireland, and if he had satisfied the Chief Secretary as to the manner in which the fund had been distributed? That was information he was entitled to ask from the Chief Secretary; and he thought that, if the right hon. Gentleman had been in his place, he would have found it extremely difficult to refuse to give it to the Committee.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 117; Noes 19: Majority 98.—(Div. List., No. 170.)

(2.) £4,810, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and other Offices, Scotland.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £12,829, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland and for Grants in Aid of Piers or Quays."

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he should like to hear something about the work that had been done by the Scotch Fishery Board during the past year. How soon would their Report be presented? It was awaited with much interest in Scotland.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he could corroborate the statement of his hon. and gallant Friend, that the Report of the Fishery Board was looked forward to with great interest in Scotland; and he thought there was no reason whatever why the Report for last year should not be before the House. It was of the utmost importance to the large number of persons engaged in the sea fisheries that they should know the details of the working of the Board during previous years. He knew perfectly well that the Report might be presented earlier, if the Government would only give an order that it should be so presented. Six months ought to be ample time for the preparation of the Report, and he hoped that in another year the Secretary of State would see that it was presented earlier.

MR. DUFF said, the question of the utility of the Board had been raised last year, and he had then ventured to say that, when the new Board got into working order, it would be found efficient and doing useful work. He thought, when hon. Members saw the Report which had already been com-

pleted, and which would be laid upon the Table in the course of a very few days, they would admit that his prophecy had not been falsified. He would not attempt to detain the Committee by telling them of the work which had been done by the Board. Perhaps the most important work which they had undertaken was that in connection with scientific investigations in regard to sea-fishing and the artificial propagation of fish. Experiments had been carried out by a Committee, of which Professor Ewart was the head. The survey in regard to the artificial breeding of herrings had been highly satisfactory. He hoped, in the course of the coming autumn, some more results would be obtained, and that the Board would be able to commit to the sea several millions of fertilized herring eggs. A large number were thrown out last year, and it was believed that the herring, like the salmon, would revisit the places where they were reared. That was a very interesting fact to ascertain, because it was well known that the herrings, after visiting a particular place for a number of years, sometimes disappeared altogether for another series of years. If it was discovered that those which were bred artificially came back again, the same as cod fish had been proved do in the waters of the United States, he thought the experiments now being conducted would be extremely useful, and that a most important work would have been done. Another important work was the inspection and protection of the mussel beds. Everyone knew that this was a most important question to the fishermen of Scotland. It had been recently stated by one of his own constituents in evidence given before the Railway Committee that each individual fisherman in the Buckie district required two tons of mussels each year for bait. By the inspection of mussel beds, and by the arrangements which they hoped to make with the Board of Trade, the Fishery Board trusted they would be able to make these beds very much more productive than they had hitherto been, and, if they could do so, it would be a very useful work. The Board had also turned their attention to the statistics of cured and fresh fish. He might mention to the Committee that the total quantity of fish taken off the coast of Scotland annually amounted in value to £3,286,000, and, as the whole quantity taken off the coast of the United Kingdom amounted in value to £7,300,000, the Scotch take amounted to three-sevenths of the entire value. The Board had also given attention to the telegraph system in connection with the fisheries. The extensions which had been sanctioned were to Castle Bay, Barra; St. Margaret's Hope, St. Mary's, Orkney; and Reawick and Vaila Sound, Shetland. By the 1st of August this year these extensions would be in operation; and the Treasury would, no doubt, be happy to consider any further extensions which could properly be recommended to the favourable consideration of the Post Office and the Treasury. There had been some difficulty in raising the guarantees. One-third had to come from the district, two-thirds were guaranteed by the Fishery Board, and the Treasury had contributed a sum of £500, the payment of which was to be spread over two years. When the extensions were complete they would be of enormous value to the fisheries.

MR. RAMSAY remarked, that his hon. Friend had not explained why the Report of the Fishery Board, about the excellence of which he had not the slightest doubt, knowing as he did several Members of the Board in whose hands the work was entrusted—why their Report had not yet been delivered? He thought the Committee ought to have evidence of the work done by the Board before they were asked to pass a Vote for the maintenance of the Board. He would direct the attention of his hon. Friend the Member for St. Andrew's (Mr. Williamson) to the desirability of having the Report hereafter placed before the Committee at an earlier date, so that the Members of the House might be able to form an estimate of the value of the work done without being required merely to take it on trust.

MR. WILLIAMSON, as a member of the Fishery Board, wished to confirm the statement of the hon. Member for Banff (Mr. Duff), who had explained the objects and efforts of the Board. He could only corroborate the remarks of his hon. Friend that the Board were working satisfactorily and beneficially for the promotion of the fisheries of Scotland. By so doing they were increasing the food supply of the people, and were, consequently, adding to the

national wealth; and as to the Report itself, the delay had arisen because the statistics which it was desirable to embody in it could scarcely be got before May. The collection of statistics about branding in all the different places upon the coast involved a good deal of work, and there were other statistics which really could not be got in in time to incorporate them in the Report, if it was to be laid upon the Table when Parliament met, or early in the Session. Last year the hon. and gallant Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) insisted that all the members of the Board should sign the Report, and, he believed, a fortnight was wasted in sending the Report from one member to another for revision and signature. He believed that the Report had actually been laid upon the Table of the House, and that it would be distributed in the course of a few days. He had no intention of critizing the present Estimates, because he thought it would be unbecoming in him to do so; but he certainly hoped that an intelligent House of Commons would insist before many years were over upon quadrupling the amount voted for this service, and in so doing he was satisfied they would do a valuable work. He was glad to see that the labours of the Board received sympathy from Members of the House. The members of the Board themselves were most regular in their attendance at the Board meetings, and the scientific members particularly took a deep interest in its aims and objects. He hoped, before many years were over, to see good fruit produced by the labours of the Board. At the same time, he must confess that the Treasury were very hard task-masters, and he should like to see them a little more liberal towards the Board than as yet they had shown a disposition to be. He hoped the House would encourage the Treasury in being more liberal. There was only one other point—the Board possessed a very useful shorthand clerk—Mr. Mack; but he was only employed from week to week. He was of great value to the Board, and he (Mr. Williamson) hoped the hon. Member for Banff (Mr. Duff) would be able to promise that his services should be permanent instead of from week to week. That was only a small matter, but it might afford an indication of some of the difficulties the Board had to contend with. He would only repeat his hope that the Treasury would be a little more liberal than they had hitherto been inclined to be.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR remarked that if all the good words which had been uttered by the Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Duff), and the hon. Member for St. Andrew's (Mr. Williamson) were justified, they must have a most wonderful Fishery Board in Scotland; and if the appeal of his hon. Friend met with anything like a response, the House of Commons ought to place at the disposal of the Board a much larger amount of money for harbours and for experiments. But, though he (General Sir George Balfour) had no doubt the Fishery Board were anxious to do good work, he did not think they had yet arrived at such a state of perfection as justified full confidence. He had not forgotten their wasteful expenditure upon harbours in the past. They had expended a sum of £250,000 on harbours, and, with the exception of Anstruther, they were all of them dry at low water. Even in regard to Anstruther itself he believed that £40,000 was required to complete it.

Mr. WILLIAMSON: No.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, he had this fact in evidence, given before the Select Committee on Harbour Accommodation; and if his hon. Friend would excuse him he was not prepared to take the contradiction his hon. Friend gave.

Mr. WILLIAMSON: I only wish to point out that this is a new Board.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR said, the present Board had been in existence for two or three years. He was willing to take the word of his hon. Friend that good work was being done; but there was one point upon which he wished to ask for information. His hon. Friend the Member for Banff (Mr. Duff) had given an account of what was being done with regard to the fishery inquiries; but he said nothing as to what was being done as to the brand money. This year there was a charge for money to be applied in aid of scientific investigations; but he did not altogether approve of the uncontrolled expenditure of money in making inquiries into the habits of fishes. If he could obtain some further information on these heads from the

Lord of the Treasury he would be content to give the Board a trial for another year.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked whether the Scotch Fisheries Bill, which had been introduced in "another place," was to be proceeded with?

MR. DUFF: No, Sir.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON, referring to the guarantees in connection with the extension of the Telegraph Service, remarked that it was altogether a new thing. He had been under the impression that the Postal Service and the Telegraph Service were carried out by the Post Office, and that no guarantee had hitherto been given to the Post Office by the localities. He wished to know under what Act of Parliament the guarantee was given?

MR. DUFF said, the Government had recommended that the surplus derived from the herring brand should be employed as a guarantee. In that way two-thirds of the amount required was guaranteed. The inhabitants of the district provided one-third, and the Treasury gave £500 for two years. The matter had been very carefully considered both by the Treasury and the Postmaster General, and everything possible had been done to meet the views of those who were most interested in the matter. In regard to the employment of Mr. Mack, he was a gentleman who was in the service of the Fishery Board Department; and there had been a certain amount of correspondence, both with the Treasury and the Civil Service Commissioners, in regard to Mr. Mack. No doubt, this gentleman was very useful to the Fishery Board; but he had not been able to comply with the requirements of the Civil Service Commissioners, and the Fishery Board had been desired to make renewed representations in order to get over the difficulty. They had told the Treasury that the services of Mr. Mack were very useful to them; but they had not put the case before the Treasury as strongly as his hon. Friend the Member for St. Andrew's (Mr. Williamson) had now put it. He was informed that Mr. Mack, as a shorthand writer, was extremely useful to the Board in going round with them to take shorthand notes of the different inquiries they made. If a further representation were made to the Treasury he would endeavour to get over the difficulty, and to appoint Mr. Mack permanently. Of course, he was not in a position to give a definite promise; but he believed that if the matter were placed before the Treasury the demand now made would be conceded. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) wanted to know what was now being done in regard to further harbour accommodation. There were at present two harbours in the course of construction—one upon each coast. The complaint against the Fishery Board to which reference had been made arose from the fact that the Board had, in reality, expended money upon scientific investigations before they had received authority to do so. He had no desire to say anything deprecatory of the Fishery Board, who were doing exceedingly good work; and it must be remembered that with the exception of the Chairman the members of the Board were giving their services gratuitously. They had, however, committed an irregularity in spending money before they had authority to do so; but strong representations had been made to the Treasury by the Home Office, and it was hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would authorize the payment of the money. With regard to the Report of the Board, it was not usually delivered before the 14th or 20th of July. This year the Report contained a great deal more matter than had ever been the case before, and hence there had been a delay in presenting it. He quite admitted that it was desirable that the Report should be in the hands of Members before the Vote came on for discussion, and he would endeavour in future to see that that was done.

MR. MOLLOY asked what services were performed by the gun-boat and cutter employed in connection with the Scotch fisheries?

MR. DUFF said, that there were two vessels employed—namely, the *Vigilant* cutter, and the *Jackal*, an Admiralty boat. He believed there had been complaints of the condition of these vessels, and an officer of the Admiralty was now investigating them, and would shortly report. Two vessels were employed under the Fishery Board, and another was sometimes employed by the Admiralty for the preservation of order, and to

secure the fishermen from the depredations of foreign boats.

MR. MOLLOY said, he did not see why the Scotch fisheries should have the benefit of these gun-boats more than those of Ireland.

MR. DUFF: There is only one gun-boat.

MR. MOLLOY said, there was a cutter in addition; but he did not find that the Irish fisheries were afforded any such protection at all. It appeared to him that the Scotch fisheries had always been favoured to a greater extent than those of Ireland, and he was unable to understand why this favouritism should be displayed. He would not enter into the question of the herring brand, which was another favour conferred upon Scotland; but he thought the fisheries they had in Ireland required exactly the same protection as those in Scotland. They were now asked to vote for this protection for the Scotch fisheries the sum of £2,430, while not a single penny was asked for Ireland. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £2,430.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £10,399, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Fishery Board in Scotland and for Grants in Aid of Piers or Quays."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

MR. DUFF said, he thought the hon. Gentleman was under a misapprehension in imagining that the Irish fisheries received no protection from Her Majesty's vessels, because he knew that gun-boats had been despatched from the flag ship at Queenstown to look after the fisheries. The fact that he had himself, when serving in the Navy, been despatched on that service, gave him good reason for knowing that the Irish fisheries were not altogether neglected. In regard to the general question, however, there was not so much reason for protection in the case of the Irish fisheries, because there were not so many foreign vessels on the coast of Ireland as there were upon the Scotch coast. He had not the slightest doubt that if the necessity arose the Admiralty would at once despatch a Government tender for the purpose of protecting the Irish fisheries.

MR. MOLLOY maintained that the Irish fisheries did require protection, and the question had been brought before the Treasury a short time ago. The Treasury said they would look into the matter, and see whether they could afford this protection to the Irish fisheries. The hon. Member contended that the Irish fisheries were protected, and supported his contention by the fact that when he was in the Navy he had himself been sent out for their protection. That was what he (Mr. Molloy) complained of. There was a continuous service in Scotland; and while the Scotch fisheries had been favoured from the beginning, it was not until an emergency arose that protection was afforded to the Irish fisheries. As to the promise made by the Treasury that they would look into the matter, they were all accustomed to the promises of the hon. Gentleman who represented the Treasury in that House. He was the best promiser in the world, but the very worst performer. Under these circumstances, he (Mr. Molloy) would certainly persist in his Motion, in order to draw attention to the injustice and inequality with which the Irish fisheries were treated.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that in the Committee on Harbour Accommodation, where the subject of the Irish fisheries had been fully gone into, there was no complaint made of want of protection to the Irish fisheries. The hon. Members for Waterford (Mr. Blake) and Galway (Colonel Nolan) were Members of that Committee; and they would be fully able to confirm that statement.

MR. WARTON said, that if he read the accounts which appeared in the Estimates accurately, the fees received from the herring brand amounted to £7,850, whereas the cost was only £5,415, leaving a surplus of nearly £2,500. He thought the surplus ought to be applied to the benefit of the Scotch fisheries; and he would respectfully make a suggestion to that effect to the hon. Member for Banff (Mr. Duff), who was not only a Minister, but also a Scotchman. When it was found absolutely necessary to extend telegraphic communication in Scotland for the convenience of the fisheries, he did not see how the fees received from the herring brand could be more profitably applied. He was quite as

anxious to see the Irish fisheries protected as the Scotch; and if it was necessary he thought that gun-boats ought to be placed at their disposal. At the same time, the fact that gun-boats might be necessary for the protection of the Irish fisheries was no reason why they should cut down the Scotch Vote.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, it appeared from the Report on the Irish fisheries that no serious complaints had been made in respect of depredations committed by French vessels, although occasionally there was some inconvenience felt by their coming within the three miles' limit.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he could quite believe that the hon. and gallant Member for Kincardineshire (General Sir George Balfour) had never heard anything about the Irish fisheries; and he suspected that very few Members of the House had heard much in regard to them. The hon. and gallant Member said that although he had sat on the Committee which dealt with the question of harbours, he had never heard any complaint of misconduct on the part of foreign boats which rendered the protection of a Government cutter necessary. That was quite natural enough, because the Committee on Harbours were not concerned in questions of fishery police.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: We did inquire, as a matter of fact, into that very question.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that harbours formed one question, and police another. If the hon. and gallant Gentleman would consult the Reports of the Irish Inspector of Fisheries for any year during the last 10 years, he would find that repeated and urgent complaints had been made over and over again by that gentleman of the want of a cutter on the West Coast of Ireland; and it had constantly been pointed out that whereas the Scotch fisheries were protected in this way, and a separate Vote taken for them, no provision of that kind was made for Ireland. When, last year, the question was brought before the Government, the Secretary to the Treasury said he had no doubt that if the necessity arose the Admiralty would provide for the protection of the fisheries. But what was the fact? Foreign boats were constantly going in and fishing in the Irish waters within the prohibited limits, and their trespasses in that way were the cause of frequent quarrels and disturbance. The fishermen, naturally, were an orderly and peaceful class of men—as peaceful and orderly as any that could be found in the whole of Europe; but they constantly found themselves engaged in quarrels and disputes which would never arise but for the depredations of foreign fishermen. He was perfectly prepared to admit that in the North Sea more protection was required than on the West Coast of Ireland; but there was protection required even on the West Coast of Ireland, and they had a right to demand it. But, as a matter of fact, there was nobody on the Treasury Bench who cared a fig for Ireland. The only Irishman who was a Member of the Government was the Solicitor General for Ireland; but he simply sat there as a Law Officer of the Crown, and concerned himself with legal questions only. With that exception, from one end of the Treasury Bench to the other there was no Member who had the least sympathy for Ireland. On the other hand, there were several Scotch Representatives in the Government, such as the hon. Member for Banff (Mr. Duff), who was a distinct acquisition to the Government ranks. Scotland, therefore, had a decided advantage over Ireland. He did not suppose there was any Member of that House who had used more genuine and urgent efforts for ameliorating the condition of the Irish fisheries than the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake), who formerly filled the office of Irish Fishery Inspector; and he thought the hon. Member would be able fully to endorse all that he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had said, because it was principally from the information of his hon. Friend that he had made these allegations. He hoped that the arrangements made were working satisfactorily; and he would ask his hon. Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) not to divide the Committee on his Motion for the reduction of the Vote, because he believed that the protection afforded in the case of the Scotch fisheries was of great service to an industrious and deserving class of men, who, he considered, were entitled to as much as they could get from Her Majesty's Government.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was hardly cor-

rect in his statement that French fishermen constantly came to fish in Irish waters, although undoubtedly there had been some cases of trespass within the three-miles limit. The Report of the Commissioners who sat to inquire into the whole question of the Irish fisheries expressly stated with regard to this very question that no serious complaints had been made of depredations committed by French fishermen in Irish waters, although there was some inconvenience felt in certain localities by reason of their trespassing within a distance of three miles from the shore.

MR. MOLLOY said, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment, and would content himself for the present with the discussion which the Motion for the reduction of the Vote had given rise to.

Motion, by leave; *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. DUFF said, he was bound to mention that the amount called in question by the hon. Member was that which had been recommended by the Committee on which he (Mr. Duff) had sat. The Fishery Board of Scotland had been appointed for various purposes, and a considerable staff was required for the purpose of getting through the large amount of work that had to be done. He could assure hon. Members that the Treasury were very anxious to promote the interests of those engaged in the Irish fisheries. There were two ordinary vessels for the service of the Scotch fisheries, and besides them, when anything special was required, there were gun-boats; and he had no doubt that if a representation were made that a gunboat was required to protect the Irish fisheries, the Admiralty would grant the request. He repeated that a gunboat was not employed on the coast of Scotland except in special circumstances.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) £4,454, to complete the sum for the Lunacy Commission, Scotland.

MR. MOLLOY said, he would ask the Lord Advocate on this Vote to state how many visits the Commissioners in Lunacy made to the asylums in Scotland during the year, and also to say how many public and private lunatic asylums there were in Scotland. He and his hon. Friends had no wish to diminish the amount of the Vote, the money taken under which appeared to be well expended; he rose simply for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, the number of asylums, and how many visits were made annually by the Commissioners and their deputies.

MR. WARTON asked whether it was possible, under the Lunacy Laws in Scotland, for the keeper of a private lunatic asylum to send two doctors to the house of an individual for the purpose of examining him as to alleged lunacy, not separately and independently, but concurrently—the one doctor coming into the room and the other running out—and then upon the certificate of those doctors to convey the alleged lunatic to his own asylum, where he would charge £500 a-year for his maintenance?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he had not the Report of the Commissioners with him, and he was, therefore, unable to answer the inquiry of the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy). There were certain private lunatic asylums in Scotland. [MR. MOLLOY: How many?] There were six, and they were under a regular system of inspection and supervision. With regard to the question of law raised by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) as to what might be done by the keeper of a private lunatic asylum in the case of alleged lunatics, he was bound to say that he was not completely familiar with the law of lunacy in England, and could not, therefore, make any comparison in this respect between the two countries, which were under different statutes.

MR. RAMSAY said, as a member of a Scotch District Lunacy Board, he would do his best to answer the question of the hon. Member for King's County as to the visits paid by the Commissioners to the lunatic asylums in Scotland. He was unable to state the exact number of visits made by the Commissioners and their deputies in the course of a year; but he could state, for the information of the Committee, that every public and private asylum in Scotland was subject to the supervision of the Board of Lunacy, and had to be visited by one of the Commissioners. There were two Commissioners only; but they had their assistants, who visited each pauper and private lunatic at least once in the course

of the year. He felt that if the hon. Member for King's County were acquainted with the duties discharged by the Lunacy Commissioners, he would acknowledge that the work they had to do had been done well; and he believed that there was not a single instance to be found in which that remark did not apply. The senior Commissioner was a man of the greatest ability and fitness for his office; he had been 20 years in the service, and had been appointed under the Lunacy Act, Scotland, which was passed 30 years ago; and, so far as the question of his salary was concerned, he did not think that there was a single instance to be found of a man who occupied so responsible a position receiving so little remuneration either in England or Scotland.

MR. MOLLOY said, he was not in the slightest degree objecting to the salaries to the Commissioners. He was not, however, perfectly satisfied when the hon. Member for Falkirk Burghs (Mr. Ramsay) told the Committee that Scotch Lunacy Commissioners visited pauper lunatics only once a-year. That, however, was not what a large number of hon. Members objected to. It was to this practice—that the Commissioners sent notice to the officers of the asylums that they intended to make their visit on a certain day; everything being done, as a matter of fact, to make the visit as rosy as possible. The Commissioners went round the asylum, asked the principals who accompanied them if there were any complaints; and, in short, went through a sort of examination which was nothing but a farce. ["No, no!"] He repeated that a visit of the kind he had described, once a-year, was a perfect farce. Did the hon. Member who disputed that statement mean to say that such visits by the Commissioners, with an interval of 12 months between them, constituted a sufficient inspection and supervision of the lunatic asylums of the country? The right hon. and learned Lord Advocate had not been able tc give the Committee any information at all on the subject of the Lunacy Law in Scotland, which was somewhat surprising; but the hon. Member for Falkirk Burghs had distinctly told them that one visit a-year was paid to each pauper lunatic in Scotland by the Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners. The hon. Member at first said there were two visits a-year, and then he corrected himself and said there was only one. Therefore, he (Mr. Molloy) still maintained that the examination of lunatics in the Three Kingdoms by the Commissioners was a complete farce. But, if Scotch Representatives were satisfied that pauper lunatics in Scotland should be visited only once a-year, he, at any rate, doubted whether it was a good thing that the visit should take place under the circumstances he had described. He believed that, as a rule, the public asylums in the country were well conducted; but with regard to private asylums, he believed he should be borne out by hon. Members when he said that inspection of those asylums was quite worthless as it was at present conducted. It was obvious that the owners of private asylums had an interest in keeping patients as long as possible; and hon. Members would see that if the number of cures effected in them were compared with the number of cures in the public asylums, there was a large balance in favour of the latter institutions. He did not wish to move the reduction of the Vote, because the matter he had referred to was, in this particular instance, one for the consideration of Scotch Members; but he trusted that every hon. Member who compared the number of cures under the two systems would join with him in his endeavour to put an end to the infamous system—in many cases—under which the keepers of private lunatic asylums were enabled to make money out of the unfortunate individuals entrusted to them, without attempting to effect their cure.

MR. RAMSAY said, his statement was that the lunatics were visited at least once in the year. Pauper lunatics of all classes were under the supervision of the Board of Lunacy, Scotland, and their assistants, who visited the asylums. The Commissioners went round to see the patients once a-year. That he knew. He was not prepared to say that the visits were not more numerous. The hon. Member assumed that the visits were made after intimation had been given that the Commissioners were coming.

MR. MOLLOY: It is so stated in the Reports.

MR. RAMSAY: It was not so stated in the Scotch Reports.

MR. MOLLOY: It is stated in respect of private asylums that intimation was given by some person that on such or

such a day the Commissioners would come and make their examination. It was upon that information that my statement was made.

MR. RAMSAY said, his information was such that he was convinced that some misapprehension existed with regard to the facts. But could the hon. Member point to a single case of the bad treatment of any pauper lunatic under the present system in Scotland? He was quite sure that no such case was to be found in which the Commissioners would not speedily bring the whole matter to light. He maintained that in this matter, with regard to Scotland, there was no ground for complaint.

MR. WARTON said, the hon. Member for Falkirk Burghs used the expression "at least once a-year" in connection with the visits to Scotch lunatics, as if that number of visits constituted, in the minds of the Commissioners, a sufficient guarantee for the good treatment of the unfortunate persons who were confined as lunatics. His own opinion was, however, that four visits in the course of a year, conducted on the strictest principles, would not be too many for the requirements of the case.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought there were few Votes in the whole of the Estimates which could be viewed with so much satisfaction as the Vote for the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners. The Scotch Lunacy Commissioners probably held the first place amongst the lunacy officials of all Europe. The system adopted by the Commissioners in Scotland was worthy of all admiration in England, and it commanded public approval in every other country. He did not know that the lunacy administration in Ireland or in England could at all compare with the intelligent, and successfully operative system adopted in Scotland. The way in which lunatics were treated in Scotland was quite different from that in which they had been for so many years treated in other countries. The Commissioners had there adopted without any reserve what was called the open-door-system, where it was possible to do so; they had always insisted on congenial occupation being found for all the inmates of lunatic asylums, and they had shown their intelligence by extending that provision not only to the male, but also to the female occupants. With regard to pauper lunatics in the poor-houses, the Scotch Commissioners had done much more to ameliorate their condition than had been done by the corresponding officers in England or Ireland, because in Scotland the pauper lunatics were carefully classified and separated from the other inmates, and special provision was made so that the premises in which they were located should be suitably equipped for their accommodation. He did not find that that was done in England, and as for Ireland he was sorry to say that he had himself seen a number of lunatics in a workhouse with a number of little children playing about in the room without any guard, either for the children or for the lunatics, being present; they were, in fact, absolutely neglected, none of the windows of the room being barred, or other provisions made for their security. Well, nothing of that kind could occur in Scotland; but he thought the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) must be under some mistake with regard to the visits made by the Commissioners. There was a stated number of visits made by the Commissioners, besides those made by the deputed Commissioners, not only to paupers in lunatic asylums, but also to persons in private buildings. Thus, he pointed out that the deputed Commissioners alone in one year made no less than 932 visits. On that ground, therefore, he did not see that any complaint could justly be made with regard to the conduct or administration of the Lunacy Commissioners in Scotland; on the contrary, he believed them to be worthy of every commendation for the way in which they discharged their duties. But with regard to this and the previous Vote he thought hon. Members were fairly entitled to complain that, whereas the Scotch people were allowed adequate means for conducting the system in operation in Scotland satisfactorily and successfully, they in Ireland were restricted to a very much smaller sum, and the consequence was that not only Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, but other institutions which came under the arrangements of the Commissioners in that country, were practically starved. Moreover, the Inspectors in Ireland were not able to do the work which was done by the Commissioners in Scotland by reason of the very small pittance which they received. That, however, was no ground for the reduction of the Vote for the Scotch Lunacy Commissioners, and

he trusted that it would now be allowed to be taken.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £4,277, to complete the sum for the Registrar General's Office, Scotland.

(6.) £23,518, to complete the sum for the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, and for Public Health, Scotland.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

(7.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,429, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."

MR. MOLLOY said, as he understood that the main discussion on Irish questions was not to be raised on this Vote, yet as it had been the custom of Members on those Benches to make their protests against the principle which it involved, he proposed to move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of £5,000, which represented the salary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He should not trouble the Committee by going into any details; but, simply as a continuance of the protests which hon. Members from Ireland felt it their duty to make against the system of Viceroyalty in Ireland, he begged to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum named.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That a sum, not exceeding £429, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 13; Noes 67: Majority 54.—(Div. List, No. 171.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. HEALY said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, why a charge for a telegraphist appeared in this Estimate, and what was the work performed? He also wished to know if messages received by the Irish Telegraph Department was transmitted to the Lord Lieutenant by private telegram; and, if so, whether the Government would give the reason for this measure?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) put an alternative before them. A telegraphist at the Viceregal Lodge was a recent appointment. It was found last year that the work of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was so severe—incomparably more severe than that of any preceding Viceroy—that it became absolutely necessary to have someone in constant attendance at the Telegraph Office. He could assure the Committee that there was no money charged in the Estimates which represented more constant labour than this charge, which he was satisfied could not possibly be dispensed with.

MR. HEALY said, that the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman was all very well as far as it went; but why was not the item charged under the Post Office Vote? He was quite unable to conceive why it should fall under the Vote for the Household expenses of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and why it should form a charge at all upon the Irish Estimates.

MR. TREVELYAN explained that the telegraph worked between the Castle and the Lodge, and that the charge could not be included under the Post Office Vote, which he might say represented practically the mercantile side of the telegraph system, from which the present work was entirely distinct.

MR. HEALY asked whether they were to understand that, wherever a private telegraph clerk was required, the cost of his salary was to be charged to the Department for which the work was done? He would be glad to know why the expense appeared under the Vote for the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland?

MR. COURTNEY said, that the charge was entered in the Estimates in a perfectly regular way. The officer in question was located at the Lodge working the telegraph which connected the Lodge with the Castle. His services were not available by the public, nor was he connected with the general

organization of the Post Office. He could see no reason why the charge should not be placed under the present Vote. It was precisely the same as if there was a telegraph working between the Clothing Department, for instance, and the War Office. In that case the salary of the telegraphist engaged on the work would be charged to the War Department, and not to the Post Office. In precisely the same way the charge for a telegraphist, in the present instance, to work the telegraph at the Viceregal Lodge was placed to the account of the expenses of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he had a question to put to the Secretary to the Treasury on this particular subject. Was it not a fact that military telegraphists were employed in the War Office and the Clothing Department for the purpose of communicating between the two?

MR. COURTNEY said, he was not in a position to answer the question of the hon. Member for Galway. He had simply stated what was a general principle. No doubt there were exceptions to the rule as to the work of telegraphists; but the present was purely a local and domestic service, and, as such, he said it was properly charged to the Vote now before the Committee.

MR. BARRY said, that Mr. Boyle, the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in addition to that Office, held a position as Inspector under the Local Government Board, which increased his salary by the sum of £900 a-year. It seemed to him that it was impossible for the gentleman in question to discharge the dual Office in a satisfactory manner, and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether this was to be a permanent arrangement?

MR. TREVELYAN said, it would, perhaps, be well if the hon. Member for Wexford County were to apply to the English Local Government Board for more accurate information on this subject than he could give as to the manner in which the duties of the Department had to be discharged. The arrangement with regard to Mr. Boyle was one which was very well known in the Public Service—namely, that a person holding an important Office under the Crown very frequently preferred to take as his Secretary not one of his own personal friends or acquaintances, but a gentleman of experience, who had been tried in the service of the public. As a rule, the pay of a Secretary was not generally sufficient to tempt those gentlemen away from the Office which they already held; and it was in consequence of a recognized custom of the Civil Service that the salary of the Office which they held should be added to that of the Secretaryship. The duties of Private Secretaries were very much the heaviest of all the duties in the Civil Service, except those of the responsible officers who were at the head of the superior Departments. He could assure the Committee that the arrangement with regard to the two salaries was perfectly regular. For instance, if he (Mr. Trevelyan) were Secretary to the Admiralty, instead of taking a private friend for his Secretary, and giving him a salary, he might select the very best clerk in the Department for his purpose. He said that the emoluments of the Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, added to his salary as Inspector of the Local Government Board, did not more than compensate Mr. Boyle for the increased and arduous duties which he had to perform. In conclusion, he might add that the salary in this case was by no means too large, as compared with that of other Private Secretaries; and, at the same time, he would refer the hon. Member for Wexford County to the Local Government Board for any information he might desire as to Mr. Boyle's position with regard to that Department.

MR. BARRY said, he thought the explanation given by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was in the highest degree unsatisfactory; because it appeared to him, from the right hon. Gentleman's statement, that, in order to obtain a satisfactory Private Secretary, it was necessary to give him a dual position, on the ground that the ordinary salary of a Private Secretary was insufficient to tempt a man with the requisite ability and qualifications to take upon himself the duties of Secretaryship. He contended that it was impossible for any man satisfactorily to discharge the duties of two Offices, and that if Mr. Boyle gave full satisfaction to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, it could only be given at the expense of his

duties as Inspector to the Local Government Board. With regard to the expenditure in this particular case, he wished to state that he entertained the strongest possible objection to those dual appointments which figured so frequently in the Civil Service Estimates; and, therefore, as a protest against a system, he should feel it his duty, if the Chairman did not rule him out of Order, to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £829, the amount of the salary of the Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member would not be in Order in moving the reduction of the Vote on a separate item; but he would be in Order in moving it as a reduction of the whole sum.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £4,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries of the Officers and Attendants of the Household of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and other Expenses."—(*Mr. Barry.*)

MR. TREVELYAN said, it was only fair to Mr. Boyle to say that £300 a-year, referred to by the hon. Member for Carlow, had been absolutely requisite in order to carry out the work of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He was prepared to meet hon. Gentlemen opposite on a Division; but he was bound to point out that, if the theory of the hon. Member for Wexford County was carried out, there would be great difficulty in obtaining suitable men for this branch of the Public Service, which, he ventured to say, required, perhaps, longer training than any other profession in the world.

MR. GRAY said, he understood, from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, that the salary of the Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had been fixed at a certain sum in order to secure the services of a competent person, and that it was incumbent that a salary should also be paid for duties which were not performed in order to increase the former salary, which, it appeared, was insufficient. Mr. Boyle received for duties which he did not perform a salary of £900. It was for the Government to consider whether Mr. Boyle's services as Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant were worth £1,729 per annum to the State; but the contention of his hon. Friends and himself was that an official ought not to be paid for work which he did not do, in order to compensate him for being underpaid for work which he did do. He did not think his hon. Friend wanted to make any attack upon the present holder of the Office of Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The contention of his hon. Friend—and he was sure the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would agree with him as a matter of principle — was that public money ought to be paid for services performed, and not for services which were not performed; and that the accounts should be kept in such a manner that the fact that Mr. Boyle received altogether £1,729 for his salary as Private Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant should be perfectly clear, so as to enable the House to judge as to whether he was over-remunerated or otherwise. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) would be able to give an assurance that, before another year had elapsed, this matter of account should be so arranged that the salaries charged for these officials should represent the real sums of money they received. That was the only contention of hon. Gentlemen on those Benches, and he thought it was one which the right hon. Gentleman should find no difficulty in agreeing to.

MR. KENNY said, there were several items in this Estimate with regard to which he desired to receive some information. First, with regard to the Office of Arms, for which there was a charge of £1,085, besides incidental expenses amounting to £34. He was bound to confess that, until he looked into the Estimates for it, he did not know what the Office of Arms was. He did not suppose that anyone had a very clear idea of the matter; but it was, at least, obvious that it was an anomalous Office, and one which ought to be abolished. The Office was nothing else than a sinecure, and, as such, the sooner it was got rid of the better. There was also another item further down on the page, upon which the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would, perhaps, be able to afford the Committee some information. He referred to the item of £1,563, composed of various amounts, for Queen's Plates in Ireland. He thought it would be very interesting

to know how many horses ran for these plates. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury could inform the Committee whether these races were simply a farce, or whether they were real races, supported for the purpose of encouraging and improving the breed of horses in Ireland? The hon. Gentleman ought to be in a position to say whether the money was, or was not, actually devoted to the latter purpose. For his own part, he doubted whether this £1,563 was given for any such purpose as that of encouraging the breeding of horses in Ireland; and he should certainly like to hear what was the opinion of the hon. Gentleman on that question, because the hon. Gentleman was always ready to consider the best means of disposing of anomalies like this.

Mr. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked for information with regard to the Office of Athlone Pursuivant of Arms, for which there was a charge, in lieu of official fees, of £30? He had been lately in Athlone, but he certainly had not met or heard of the Athlone Pursuivant; and he should like to know what were the functions of this officer, and what his position in the town might be? He would like particularly to learn what was his position with regard to the National Party? Of course, if he were a strong Nationalist, he should be inclined to support this officer; but if he were one of the supporters of the dominant Party in Ireland, he should strongly recommend his removal. He hoped the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to enlighten him with reference to the Office of Athlone Pursuivant of Arms.

Colonel O'BEIRNE said, the present system of distributing the money given for Queen's Plates was unfair, inasmuch as the principal part of it went to one stable. A more equitable distribution was certainly necessary.

Mr. WARTON said, that probably the whole of the money received by Mr. Boyle had not yet been stated to the Committee, because it was a fact that nearly all the Inspectors of the Local Government Board had allowances which in some cases amounted to £800 a-year. Other Inspectors were paid a guinea a night for their expenses. He should be glad to know what amount Mr. Boyle received in this way from the Office of the Local Government Board.

Mr. COURTNEY pointed out that the question of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport should be addressed to the Representative of the Local Government Board. With respect to the charge for Queen's Plates to which the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) had called attention, he might say that that matter had been commented upon for many years. It was a subject easily talked about; but it was difficult to see that any better arrangement could be made. If he had his way, he would leave the item out of the Estimates altogether. With regard to the inquiry of the hon. Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy), he pointed out that it was erroneous to suppose that the functions of the Athlone Pursuivant of Arms were confined to the town of Athlone. Persons discharging offices of this kind very often received names which had no connection with the places associated with them, even if they happened to reside there. The Office of Ulster King of Arms was an instance in point. His functions extended to the whole of Ireland; and the Office corresponded to that of the English Garter King of Arms. The Athlone Pursuivant of Arms was the assistant of the Ulster King of Arms, and he was engaged in gratifying those persons who wished for armorial bearings by issuing the usual certificate.

Mr. BARRY said, he did not propose to trouble the Committee to divide on his Amendment for the reduction of the Vote. He would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw the Motion before the Committee. In doing so, however, he felt bound to express his regret that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had not seen his way to give an assurance that this dual appointment would be dealt with in a satisfactory manner next year. The question was one which concerned the Local Government Board in England, rather than the Irish Estimates; and he trusted that next year, when the Vote for that Department was before the Committee, that the subject would be thoroughly investigated.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(8.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £30,154, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum

necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in Dublin and London, and Subordinate Departments."

MR. O'BRIEN said, he had given Notice of Motion to omit the item of the salary of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant from this Vote. As this matter involved a question of cruel wrong to himself, and in view of the proceedings that were then going on in Dublin, he should try to confine his observations, as far as possible, to a bare statement of the facts concerning the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman in his administration in Ireland. Those facts, he believed, would speak for themselves to any unprejudiced mind. On the 25th of August last, there appeared in *United Ireland*, a newspaper of which he was editor, an article in which the following sentence occurred:—

"If the House of Commons wants to make Rules to stop such Questions as Mr. Healy's, it is open to it to devote its valuable time to the attempt; but it will not do so until the life and adventures, and what is called the private character, of various Crown *employés* in Ireland, from Corry Connellan to County Inspector and Detective Director James Ellis French, are fully laid bare to the universe."

He asked the Committee to bear in mind that it was admitted to have been that sentence which caused inquiries with reference to French to be instituted at Dublin Castle. That was the first and only reference that was made to French, directly, or, so far as he knew, indirectly, until after inquiries were instituted by Colonel Bruce at the Castle, and until after French was told that he need not return to duty. He thought that that much would be admitted, and that it would be admitted also that upon the sentence of the article in question no cause of action accrued to French—certainly, no libel action in reference to a charge which had not been made could have been founded upon it. That was the best legal opinion he had been able to get; but it did not require a lawyer to say that the mere coupling of a man's name with Corry Connellan's name was not libellous, unless they were to assume that his guilt was proved. Now, he asked whether this fact was admitted, that upon the appearance of that article inquiries were made by Colonel Bruce, Inspector General of Constabulary? The Government were saddled with the knowledge that charges were impending over French in Parliament; and either they set Colonel Bruce inquiring, or he, upon his own responsibility, instituted inquiries. Upon the strength of those inquiries, French was told early in September that he need not return to duty—practically he was suspended from duty. Could any amount of sophistry, or friendliness of the House for the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan), or prejudice against him (Mr. O'Brien), get rid of the responsibility of the Government for not prosecuting those inquiries of Colonel Bruce, or for dropping them the moment they found him and his paper —*United Ireland*—entangled in an action for libel. Upon the 16th of September French was told that he need not return to duty; but up to that time he had no valid action against *United Ireland*. They had said nothing libellous; but they had said enough to set Colonel Bruce inquiring. Colonel Bruce knew very well the meaning of the reference to French's *Life and Adventures*. There was not an officer or man in the Irish Constabulary Force amongst whom stories of this man's infamous conduct had not been for years the subject of common gossip. If Colonel Bruce had prosecuted his inquiries in this matter in the same spirit in which he prosecuted his inquiries into the Invincible conspiracy, he would have found ample evidence without going outside the ranks of the Constabulary. Was it possible such things could have been done on right, left, and centre, in Dublin, and that the police could not get an inkling of it? The Chief Secretary's statement was that the Inspector General (Colonel Bruce), on his own responsibility, and without consultation, instituted an informal inquiry, at which it was decided that nothing had transpired to establish a *primâ facie* case for investigation. He (Mr. O'Brien) denounced that decision as absolutely incredible by the light of subsequent disclosures, and by the light of what was going on in Dublin at this moment. Why was the inquiry instituted by Colonel Bruce wrapped up in mystery, and the holding of it concealed from the Irish Members? Why were they not told what steps Colonel Bruce was taking to find out the truth of the charges? The statement was made in the House, and it had never been con-

tradicted, that the very first person Colonel Bruce applied to was a Constabulary officer, whose name he need not mention, though he knew it well, and that that officer put Colonel Bruce on the track of dozens of cases of the most shameful misconduct. If Colonel Bruce had no evidence before him, why did he tell French immediately afterwards that he need not return to duty—practically suspend him? Remember, up to this time, the real libel in *United Ireland* had not appeared—it did not appear for a month afterwards; and yet here they had the Government saddled with the knowledge that the scandal was on foot, they had the Inspector General himself making inquiries, and they had the man suspended from duty on the strength of the inquiries; they had the Inspector General furnished with clues as to the charges; they had a man lying under the charge of a terrible felony, a charge which the Government could easily have established, but which they knew it was almost impossible for anyone except the Government to establish—here they had the Government leaving the *onus* of proving such a terrible charge upon a private individual. He asked the Committee if that was fair play? He asked why the inquiries were dropped? Why did Colonel Bruce abdicate his functions as a police officer; and why did he—for this was what it came to—compound a horrible felony? Colonel Bruce was the only official who, it could be positively stated, instituted inquiries. He (Mr. O'Brien) would tell the Committee why the inquiries were dropped. About a month after French's suspension, erroneous information reached *United Ireland* that he had quitted the country, taking with him Secret Service money, and upon the 13th of October they stated that. That was a mistake—it was the only mistake they had made in the whole course of these proceedings. French had not left the country; but the moment they had fallen into that blunder and rendered themselves really liable to an action for libel under circumstances which, perhaps, led Colonel Bruce to think that their informers were at fault, and that they were only groping in the dark throughout the whole business, French was let loose upon *United Ireland*. Instead of Colonel Bruce following up his own inquiries as to the guilt or innocence of French, he practically granted the man immunity from his crimes. He asked any fair man what other inference could be drawn from the facts—namely, the non-libellous article on the 25th of August, leading to the inquiry at the Castle on the 1st of September; French suspended on the 6th; nothing further done, and no article in *United Ireland* until the 13th of October, or rather the 11th, for the paper, although dated the 13th, was published on the 11th; and on the 12th of October this man made to pounce down upon *United Ireland*. He mentioned these facts to show that he did not court these proceedings. It was only when the Government, or those over whom they were the responsible heads, either with a full knowledge of the facts, or else with an ignorance of them, which was culpable, threw the cruel task upon him that he endeavoured to discharge the duty which the Government was neglecting. If their object was, what he was afraid it was, to crush him, they had not succeeded. If conscience had not made a coward of the unfortunate man French, and if he had pressed his action immediately, it was possible he (Mr. O'Brien) might have failed in his proofs, not because he was without abundant proof of what he had alleged, but because at the time a number of his informants were officers in the Royal Irish Constabulary, many of them perfectly innocent parties to the transactions, and having a thousand motives for denying the truth, because the Constabulary Code absolutely forbade them to give information to outsiders. Here was the attitude of the Government to this man for over seven months. They knew what the charge against him was—they inquired into it; they suspended him; they knew if they inquired further, and in earnest, they would come upon most horrible disclosures, and with the knowledge and in the belief that he (Mr. O'Brien) must almost inevitably fail where they could easily have succeeded, they stood neutral. It was something far worse than neutrality, as he would proceed to show the House. Shortly after the action was instituted he moved to remit it to the County Court, on the ground that it was a sham action, and an affidavit was put in in reply by the plaintiff, James Ellis French. In that affidavit he practically swore that nothing whatever had occurred to damage his position in the po-

lice force. The affidavit was sworn upon the 27th of October, he having been told upon the 6th of September that he need not return to duty. This was what the man said—

"I say that my action is neither sham nor vexatious, and I intend, at the earliest moment, to bring it for trial before a jury."

That statement did not need comment. French further swore—

"It is false to state that I have been dismissed from, or obliged to resign, or been suspended from the appointment of director of the Detective Department of the Royal Irish Constabulary, in consequence of misconduct or otherwise, and I still hold my said appointment."

He (Mr. O'Brien) asked the Committee whether, it being admitted that this man was told in September that he need not return to duty, what he swore was not colourable, if not real perjury? The affidavit was published in Dublin in October, and it was never contradicted by the Government. On the contrary, the man who had so sworn was allowed to retire to the country upon sick leave, and receive his full pay from the Government just as though nothing at all had occurred; but while, however, he was supposed to be laid up, he was actively employed in hunting his (Mr. O'Brien's) witnesses, and in trying to induce them to hold their tongues. There was another important fact in the case. It was sworn in the late trial in Dublin, both by the witness upon his (Mr. O'Brien's) side, who was certainly not a friendly witness, and by a witness who was examined for Cornwall—Captain Kirwan—that, at the time French was supposed to be sick, he was sending letters to his accomplices, telling them to stand firm. In one letter he told the young man Taylor, "to go to the Castle and put Cottingham and Irwin on Brown." Cottingham and Irwin were two head constables of the detective police in the pay of the public, and Brown was the detective Meiklejohn, who was engaged at the time in unravelling this horrible crime. The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) stated, when this question was raised the other night, that there was no proof that these head constables were engaged in baffling the investigation. But he (Mr. O'Brien) maintained that, on the contrary, the letter of the Deputy Inspector General to his solicitors, when they complained of the conduct of these detectives, admitted, to all intents and puposes, that the men were engaged in French's service, and that their accounts of their own transactions were false. This was the account given by the Deputy Inspector General—

"The Inspector General was not aware of any action having been taken by the head constables referred to in reference to Mr. French. Since receiving your letter he has caused inquiries to be made from Head Constables Cottingham and Irwin, and has learned that, in consequence of a communication made to Head Constable Cottingham by Mr. French"—

it was sworn in evidence at the late trial that the communication was made, not by French, but by his accomplice Taylor—

"that some suspicious looking persons had been looking for him; they made inquiries at Mr. French's lodgings, and also at a house opposite, whether such was the fact, and ascertained that some men had been making inquiries. The head constables did ask at both houses what description of persons were inquiring for Mr. French; but did not ask to have them pointed out. The head constables made their inquiries solely with a view to the personal safety of Mr. French, and not for the purpose of aiding him in any way in the pending action."

He (Mr. O'Brien) denounced that as a patent, and transparent, and even fraudulent pretence on the part of the authorities. They pretended they did not know who Brown was, or what his business was. Everybody else knew who Brown was, and what was meant by the expression "put Cottingham and Irwin on Brown." *United Ireland* had evidence, and were ready to produce it, that the men were engaged again and again in watching the offices of their solicitors, and in dogging and in intimidating—perhaps he ought not to say intimidating, but in getting at and influencing the persons who were suspected of giving evidence to the defendants in the action. This was how the resources of the Crown were employed to baffle *United Ireland*, and to this day the Government had refused any public inquiry into the conduct of the two head constables, or into the conduct of Colonel Bruce in countenancing their conduct. Now, he asked any fair-minded man what was the object, or what, at all events, could have been the effect of the attitude of the Government during the seven months that this wretched man was dragging this sham action along in the Courts, unless it was to embarrass

the defendants, and to make a most difficult task almost impossible? They had never yet been told why French was eventually dismissed. The pretence originally was that he was dismissed because he was in delicate health—because he was unfit for duty. If that was true, it was a most cruel and savage thing on the part of the Government, because at the very crisis of the man's action, and at a time when, according to them, he was broken down in health, they, by dismissing him, practically condemned him in public estimation. That was a palpably transparent false pretence. He would not now go into the character of the certificates that were got from three doctors as to this unfortunate man's state of health; but simply point out that the effect of the report of the three doctors was that they were of opinion that French was suffering from cerebral softening and mental disease, and that his infirmity of mind and body was likely to be permanent. Up to a few weeks ago, French was represented to the House and to the public as being upon his deathbed. How did the Government treat the man who was supposed to be on his deathbed? Last week a policeman went down in the middle of the night, arrested him, and brought him a long journey into Cork, and another long journey by train to Dublin; and this was the description of French which was given in *The Freeman's Journal*—

"French for several minutes walked up and down the platform with his hands in his pockets, maintaining a very nonchalant air. He appears to be free from the malady he was certified some time ago to be labouring under. He conversed freely with those about him, and when the time came for the starting of the train he took his seat with Detective Simmonds."

He was brought up to Dublin, examined the same evening, and kept in Kilmainham Prison, bail being refused. He (Mr. O'Brien) submitted to the House that all along this man had been used as a kind of stalking-horse against him and *United Ireland;* and it was simply because this man had not the nerve and pluck to brazen the thing out, as Cornwall afterwards did, that he was dismissed. In the very last speech made on the subject from the Treasury Bench a sort of hope was held out that even yet French might recover in time to bring another action against *United Ireland.* But he would pass from that case entirely, and ask the House to consider what was the action of the Government in Cornwall's case, even after the lesson they had learnt from French's case. So far from having anything like personal malice against the unfortunate man, he did not even know the name of the Secretary to the General Post Office until their inquiries about French disclosed that he was one of the members of this club. He (Mr. O'Brien) never made the slightest allusion to his name in public, so long as there was the slightest possibility of French going on with his action. It was only when French's case was dismissed, and the Government were persistently closing their eyes to his guilt, and treating him, as they had treated him all along, as a hardly-used, and honourable, and meritorious public official—it was only when he found that such was the conduct of the Government; that justice would be baffled; that these men would be still permitted to spread their leprosy all over society in Dublin, and that he would be denounced as a libeller of innocent and meritorious public officials, that he determined, at all hazards, to bring the thing once for all to an issue, and let the public know, whatever the consequence to himself, the true state of the case. He did not ask whether the Government gave him any help in establishing Cornwall's case; he only asked whether they gave him fair play; did they even refrain from prejudicing the fair trial of the action? When this man was proved to be one of those who were breeding the foul leprosy in Dublin, he (Mr. O'Brien) was denounced as a libeller of innocent and meritorious public officials. On the 17th of June, when his hon. Friend the Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) brought the conduct of the officials under the notice of the House, both the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) and himself (Mr. O'Brien) refrained from going into the evidence on the ground that the action was just pending. How was their forbearance reciprocated by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan)? He was sorry to say that the right hon. Gentleman made a speech such as could only, almost, have been made by an advocate out of Cornwall's brief—in fact, the speech suggested precisely the line of action adopted by Cornwall's counsel

afterwards. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"He could very well guess whence this evidence came, because there had been in Dublin for some time past a man of the name of Meiklejohn, who was formerly in the English Detective Force, but who was dismissed from that Force, put upon his trial—a criminal trial—for levying 'blackmail,' and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, the circumstances of the case being such that it was generally believed it was extremely fortunate for Meiklejohn that two years was the outside punishment that could be given."—(3 *Hansard*, [289] 695.)

MR. TREVELYAN: Read on further, and see that the evidence I referred to was about myself.

MR. HEALY: Public officials, you said.

MR. O'BRIEN admitted that immediately previously the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) had been referring to a statement that it was at a private interview between himself and French that French had been goaded to bring the action; and no doubt the language he (Mr. O'Brien) quoted followed the right hon. Gentleman's denial of the truth of the statement. But the right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

"The House might imagine the terrible danger which Irish officials ran when a man of this sort was in Dublin trumping up cases against them. How could any Irish official be free from the most horrible charges when a man of his character was in Dublin spying about to the right and left?"—(*Ibid.*)

He (Mr. O'Brien) admitted that the right hon. Gentleman's statement in denunciation of Meiklejohn applied to the assertion that he had had a personal interview with French, and that the right hon. Gentleman was only defending himself. But defending himself against what? Meiklejohn had never said that the right hon. Gentleman had had an interview with French. On the contrary, both the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) and himself (Mr. O'Brien) distinctly stated that the allegation was the allegation of French himself to a friend of his. If it was untrue it simply proved that French himself lied, and nothing more. He (Mr. O'Brien) had all along complained that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) had left them groping in the dark as to his own part in these transactions, and that they had been obliged to fall back upon secondary evidence. But it was perfectly unimportant whether it was the right hon. Gentleman himself, or the Under Secretary, or Colonel Bruce, who goaded French to bring his action. It was useless for him, by a miserable bye-issue of that sort, to make an excuse for the vehement dramatic attack he had made in the House on the character of a man engaged in a most difficult task—a man whose every investigation was carried on responsibly, and under the direct personal supervision of a respectable firm of solicitors in Dublin. What were the Members of the House who heard them, the jurors in Ireland who were to try the case, to think? They must have inferred from the language of the right hon. Gentleman, conveyed to them with terrible impressiveness, and delivered amid the cheers of his friends, that these charges were, in the opinion of the Government, the malicious, trumped up, and concocted accusations of an infamous man who had been a detective. Could anything possibly have been more calculated to embarrass or prejudice the chances of fair play or of a fair trial? He would ask what was more calculated to prejudice the chance of a fair trial than to suggest that the witnesses on whom he depended had nothing to fear from the Government, even if they fled the country, or refused to give evidence? What was more calculated to throw the whole weight of the Crown against him and in favour of Mr. Cornwall's case? He was sorry to be obliged to say that from the beginning to the end he traced in the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman—for he could not distinguish between him and the Lord Lieutenant, but he and Earl Spencer must divide the responsibility between them—in the conduct of the Irish administration from beginning to end he traced a most disgraceful policy. Not only did they throw upon him the responsibility of endeavouring to obtain the vindication of justice in the case of the most horrible of crimes—crimes which struck at the very life of society—but he charged the right hon. Gentleman from beginning to end with doing all he could to embarrass him and his friends, and to render their difficult task, if possible, still more difficult, even if not impossible. Well, the Government and their advisers had signally failed, and he thanked God that justice had triumphed. All he would add was

that after speeches like those of the right hon. Gentleman the proofs might have easily broken down, and the witnesses might have saved themselves the shame of the foul admissions they had made in Court when they knew that they had nothing to fear from the Government. However, after all, justice had been vindicated, and he must say it had been vindicated in spite of all the right hon. Gentleman and his friends in Ireland could do. He did not think he need say more on the subject, and after what had occurred in Dublin he thought the right hon. Gentleman might have saved them the trouble of discussing the Vote. The right hon. Gentleman, of course, depended on the Votes in the House to carry him through, and he had little regard for public opinion in Ireland. All he (Mr. O'Brien) could say was, that he did not envy the right hon. Gentleman, when he found himself compelled to resort to such means; and he merely took the action he did for the purpose of showing the means which had been taken, in case after case, for the last two years, in Ireland, to ruin and degrade political opponents. He would say no more on the subject; but he would leave the case to the judgment of the Irish people, for there was no use in leaving it to the judgment of the House. He begged leave to move that the item for the salary of the Chief Secretary be disallowed.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item of £4,425, for the Salary of the Chief Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, be omitted from the proposed Vote." —(*Mr. O'Brien.*)

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I waited for a few moments after the hon. Gentleman sat down, because I was anxious that everything that could be said on the subject before I spoke should be said, in order that it might be unnecessary that more should be said after I sat down, and that I might be able to answer all that was to be said on the subject. The occasion is sufficiently serious when the very unusual course is taken of moving the rejection of the salary of an official who, it is not pretended, has not earned it by hard work. I know very well the serious and ingenious character of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), and I know that when the hon. Member moves the rejection of the salary of the Chief Secretary, he does so because he thinks the charges made against me are sufficiently grave to warrant that course, and he does not conceal that opinion, because he used a sentence which, although it was put in a veiled manner, had only one meaning—namely, that I should not even have appeared at this Table to meet the charges he makes against me. Now, the charges made have been already discussed, in great detail, in a debate which took place in this House some five or six weeks ago. The hon. Member now states his case in broad outline; but he has only entered into detail on one or two points in which I propose to follow him. I, too, will state the action of the Irish Government in the broadest outline, and will only enter into detail where the hon. Member has done so. We have to deal with a question now which is not one, in one sense, before Parliament. It is a matter for Parliament only, in so far as the Government have been wanting in their duty, as a Government, in the matter. We are not arguing now whether these men, who are all of them in the hands of justice, are, or are not, guilty; but we have to argue whether the Government, in dealing with these matters, have proceeded on right lines, or whether they have so far departed from the customs of a Government as to call for the severe censure involved in the refusal to pay his salary to a Member of the Government. Well, Sir, what is the case now before the Committee? The case is one of a most terrible nature; but which yet from time to time appears to shock society. From time to time someone is accused, and sometimes accused, unfortunately, only too truly, of one of these terrible crimes from which human nature, in itself, under certain circumstances, prone to all manner of evil, happily revolts. When one of these cases occurs, the course that is pursued by the Government, who may be the superiors of any unfortunate man who is accused of such a crime, is a course dictated, not only by administrative propriety, but by the impulses of human nature. The first idea is to disbelieve that any such horror can exist, and to say to the person charged that he must clear himself of the charge, or that he

must resign his office. It is allowable that there are charges of a certain kind which may be, with safety, neglected. If there is a general allegation of breach of trust or forgery against some well-known public official, and words are simply used, and no evidence given in its support, I can very well conceive that such an accusation would almost pass without notice in the mass of newspapers which are published; but it is a very different matter when a charge of this very grave nature is made and stated with the particularity that this charge is. The first article written in *United Ireland*, coupling French's name with the name it was coupled with, could only give one idea, in the minds of those who read it, of the meaning of the person who wrote it.

MR. HEALY: Was that Corry Connellan's name?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes; I know the hon. Member's point. I know that the hon. Member may say that to couple Corry Connellan with French, or French and Corry Connellan, is condemnatory of either.

MR. PARNELL: Or of the Government.

MR. TREVELYAN: In discussing this matter, I would rather not bring more people into the business than is necessary. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) himself will admit—for the hon. Member is a courageous man, and will not deny that it was his meaning in that first article—that French had, in his opinion, been convicted of these abominable crimes. Now, before saying what I consider the duty of the Government to be, I will state—and if I criticize the action of the hon. Member it is only in self-defence—I will state what I consider the duty was of the hon. Member himself. I think the duty of any citizen, who had evidence of a criminal charge against any person, was to bring that evidence before the authorities, and to see that the person should be prosecuted. That I conceive to have been the hon. Member's absolute duty; and if the hon. Member took another view of his duty, and, instead of prosecuting that person, he states that he was guilty of certain odious crimes, the superiors of the person implicated could only say to the person accused—"Bring an action against the man who has broght forward this charge, or else resign your office." Colonel Bruce, I believe, acting on his own authority—as a matter of fact, this not being a very pleasant subject, and knowing it was in the hands of others—I, myself, did nothing more, till pretty far on in this year, than ask what was doing, and I heard generally that Mr. French had an action pending to test the question of his guilt or innocence—Colonel Bruce, as I have said, did hold an informal inquiry.

MR. HEALY: What was the date of that inquiry?

MR. TREVELYAN: It was about the 5th or 6th of September. The evidence taken at that inquiry was laid before the Attorney General, now the Master of the Rolls; and the Attorney General stated that nothing had transpired to establish a *primâ facie* proof of French's guilt.

MR. GIBSON: When was that opinion given?

MR. TREVELYAN: Whether or not it was given in the month of September I am unable to say. But the evidence, when examined by a legal mind, was clearly insufficient to proceed upon. Then Mr. French was told that he must proceed with his action. Delays occurred the nature of which I entered into in a previous debate, and delays which I still believe were due to the manner in which the action was conducted by the legal gentleman who acted for the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). There was nothing in the action that implied that there was a bad case; but the legal delays were due to that side, and it was not until after Christmas—in fact, it was not until March, when Mr. French fell into bad health, that a certificate was sent to the Irish Government as a ground for his not proceeding with the action.

MR. HEALY: Why did you give French sick leave in September if he did not fall ill until March?

MR. TREVELYAN: He got sick leave I think on the 6th of August; but that sick leave did not imply that he was not in a position to continue his action. The first serious medical certificate was on the 21st February. On the 4th of April French's solicitor wrote that French's condition was such that he was unable further to instruct his solicitor, and on the 18th of April three doctors gave the medical certificate, which has been more than once read in

this House. That medical certificate was very strong, and the Government had no choice but to retire Mr. French from the Service, which they accordingly did. On the 4th of June Mr. French dropped his action. The hon. Member says—"But you dismissed him after all; you dismissed him on a medical certificate;" and he says it was a cruel and a mean thing to dismiss him at such a time, and compromise him in the face of the action pending, and he adds that it was done on palpably false pretences. Now, Sir, after that medical certificate any public authority would at once have informed a public servant that he must leave the Service. There was no other alternative. The certificate was as follows:—

"We, the undersigned (three medical men of the highest character) having been appointed by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to examine and certify for His Excellency's information our opinion as to the present state of health of County Inspector James Ellis French, beg to report that, having this day visited that officer, we are of opinion that he is suffering from mental disease, softening of the brain, and great nervous debility, with impaired bodily and mental health, and from this infirmity of mind and body he is incapable of discharging the duties of his situation, and that such infirmity is likely to be permanent."

MR. HEALY: What was the date of the certificate?

MR. TREVELYAN: The 18th of February. That was a certificate on which any body of Commissioners or the Head of any Department would have dismissed a public servant, whatever duties he might have to perform. But it was not the case that this certificate, or any certificate that could exist, would have prevented him from being prosecuted on that grave charge. If he was the greatest lunatic imaginable a man so charged could be arrested until it was ascertained that his mental state was such that he could not be punished for any crime he might have committed. The hon. Member then went on with the case of Cornwall, which, to all intents and purposes in principle, is the same as that of French, though the ultimate issue, as far as the one is concerned, is different, owing to the different method of proceeding which he himself pursued. When this charge was brought against Mr. Cornwall the Postmaster General, acting in concert with me, and advising with me, determined at once to inform Cornwall that he must bring his action, or that he must resign the Service; but as a matter of fact, anticipating, no doubt, that that would be the view taken by his superiors, Mr. Cornwall came to the same determination upon the subject before he received the communication of the Postmaster General. I utterly deny that it is possible to establish, either in principle or in detail, any charge against the Government for their proceedings in the case of Mr. Cornwall; and I can only say that I think it is extremely hard that people whose only desire is to serve the public to the best of their ability should have their names mixed up in public debates with these odious crimes. [*A laugh.*] I am sorry to hear an hon. Member laugh, or to think that hon. Members on that side of the House imagine that this is a matter for laughter.

MR. HARRINGTON: If the right hon. Gentleman refers to me I think it is eminently a subject for laughter.

MR. TREVELYAN: I do not agree with the hon. Member. I think it was very hard that Members of the Government should have their names mixed up with these odious crimes, because some person employed under them in the thousand and one Departments of the Public Service had been accused or even eventually found guilty of such a crime, horrible as it may be, but nothing different in its nature from crimes of fraud and murder. It would be a remarkable thing if, because a clerk in a London Government Department were to be guilty of murder or fraud, his official superiors should be mixed up in the matter in debates in this House. The hon. Member maintains that I am, in some sense, to blame for having prejudged the case of Mr. Cornwall in this House. He says that he and his Friends refrained from going into the evidence on the first occasion they brought the question before the House, while they say that I went into the evidence on Cornwall; and then the hon. Member read a passage from my speech in which I referred to Meiklejohn, the detective, and said it was a very serious matter that such a man should be going about Dublin trumping up charges against public officials. Now, I never referred to the evidence on Mr. Cornwall at all. That passage, as the hon. Member himself said, half-an-hour ago, referred absolutely and solely to a most disagree-

able story that was told about me in this House.

MR. O'BRIEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to say that I admitted his language had reference immediately to the statement concerning himself; but that I said it had a fatal influence on the whole of the evidence in this case?

MR. TREVELYAN: This is not a Court of Law. This is the House of Commons, and I am a Minister in the House of Commons; and when a private Member of the House of Commons gets up, and speaking, I allow, in perfect good faith, tells a story about me which I am bound to say I regard as excessively disagreeable—that I had two interviews with French; that I personally took a part in the matter; that I pressed him to bring his action, and told him he should have public money to support him—as I never was in a room with Mr. French, never spoke to him, have had nothing to do with this question, as, in fact, there is not a single word of truth in this story, I was very anxious to take hold of it, as the very first inaccuracy connected with this matter which had been stated with regard to me, because I knew what might happen if a man like Meiklejohn was going about Dublin making these statements. I was not thinking about Cornwall at all. I was thinking about myself; and I want in this matter to speak candidly. My name had been mentioned by the hon. Member——

MR. O'BRIEN: No; not in this House.

MR. TREVELYAN: I am trying to speak in all fairness. My name had been mentioned by the hon. Member at the Table. It was mentioned in a way as between one person and another, about which there may be a different impression; but, at any rate, it was mentioned in connection with the names of certain people who were charged with odious crimes; and the hon. Member spoke as if he meant that I had shielded these people. I am bound to say that since I have been in Ireland I have had such an enormous number of untrue and brutal things said of me, both in the Press and in speeches—and here, again, I accuse no one—that I thought the same people who said these cruel, cutting, and brutal things might go a little further, and might state a false fact against me. It was with that idea, and with no other, without any reference to the Cornwall trial or the Bolton trial, but in pure self-defence, being, as I believed myself to be, a man standing in very great danger, that I determined to state before the House at the very first what sort of a man it was who was getting up evidence in Dublin. I have now really gone through the whole of the case of the hon. Member. The hon. Member, I presume, would wish the Government, upon the first breath of suspicion or innuendo in a newspaper, at once to pursue any public servant against whom such innuendo is directed. If, instead of innuendo, we had evidence put into our hands, we should have pursued these people, whether they were public servants or not; and, now that the matter has got into a further and more advanced stage, we have shown ourselves perfectly ready to follow up criminally anyone against whom a criminal suspicion or criminal charge is pending. I am quite certain that if this had not happened in Ireland, and if it had not happened with reference to an odious charge of this nature, hon. Members would have felt that the Government had taken the ordinary course, the right course, and the only course which a Government could take; and it is only because public opinion is in play between the Government and a certain part of the Irish community that this matter has attained, as far as the Government are concerned, the proportions which it has attained in the hon. Member's speech.

MR. HEALY said he was sure the Committee must understand that in bringing a case of this kind forward the Irish Members did not impugn the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary only. He was only one cog in the wheel. They impugned the entire Executive Government in Ireland. They impugned Earl Spencer, the Lord Lieutenant, just as much as they impugned the right hon. Gentleman; and, perhaps, if they had to apportion the blame, they might be less inclined to attack the Chief Secretary than to attack those who were in a superior position in Ireland. But they were placed in front of the right hon. Gentleman, who was there as the mouthpiece of Lord Spencer; and, therefore, they were obliged to address the discussion visibly to him, and in re-

ference to his salary. The right hon. Gentleman had, no doubt, by putting forward a whole series of dates and occasions, attempted to make out a case for himself; and, perhaps, he had done so in the minds of his supporters. It must be remembered that the subject had already been debated once before, and there must be something of repetition in the way in which the case was put to the House. He would, however, put this position at the outset before the Committee. Suppose the charge, instead of being the charge it was, had been one of murder, made by a landlord's paper—supposing that *The Daily Express* had stated that the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had killed the Chief Secretary in the Phœnix Park, did the Committee think the Government would have made no further answer, and would have allowed that assertion to rest there; that they would have allowed his hon. Friend to clear himself by means of trial by way of an action for libel? That was the position but, instead of being a private gentleman, the man impugned was a public official of the Government, and that public official the head director of criminal investigations in Ireland.

MR. HARRINGTON: The man who arrested the suspects?

MR. HEALY: Yes; the man who arrested the suspects, and who was one of the chief men in connection with the Phœnix Park case. The right hon. Gentleman asked them to intrust their information, and hand over their proofs, to the man himself, who was accused of these crimes. He wished to put the case in all fairness. The right hon. Gentleman asked the House to imagine for a moment that, knowing the character of the chief detective investigator of Dublin, Mr. James Ellis French, they were prepared to hand over their information and witnesses to James-Ellis French, or to James Ellis French and George Bolton. That was the position of the Government. He was amazed that the Chief Secretary should make a statement of that kind. The right hon. Gentleman told them that when this charge was made in *United Ireland* in August last it was investigated by Colonel Bruce, and that the evidence taken was laid before the then Attorney General, the present Master of the Rolls, who did not hold it to be conclusive. And why? This evidence had a damning effect against the Government. The Government telegraphed to Sub-Inspector Maguire, and asked him if his brother, who at that time was a cadet in the Constabulary Service, had certain attempts made upon him by French. The answer was that he had. Sub-Inspector Maguire's brother, however, was dead. Therefore this was a mean and flimsy pretence. They were instructed that there was no legal evidence, because the man who could give it directly was dead. He would put it to the House, was that the way in which a charge of this kind should be met by the Chief Secretary? Was it the way in which, dealing with the excited state of public feeling in Ireland—in dealing with a newspaper which had behind it the love of millions of men, and the hatred of the British Government, they ought to meet a charge like this against the head and chief investigator of the Criminal Department—a man who had been bounded up in promotion 20 steps at a time by Earl Spencer for the valuable services he had rendered to the Government? The Government had no answer. They knew the charge was correct. They could not deny it. Dead men told no tales. Sub-Inspector Maguire's brother could not be resurrected; but among the *employés* of Dublin Castle there were other men to whom the Government could have applied. They could have applied to Mr. Mallon, the present Head of the Detective Department at Dublin Castle, either as to Cornwall or French; and he should like to have the opinion of John Mallon, who discovered the Phœnix Park murderers, upon either Cornwall or French. The Government had not chosen to do that. The right hon. Gentleman said it was French's duty either to leave the Service or to clear himself by an action. That was all very well, and so it might be if it were some charge made in an English Office of some stuff being a yard too short; but here they were dealing with the head of the crimes discovery department in Ireland, and they were dealing with an Irish Member of Parliament and the editor of one of the most powerful and popular journals in the country. The people of Ireland believed, in spite of the statements of the Government, that the rea-

son they did not regard the Sub-Inspector's evidence as sufficient was that, having failed to ruin his hon. Friend by their imprisonment and their fines—having failed to ruin him by having him indicted before a packed jury in Green Street, they wished to resort to the foul and tainted machinery of French's libel action, in order to roll him up in filth, from which he could never be extricated. That was the impression which the people of Ireland would hold on this subject. Well, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had managed his dates to a very nice advantage, and he was willing that the statements should go before the country until an interpellation of his (Mr. Healy's) had cut him short, that it was in March that James Ellis French got his sick leave. He (Mr. Healy) had said, if he got his sick leave in August, what did he want it for in March? Did the right hon. Gentleman deal with that point at all? No; he passed on without referring to the circumstance that French swore in his affidavit that he was still in the Public Service. They knew it as a matter of fact that he had either been dismissed or suspended; but French swore—and these were French's words—in paragraph 6 of the affidavit—

"It is false to state that I have been dismissed from, or obliged to resign, or been suspended from the appointment I hold in connection with the Royal Irish Constabulary in Ireland, in consequence of misconduct or otherwise."

An hon. MEMBER: What is the date?

MR. HEALY: The 27th of October. He charged the Government with this. On the 27th of October they knew that French was committing perjury.

MR. TREVELYAN: No, no!

MR. HEALY: Well, what was French swearing? He was swearing that he had not been dismissed, or suspended, or obliged to resign. That was stated in the public Court, and printed in the newspapers, the real fact being that six weeks before that date he had been suspended. The Irish Executive knew that French was committing perjury, and they made themselves the allies of his perjury—that was what it came to. The Chief Secretary must have known that perjury was being committed. Did he not know it? Did he not know what was going on? Was it not his business to know what was going on? Until April or May the Irish Members had never been able to wring from the right hon. Gentleman a statement that French had ever been dismissed or suspended; but he told them now that the man had been suspended weeks and months ago. He had allowed a false impression to go abroad in the country, and had the knowledge that French was using a false affidavit to prejudice the case of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), without interfering in the slightest degree in the matter.

MR. TREVELYAN: I never heard of the affidavit until to-day.

MR. HEALY: Aye, that was the way the right hon. Gentleman got out of it. "Thou can'st not say I did it." Who was responsible? Was it Lord Spencer? Did the Lord Lieutenant know it? Did Mr. Fanning know it? Did Colonel Bruce know it? Who knew of it? At least, his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) was obliged to know it, and it was sufficient to enable his action to be dismissed. Someone in the Irish Executive must have known about this—perhaps the Solicitor General. But whoever knew it, or did not know it, the fact was that it was used against his hon. Friend, and had been published in every single newspaper in Dublin. This affidavit was published in every newspaper in Dublin, sworn to by every newspaper in Dublin; and it was an extraordinary, though a very convenient thing, no doubt, for the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to come forward now, on the 21st of July, and say that he never heard a word about it. He (Mr. Healy) would leave that portion of the case to the appreciation of the Irish public. He came now to this—they had it sworn to that two constables in Her Majesty's Service, named Cottingham and Irwin, were engaged in detective duty against the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) and his solicitors and friends—they had it that these two men were, by the orders of James Ellis French, who, though suspended, still had considerable influence over the conduct and work of the detectives of Dublin, stationed opposite Chance and Miley's office. French, from his lurking place near Blarney, was

directing these men to watch the offices of the solicitors to the hon. Member for Mallow in order to destroy the evidence in favour of the hon. Member. The Government not only tolerated that, but when they were asked to grant an inquiry into the matter they denied that anything of the kind was occurring, and stated that these detectives were only employed for the protection of French. How they could be said to be protecting French by watching the offices of the solicitors of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) he (Mr. Healy) was unable to say. Did Irish Members get an inquiry? No; it was refused. If the Government had been really serious, and anxious to clear themselves from the mire which appeared to give the Chief Secretary so much concern, and which he now repudiated at the Treasury Table, and against which he protested, and obtained the cheers of the House in so doing, he (Mr. Healy) should have thought they would have rejoiced at the opportunity of having the whole case inquired into, in order to find out whether these men—Cottingham and Irwin—were really granted by the Constabulary authorities to Mr. French in order to protect him as much as possible from the charges made against him by *United Ireland*. An inquiry was asked for, but an inquiry was refused on the mere verbal denial of Cottingham and Irwin against the allegations on the other side. Very well; he then came to the doctor's certificate. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland would, he thought, make an admirable skater. He had that peculiar faculty of being able to glide over very thin ice where dangerous pitfalls were lurking—a faculty which, in the past, had proved extremely valuable to him. The right hon. Gentleman told them that in August Mr. French was told to go on sick leave. In March again he was told to go on sick leave; but on the 1st of April the right hon. Gentleman read out—he (Mr. Healy) was going to call it a testimonial, but certainly it was a document very valuable to James Ellis French, in the shape of a medical certificate. This document was about the most complete of its kind which had ever been given to anybody. It covered seven points, and he would ask the attention of the Committee to those points. The document said—

"We"—Drs. Eames, Curtis, and Gordon—"having been appointed by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to inquire into the condition of the said James Ellis French, do certify as follows."

Who were these Drs. Eames, Curtis, and Gordon? Why, one of them—and if the statement was incorrect the right hon. Gentleman would set him right—was surgeon or medical attendant to the Royal Irish Constabulary. Was that not so? Was not Gordon a Constabulary officer? The silence of the Chief Secretary gave consent. Another of these persons was engaged in Cork as the chief medical officer to a lunatic asylum, and the third was a gentleman with reference to whom he should make no remark. These gentlemen gave a medical certificate, acting under the directions of the Lord Lieutenant; and this is what they said—

"We are of opinion that he is suffering from (1) mental disease; (2) softening of the brain; (3) great and serious debility; (4) impaired bodily health, and with this infirmity of mind and body (6) he is incapable of discharging the duties of his situation; (7) and such infirmity is likely to be permanent."

To-day the right hon. Gentleman had very few remarks to make on that document; but last month, when he had stated that James Ellis French had been allowed to continue in Her Majesty's Service for over six months after these charges had been brought against him, though French's action against the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) was a bogus action, and one which he had no intention of continuing or going on with, this was the document triumphantly flashed in their faces. Where was the triumph or the flourishing to-day? It would have been there—the triumph would have been as fresh as ever, but that the Government had now found it convenient to indict James Ellis French. Early in June this document was issued as an answer to his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), and read in defiant tones by the right hon. Gentleman, who said—"You want to know why this meritorious officer had not brought this action. Here is the answer. Here is a document furnished to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; could anything be more complete? Upon seven points this man is proved to be unequal to go on with the action." Yes; it was extremely complete—it was a little too complete. He (Mr. Healy)

would venture to say that if that document was complete in the eye of the Government as a reason for preventing James Ellis French from proceeding against the hon. Member for Mallow, it was a good and sufficient reason for the Government not proceeding against James Ellis French. Were they to be told that the man who was to be indicted next month in Dublin was a jibbering idiot? Were they to be told that a Crimes Act Jury of the City of Dublin were to be asked to pronounce a verdict on a man suffering from—

"Mental disease, softening of the brain, great and serious debility, impaired bodily health, and with this infirmity of mind and body he was incapable of discharging the duties of his situation, and such infirmity was likely to be permanent?"

Would the Government have any case to go before the jury? Did they mean to tell him (Mr. Healy) for a moment that James Ellis French was not at the present moment in that rude health in which he had been described to be by the reporter of *The Freeman's Journal?* If he had not been, no matter how great a criminal he was, would they have had the courage to indict him? Would they produce him in the dock on a stretcher, with the precaution of having Dr. Eames feeling his pulse, and Drs. Curtis and Gordon inspecting his tongue and examining his breathing? No; they would produce him, as they produced him before C. J. O'Donel, the Divisional Magistrate, as erect as a rush, as a rational man, able to take part in the trial, and as capable of attending to his business now as he was able to make good bargains in selling heifers when he ought to have been bringing his action. He should like to ask the Government, who were so admirably served in passing over the weak points in a case, if they had got any report from Dr. Carte, the very efficient doctor in Kilmainham Gaol? Had Dr. Carte been asked his opinion of French, and, if not, why not? No; he had not, because, if they had one medical officer of the Royal Irish Constabulary certifying that a person guilty of a crime was wrong in his head, it might be an encouragement to another medical officer under the Government, supposing the case were submitted to him, to certify that prisoners were not in their right senses in other cases—there would be no guarantee that the medical officer would not certify loss of reason in a number of other cases. This was a matter directly impugning the certificate of one medical officer. Was Dr. Carte aware that French was now lying in confinement? Had they sent the opinions of Drs. Eames, Curtis, and Gordon to Dr. Carte? Was he aware of the admirable bill of health procured for him? No; he was not aware of it. They had not got any report from Dr. Carte, because it would be extremely inconvenient for the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Of course, an evasion of this kind would not be pursued in another Department under Heaven, except one connected with the Irish Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had got up at the Treasury Table to make a touching vindication. The right hon. Gentleman needed no vindication in the sense that anyone supposed for a moment that he could have the slightest sympathy with scoundrels like these; but there was such a thing as a little want of keenness where one's opponents were concerned, and a little overplus of charity where one's friends were concerned. It was a very convenient thing for Earl Spencer, who was unable to crush *United Ireland*, to send James Ellis French where it must have been extremely convenient for the Government, who could not put down an hated opponent by any other means that they had in their armoury to employ against him, to endeavour to carry out their object by a vindication of this kind which had failed. The Government, he knew, had failed, and when they were debating in this House this matter on the last occasion, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had completely thrown over James Ellis French, taking his stand on Cornwall. When the right hon. Gentleman got a little backward in the course of the debate—when Cornwall was found out—he took his stand on Bolton, and assured the House that here was another excellent public servant who had only become bankrupt for some £80,000 or £90,000; who merely forged his wife's name to some deeds; and who was merely keeping a lot of other women whilst he was supposed to be a peaceful and respectable-looking Christian; and the right hon. Gentleman hoped Mr. Bolton would go on with his

action. Let them contrast the action of the Postmaster General, according to his (Mr. Trevelyan's) own account to-day, with regard to Cornwall, with the action he himself had taken in the case of French. Out of his own mouth the right hon. Gentleman stood convicted. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the Postmaster General had informed Cornwall, immediately he heard of the case, that he must either bring an action against those who charged him with crime, or quit the Public Service; but what was the action of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant? He had stated in the House that he did not know French, and had never seen him in his life, and knew nothing about the case. He had also said that he had never been in the same room with French, and that he thought it much too severe a charge, therefore, to have it said that he had incited French to go on with his action. The right hon. Gentleman was almost moved to tears when it was suggested that he had urged French to go on with his action, and yet he now stated that the Postmaster General had promptly held out the alternative to Cornwall of bringing an action or resignation. The libel against Cornwall was published one week, and in the next week the writ was issued; the libel against French was published in the month of August; but French did not proceed with his action until the month of April, and had no notion of doing so. No doubt, French served his writs; but he made no practical endeavour to bring on his case. He had allowed three Terms to slip by without making any attempt to bring forward the action. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant thought it a heinous crime to be charged with having told French to bring his action; but, at the same time, he bragged that the Postmaster General had told Cornwall to bring his action at once. He (Mr. Healy) must admire either the Chief Secretary or the Postmaster General in this matter. Their conduct was as wide as the poles, and if he were asked to pay a tribute of admiration to one or the other, he should unhesitatingly record it for the Postmaster General, who insisted on action being taken at once. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had not taken that course, but had allowed months and months to slip away. The first article upon which inquiries were founded was simply in these terms—

"If the House of Commons wants to make Rules to stop such Questions as Mr. Healy's, it is open to it to devote its valuable time to the attempt. But it will not do so until the lives and adventures of certain Crown employés, such as James Ellis French, are laid bare to the universe."

The Chief Secretary had stated a moment ago that no one could have his name coupled with that of Corry Connellan without great offence. If that was so, why did the Government ask the House to give Corry Connellan a pension? If the Chief Secretary's name could not be coupled with that of Corry Connellan, why did they propose to vote him £346 16*s.* 4*d.* as a pension? He (Mr. Healy) commended that aspect of the case to the Secretary to the Treasury. Let the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) remember that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was of opinion that it was a heinous offence to couple the name of Corry Connellan with his—that Corry Connellan's name could scarcely be coupled with that of a Christian without an horrible imputation. With what face, therefore, could the Government ask them to go into the Lobby to vote for Corry Connellan's pension? He trusted that sentence in the speech of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would be remembered. Now, he came to the last point in the case of the Government, and it was the position the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant took up with regard to his own speech. The right hon. Gentleman had said that his words were used in regard to the trumping up of charges with regard to himself, and not with regard to others. Well, he (Mr. Healy) would read the extract and leave the Committee to judge. The right hon. Gentleman said—"He could well guess whence this evidence came"—this evidence, mind—not evidence against the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, but evidence against James Ellis French and Cornwall.

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member will recollect that I rose to interrupt the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) on this point. The hon. Member for Mallow acknowledged that these words referred to the story in regard to myself.

MR. HEALY said, the words were so reported in the Dublin journals two or three days before the trial, and it was for a jury of the City of Dublin, to whom the words were directed, to draw their own inference from them. The right hon. Gentleman might have used them in a different sense to what some supposed, and he (Mr. Healy) accepted his disclaimer. But these words were capable of two interpretations. They were not only employed and had their value in this House, but they had another value when read by the jurors of the City of Dublin who decided the case between Cornwall and O'Brien. The jury was composed of six Roman Catholics, five Orangemen, and three Freemasons. Cornwall was a man who was high up in the Order of Freemasonry, and there were three of that body on the jury which tried the case, besides four or five Orangemen, or men with Orange sympathies; and these words of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had to be construed, not merely by experts in Parliamentary vocabularies in this House, but by plain common-sense men in the jury-box, and, therefore, he (Mr. Healy) said he thought these words at least were used with extreme skill. The Chief Secretary further said—

"He could very well guess whence this evidence came, because there had been in Dublin for some time past a man of the name of Meiklejohn,"—

[*A laugh*]—the laugh came from the right hon. Gentleman's own side—

"who was formerly in the English Detective Force"—

and he (Mr. Healy) rather thought the Home Secretary would wish this man was there still—

"who was dismissed from that Force, put upon his trial—a criminal trial—for levying 'blackmail,' and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, the circumstances of the case, being such that it was generally believed it was extremely fortunate for Meiklejohn that two years was the outside punishment that could be given. [*Ministerial cheers.*]"

Where were the Ministerial cheers now? ["Hear, hear!"] He heard the *vibrant basso* of the Home Secretary; but he observed that the note was *solus*—Home Secretary *obligato*. The Chief Secretary went on to say—

"The House might imagine the terrible danger which Irish officials ran when a man of this sort was in Dublin trumping up cases against them."—(3 *Hansard*, [289] 695.)

Aye, the Committee might imagine the terrible danger men ran when Patrick Delaney, murderers, highwaymen, and such like, were being used to give evidence against respectable men, and when the Home Secretary sent over his detective Littlechild to say that "Healy was the worst of the gang!" Why did the right hon. Gentleman not cheer that statement? Meiklejohn got his two years of hard labour. He (Mr. Healy) did not know what the womb of time might have in store for Littlechild; but, at all events, he would say that if there was such terrible danger to public officials in the action of a man named Meiklejohn, employed by a private individual, and that private individual a man against whom the whole force of the Government were arrayed, what was their case when the Government, with the whole Detective Force of the Empire at its back, swept up every prison in the Kingdom to produce murderers, highwaymen, thieves, and assassins, to give testimony against innocent men? Aye, it was a terrible thing, indeed, when a Home Secretary or a Chief Secretary to a Lord Lieutenant could be accused; but was their flesh and blood more valuable than that of Irishmen. Were they made of fire-clay? Did not Irishmen feel accusations as bitterly as they did? Did they go about the Lobbies stating that "the starch would soon be out of the boys?" Her Majesty's Government, who were so extremely sensitive when the reputations of their officials were the subject of attack, could, however, be very unscrupulous when it became their interest to attack anyone. That being so, they must expect from Irish Members the same amount of mercy as Irish Members and their friends had received, or were likely to meet with, at their hands. Did the right hon. Gentleman now say that these were trumped-up charges? Why did he not come down now with a flourish in attacking Meiklejohn; why was his statement that evening not garnished with any of those flowers of fancy which were sprinkled over his former speech? The right hon. Gentleman had to-night been extremely technical in his defence. He had relied solely on dates — upon this date and upon that date—upon the date at which Colonel Bruce instituted an inquiry, and upon the date at which the doctor gave his certificate with regard to the state of

French's health; and then he laid down what had happened since. All that was highly satisfactory indeed; but when the right hon. Gentleman thought he could influence a Dublin jury, the House was told about trumped-up cases, and charges made against persons like Mr. Cornwall by such a man as Meiklejohn. All those things had been trotted out for the information of the Dublin jury, and the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General, whom he was glad to see in his place, had not been above giving Mr. Cornwall the benefit of an excellent character. The right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General said he was a man who had been 40 years in the service of the Post Office; that he had known Mr. Cornwall personally, and that it was a most astonishing thing that charges of this kind should have been made against him. Further, the right hon. Gentleman said that the first intimation which had reached him on the subject came from Mr. Cornwall himself, who enclosed a written statement of the charges made against him in a registered letter. But he (Mr. Healy) would point out that there was nothing very clever in that proceeding on the part of Mr. Cornwall, because the charges sooner or later must have reached the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General without his assistance. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland made his defence rest solely on the case of French and Cornwall, who, he said, had been arrested and would be tried in due course. But he felt sure the same old practice would be resorted to in these cases. There would be the same certificates of character, and so forth, pleasantly dropped into the newspapers a day or two before the Dublin jury had to decide on the cases. No doubt, Her Majesty's Government considered all that extremely tactical, to say the least of it. And now they were told that the Government were making inquiries; but for his part he had just about as much faith in the Government now as he had six months ago. He believed that, if by any possibility it could be done, Cornwall would be got off, and French would be got off, and if it were possible they would be pensioned like Corry Connellan, and that it would be said there was no necessity for taking proceedings against the officials who were directly charged by his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). He challenged the Government to deny that they were now manipulating the evidence with the view, if possible, that charges might be made against others of so preposterous a character that the charges made against Cornwall and French would not be believed by the jury. The Irish Government, at the present moment in Dublin Castle, as they knew from information sent over here, were not merely relying on the evidence put forward in the Four Courts, that had been picked up from the "corner boys" in the streets; but they had mixed up A B and C D with Cornwall and French, in order that the public might confound them together. Therefore, he said, he trusted the Government to-day as much as he trusted them six months ago. This was a matter in which, on the one hand, stood an unprotected man, without any of those helps which the Government, wielding the Executive authority and using the public money, could employ. That man was Mr. O'Brien; but aided by a solicitor of extraordinary ability, and by a detective, undeterred by the attacks made upon him by the Chief Secretary, he had succeeded in wringing from a jury, a large proportion of whom were Orangemen, who hated and who would like to see him hanged if possible—he had succeeded in wringing from that jury a verdict completely establishing the case he had brought against this man, which amounted to a conclusive proof of the charge made. But the Government, when these charges were first made, had had their detectives; they had the public money at their disposal, although it would not have cost them a single farthing to turn upon these criminals the inquiries of their detectives; they had succeeded in unearthing murders committed years ago, the work of secret societies—they had discovered the Phœnix Park murderers months after the act was done, and at the present moment they were going to hang one of their own policemen for a murder committed four years ago—and yet Irish Members were to be told that the Government found it impossible, with all the means and information at their disposal, to have brought men like French and Cornwall to justice. He said the reason why they did not do so was that the will was not there; their heart was not in

the business; their will was by every means in their power to crush his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow, who—although for that purpose they were willing to descend to the use of the basest instruments—he firmly believed, would yet live to give them a great deal more trouble than he had yet succeeded in doing.

MR. HARRINGTON said, he thought that hon. Members who had listened to the statements of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that evening must have done so with a great deal of surprise. He did not think that, among the many lame and impotent efforts which the right hon. Gentleman had made to justify the action of the Executive in Ireland, he had ever made a more lame and impotent defence than that which he had addressed to the Committee that night. He would like to see the right hon. Gentleman in Ireland, where the circumstances of this case were known, and where all shades of opinion were agreed as to the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman and his administration—he would like to see him stand up before an audience in Dublin, and give in his defence the lame and flimsy pretext which he had put forward that evening in justification of his conduct. The right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his statement, said it was the duty of the hon. Member for Mallow, when he had evidence of such a character as he possessed against an official in Ireland, to have handed that evidence over to the authorities in Ireland. The words of the right hon. Gentleman were, that it was the duty of a citizen, when he had evidence of crime against another citizen, to hand the evidence over to the authorities; but the reply to the right hon. Gentleman's argument was, that it was not against a private citizen that his hon. Friend had evidence, but against an official of the Government, and one in such a position, that had he done so, that official could have so moved the Administration that in 24 hours he would have had the hon. Member for Mallow in gaol. Why, this was a man on whom the whole system of criminal prosecution in Ireland rested. He was the adviser of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), by whom so many innocent persons were cast into prison in Ireland; and he repeated, that if the hon. Member for Mallow had given this information in regard to this man's conduct, in 24 hours he would have been lodged in gaol, and the defence of French would have been undertaken by the right hon. Gentleman. The conduct of the right hon. Gentleman in regard to this case was just of a piece with his conduct in other cases brought forward by Irish Members in that House. The rising of an hon. Member from the Benches occupied by the Irish Party, who made a charge against an Irish official, was always the signal to the right hon. Gentleman to stand up and to deny what was said. The occupants of the Treasury Bench, and those behind the right hon. Gentleman, appeared to lull themselves into the belief that all was secure, and that all was *coleur de rose* with the Administration in Ireland; that nothing went wrong; and when he listened to the contradiction given to statements made by hon. Members on those Benches, and the cheers which greeted the right hon. Gentleman's denials, he asked the right hon. Gentleman how those statements of his, and those cheers, now appeared to him, when judged by the transactions which his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow had brought to light in Dublin? The right hon. Gentleman had turned rather sharply upon him, a few minutes ago, because he had laughed when he (Mr. Trevelyan) was winning in the very artful manner in which he always endeavoured to win the sympathy of the House on account of his name having been associated with these charges. He (Mr. Harrington) certainly had the audacity to laugh then, because the right hon. Gentleman was defending himself from allegations which no one had made against him. Every time that the right hon. Gentleman's conduct was questioned in that House, he by some artful dodge—["Order, order!"] The statement was perfectly in Order; and if hon. Members only looked at the matter with impartial minds, they would find that, under the circumstances he had described, the right hon. Gentleman had the happy knack of appealing to the sympathies of hon. Members behind him. He and his hon. Friends did not care whether the right hon. Gentleman had or had not the sympathies of his supporters; but they cared very much that the malpractices in question should be brought to light, and if he had the

sympathy of those hon. Gentlemen, it would not shield him from the odium which must attach to the present system of administration in Ireland. What was the grievance laid before the Committee that evening by the right hon. Gentleman? It was that his name had indirectly been associated with those infamous charges brought forward against French and Cornwall; and the right hon. Gentleman put it to the Committee, in the most dramatic manner, to consider what a position it was for him to occupy that his name should be indirectly associated with those infamous proceedings. But if the right hon. Gentleman had a grievance on that head, what was the grievance of his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow? He was compelled to have his name associated with the case. The right hon. Gentleman, although he drew a large salary as Chief Secretary, yet shrank from having his name associated with the circumstances, and he threw upon the hon. Member for Mallow the necessity for bringing forward the facts, and risking his own life and worldly means in so doing. Let the right hon. Gentleman explain as he liked, and as often as he wished, to the Committee the words which he used when this question was last under discussion; but he (Mr. Harrington) did not think any impartial Member of that House could put any other interpretation on those words, than that the right hon. Gentleman referred to the evidence, and not to any charge made against himself of having at an interview with French insisted that he should bring an action. The right hon. Gentleman had himself stated, in justification of the Postmaster General, that when his attention was drawn to the infamous charges made against Cornwall, the right hon. Gentleman immediately ordered him to bring his action. He (Mr. Harrington) wished to be allowed to say that no allegation was made on those Benches, either by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) or by the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), that the right hon. Gentleman had any communication with French. It was stated explicitly that the allegation rested on a letter which French had written to a friend; and the right hon. Gentleman wished the Committee to believe that it was with regard to that alone that he used those extraordinary words, which were to the effect that as there had been in Dublin for weeks past a man named Meiklejohn, formerly in the English Detective Force, who had been put on his trial for levying black-mail, who was put in gaol, and with respect to whom it was generally believed that it was extremely lucky for him that he received only a sentence of two years' imprisonment—from which circumstance, the right hon. Gentleman said, the House would judge the extreme risk which Irish officials ran. He would put it to the Committee whether that was not said in defence of the whole of the officials of Dublin Castle? The words of the right hon. Gentleman were—

> "The House may imagine the terrible danger which Irish officials run by men of this sort in Ireland trumping up cases against them."

No allegation had been made in that House that there had been any attempt to trump up a case against the right hon. Gentleman; no one had hinted such a thing; and yet the right hon. Gentleman asked the Committee to believe, and he appealed to public opinion outside the House, that the words he had used in that connection were used in reference to an alleged interview with French, and that they were not used for the purpose of prejudicing the trial in which the character of the hon. Member for Mallow was at stake. Now, surely the right hon. Gentleman could not wish the Committee to believe that any charge was made against him with respect to an interview with French? The right hon. Gentleman had himself disproved that by showing that he had been travelling on the Continent. That, surely, should have been sufficient; but the right hon. Gentleman did not attempt to say there was anything in the nature of a horrible charge, or a suspicion, or a hint of it, made against him, and, that being so, did he still want the House to believe that the imputation that he cast upon Detective Meiklejohn—those insidious words which were damaging to the case of the hon. Member for Mallow—was made with regard to the error that had been made with respect to his alleged interview with French? His hon. Friend the Member for Mallow had admitted that those words were used by the right hon. Gentleman immediately after the interview with French had been referred to. But everyone who saw the right hon. Gentleman appeal to the Com-

mittee generally, and particularly to hon. Members on the Benches behind him, must have derived the impression that the words were used without any reference to that flimsy charge, and that they were used with reference to the officials in Dublin Castle, and with the intention of shielding the individuals charged by his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow. The right hon. Gentleman had to-night repeated a statement which he made when this matter was under discussion on a former occasion in that House; he stated that the cause of delay up to a certain period in the bringing of an action by French against the hon. Member for Mallow was attributable to the defendant in the case. Now, he (Mr. Harrington) was utterly at a loss to know upon what grounds the right hon. Gentleman based that part of his case. The facts were quite different from what he understood them to be, and if he would go over the dates, he would find that French or his counsel did not apply to the Court for time until the last day when it was necessary to do so, in order to prevent their motion being defeated. Every move that could be taken to cause delay they had availed themselves of. He would contrast the right hon. Gentleman's statement with the sworn statement of his detective in Dublin Police Court. The latter was asked in cross-examination whether Mr. French had not done all in his power to bring his action to a speedy hearing; to which the detective replied, on his oath, in the negative. He said, on the contrary, that he had done everything to cause delay. His hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had referred to the medical certificate given in the case. He (Mr. Harrington) thought that if ever there was a certificate which might very well have excited the suspicion of the authorities by the very fulness of its statement, that medical certificate was the one given in the case of French. It was a very old maxim, "that he who endeavours to prove too much proved nothing at all;" and if ever there was a medical certificate which endeavoured to prove too much, it was the medical certificate in question. Every time the subject had been referred to in that House, every time the Government were asked whether they were proceeding to investigate the case against French, the right hon. Gentleman had put forward this medical certificate. Over and over again the right hon. Gentleman had asked in that House if it was possible to proceed against French in the face of that certificate? But, to-night, the right hon. Gentleman said it was no bar whatever to the Government taking proceedings against French. The hon. Member for Mallow had stated that so early as the month of September, Colonel Bruce held an inquiry in Dublin Castle as to certain imputations made in *United Ireland* against Inspector French. His hon. Friend said there was no one who read that statement, however well acquainted with the history of the charges against Connellan, who would believe that a substantial action for libel could be founded upon it. True, there was a threat of inquiring into and publishing the private life of Inspector French and other officials of Dublin Castle; but did anyone believe that if you inquired into the private life of a person, you must necessarily inquire with regard to one particular class of crime, and no other? Why, one might inquire with regard to any class of crime. How did it follow, because a statement was made that his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow would make inquiries into the private life of officials, that necessarily this charge was made? Now, granting, for the sake of argument, that that insinuation was conveyed; if that was the charge against French, how did the Government reconcile the conduct of Colonel Bruce in making inquiry at the time, with their own inactivity ever since? The right hon. Gentleman asserted that the Government had no direct evidence; but if they had no direct evidence, they had the means of obtaining it, and they had knowledge which pointed out to them the direction they should take. How had it been competent for his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow to amass such a quantity of evidence? And if his hon. Friend had been able to do so, with the assistance of one detective only, and with the assistance of an able firm of solicitors, how easy it would have been for the Irish Government to have brought home to French this charge which they were now going to prove by the evidence which the hon. Member for Mallow had supplied. At the commencement of his observations the right hon. Gentleman had appealed, as he

always appealed, to the sympathy of those who supported him in that House, as to whether it was fair to bring forward a Motion of this kind in the case of an official, against whom it was not alleged that he had not earned his salary? But hon. Members on those Benches made no allegation against the right hon. Gentleman as to his position being a sinecure. They readily admitted that he had quite enough to do in his Office, and that, probably, few Chief Secretaries to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had had more to do. But they said that much of the work which he had to do was of his own making, and that he approached every discussion upon the administration of Irish affairs with the presumption that everyone who spoke from those Benches spoke untruly. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that if he approached such discussions in a different spirit, many of the difficulties which lay in his way would disappear. It was a matter of surprise that the right hon. Gentleman, and English Members in general, ever appeared to be disinclined to give to a discussion on Irish affairs that attention which they demanded for their own. Day after day the newspapers in Dublin furnished evidence that men of all shades of political opinion—men holding political opinions as opposite as the poles—had come forward to testify to the unequal struggle in which his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow had been engaged—that struggle in which he had incurred so much risk, and by which he had almost brought himself to the verge of ruin, in vindication of the cause of justice and morality. The complaint of the Irish Members was not alone that the case had not been taken up by the Government, but that at every stage of the proceedings, from the beginning to the end, even down to to-night, in the House of Commons, the effort of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had been to throw as many difficulties as possible in the way of his hon. Friend (Mr. O'Brien).

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: This has been a long debate, and there has been a great deal of violent—I do not like to call it abusive—language employed towards my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Irish Government. ["Oh, oh!" *from Irish Members.*] Well, Gentlemen have different opinions on the subject. I am not going into that. I ask what is the charge brought against the Irish Government?—that is, putting aside the abuse, I come to the substance of the charge. Is the charge that Lord Spencer and my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary, knowing, or believing, or suspecting that these men were guilty of this abominable offence, deliberately endeavoured to screen them? ["Hear, hear!" *from the Irish Members.*] Very well, that is your charge; then I venture to say——

MR. O'BRIEN: We charge them with either knowing it, or wilfully keeping themselves ignorant of it.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Oh, that is the charge; then I venture to say that there is no honest man in the Three Kingdoms of the Queen who will believe it for a moment.

MR. HARRINGTON: They are as honest as you.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is a sufficient answer to the charge.

MR. HARRINGTON: They are as honest as you.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I disdain to answer such a charge. But it may be, short of that, charged against them that they failed to take such measures as they ought to have taken, in proper vigilance, in defence of the authority of the Public Service. Now, that is a charge which deserves an answer—the other does not merit one. This second charge is one that I will discuss. What ought they to have done—how was this thing started? It was started, not by direct charges, but by veiled insinuations, to which everybody could attach but one meaning, in a strong Party paper—insinuations against the officials of the Government. This paper is one which is in the habit of using very strong language against the officials of the Government. Well, Sir, I repeat what my right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) has said, that the natural instinct of every man—putting officials out of the question—when a charge of this kind is made against anyone, whether he knows him or does not know him, is to disbelieve it, unless some very strong proof brought to bear on the matter makes it impossible for him to disbelieve it. Supposing a man of my acquaintance—or not of my acquaintance, for the matter of that—was charged with this

abominable offence. Unfortunately, one has known cases in which such charges have been brought, sometimes falsely and sometimes on good grounds—I put officials out of the question altogether—what is the course of conduct that any man would take, either as a private individual or as a public administrator? I take it as a public individual. I have known cases in the course of my professional life where men have come and said—"Charges cruelly false have been insinuated against me; they have not been brought forward in such a manner that I can deal with; the man who has insinuated the charges has not brought the charges openly. What am I to do?" My answer has always been—"Bring an action." ["Hear, hear!" *from the Irish Members.*] Yes; hon. Members cheer; but do they not say that when these men in Ireland were told by the Government to bring their actions, it was for the purpose of crushing the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien)?

MR. HARRINGTON: The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant considers it a vile imputation upon him to say that he incited French to bring his action. He says he had nothing to do with it.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The Irish Government called upon these men to bring their actions, as every man would do, whether acting in a public or private capacity. I venture to say that the circumstance must be extremely rare in which any man would be guilty of other than the most cowardly action who makes a charge of this kind, unless he is in possession of evidence to prove it. Very well; if a man is in possession of evidence to prove a charge of this kind, what is it his duty to do? I do not believe this crime is a common one in England; but in this country, if a man is in possession of evidence bearing upon such a thing, he proceeds against the offender in the Queen's name. What is the position of hon. Gentlemen opposite? Why, that they had evidence to prove a charge of this nature, but that the Irish Government would not prosecute. They say—"The evidence we have, we have a right to withhold." If hon. Members opposite would not trust that evidence to the Government, they might have sworn an information themselves; but they did not do that. They made these charges, but did not produce the evidence. They said—"We cannot give the Government any assistance in this prosecution." I say that placed the Irish Government in a position in which they took the only course they could take. Whether a man be attacked in society or in a newspaper by a charge of this kind, I say it is impossible to consort with him unless he brings an action. That is the course the Government took. As to Cornwall, there is no statement that there was any loss of time, that I know of, although all I know about this case is what I have heard in the course of these debates. Cornwall brought an action even before the order was given. As to the charge against French, no doubt there was an interval between the charge and the bringing of the action, and a long interval. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant has said, and it has not been disputed, that with regard to the earlier part of that interval, it was the delay of the defendant and not of the plaintiff; but, with reference to the latter part, it was unquestionable that the delay was in consequence of the action of the plaintiff's friends. What was the cause of that delay? The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), in his dramatic manner, has commented on the certificate of the medical gentlemen. But why was Lord Spencer or my right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) to distrust this certificate? I do not know what the theory of the hon. Member for Monaghan is. Does he insinuate that this is a false certificate? What is his charge?

MR. HEALY: That the Court and the Government would not allow an examination of French by an independent doctor.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What does he call an independent doctor? Who are these medical gentlemen? One of them, no doubt, was not to be believed because he was a surgeon attached to the Royal Irish Constabulary. Of course, hon. Members opposite do not believe him. But then one of these gentlemen was Superintendent of the Cork Asylum, and the third was a surgeon of the Cork General Hospital. Is it charged against Lord Spencer and my right hon. Friend that they suborned these doctors? Or is it charged against these doctors, that they, by their own motion, gave a false

certificate? It is possible that French himself deceived the doctors; and if he did so, how were Lord Spencer and my right hon. Friend, who have so much business to occupy their time, to know that such was the case? If it was not a false certificate, what becomes of the charge of delay as to French? The Government took the only course they could take to call on the people, against whom their accusers were not prepared to produce the evidence they possessed, to bring actions. Looking at this case quite impartially, I am thinking what would happen in my own Department if an official were charged in this way. I should, first of all, call on the persons who had accused him to furnish the evidence; and if they refused—a refusal was given in this case—I should say—"My good man, I cannot allow an imputation of that kind to rest on anyone in my Department. You must bring an action at once against your accuser." If anyone furnished me with evidence which I could receive, I would proceed, of course, with the case against the man; but I am not to assume a man guilty, and put into the box, without any evidence, a person in a respectable position in life—a man in an official position. That is the whole case. Then there has been a great deal said about this man Meiklejohn. Well, I have sat in this House opposite hon. Members and heard them, by question and speech, denounce almost every method which has ever been adopted in Ireland for the detection of crime. They have always said—"This instrument is detestable; that instrument is detestable; a Government is infamous which employs detestable tools."

MR. HEALY: Murderers!

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, I have always been very curious, and my mind has been very much exercised, as to what are the methods that hon. Gentlemen opposite think it would be proper and justifiable to adopt for the detection of crime, and, if they had a competition to decide as to the best method to be employed for the detection of crime, what sort of person they would select? We have no doubt, at all events, learnt from this debate, what is their *beau ideal* instrument for the detection of crime. We have at last arrived at what is the standard in the minds of hon. Members upon subjects of this description. It is rather a relief to me to find that they are much less scrupulous on that subject than I am myself; because I venture to say that I should not dream—I should not dare, and should not reconcile it to myself—to employ for the detection of crime a man who had been convicted of such an offence as that of Meiklejohn. [*Laughter from the Irish Members.*] Well, that has been my opinion, and that has been my practice; and when hon. Members can show that I have employed any detective officer convicted as Micklejohn has been, then they can deal out to me a large measure of condemnation. But even if I did employ such a man, I should only follow the example of hon. Members opposite. What did my right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) say on that subject? My right hon. Friend was dealing with charges which were levelled against himself, one being to the effect that French had visited him on this case. My right hon. Friend did not know where that charge came from; but when he knew that Meiklejohn was employed in establishing these charges, he com mented on such an instrument as Meiklejohn being employed. So far as I can understand, this is the whole of the charge against the Irish Government, and I say that the charge that Earl Spencer and my right hon. Friend screen men against whom such horrible accusations are brought is not worth answering. No suggestion is made that the Government themselves had evidence against these men. I venture to say that Earl Spencer and my right hon. Friend took the only course open to them—the ordinary course in cases where suspicions are sown broadcast, and infamous crimes are alleged—they called on the persons who were the subject of these allegations to take action. I say that the delay in the case of French was owing to a certificate that the Government were bound to accept, and, in spite of all the hard words hon. Gentlemen have used, they have failed to show that there is the slightest ground for condemning the course which has been pursued by my right hon. Friend and the Irish Government.

MR. PARNELL said, the right hon. Gentleman had criticized his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), and had defended the Irish Executive for the course they had taken in this

matter, because the hon. Member had abstained from swearing informations against the alleged criminals in Dublin, and had abstained also from supplying the Executive Government with that information. Now, he (Mr. Parnell) thought if there had been one thing more certain and self-evident than another, from an examination of the whole of this case, and from its history and its attendant circumstances, it was that, if his hon. Friend had taken the course which was now urged upon him, and which the Government were now saying he ought to have taken at an early stage of the case, the alleged criminals would have escaped from justice, and it would have been utterly impossible ever to have brought the charge home against them. The right hon. Gentleman had given the Committee a description of what he supposed to be, or what he wished the Committee to suppose to be, the charges which his (Mr. Parnell's) hon. Friend made against the Irish Executive. Now, his hon. Friend made a three-fold charge against the Irish Executive. He charged, firstly, and most effectually too, that these offences had been going on amongst a section of the Government officials in Ireland for a number of years, to the knowledge, at all events, of a section of the police authorities, and that no attempt had ever been made to investigate them, or bring the persons to justice, because they were Government officials. He charged, secondly, that as this case developed, and it came to the knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the higher officials at Dublin Castle, they took no steps, no effectual steps, to investigate the circumstances of these charges, or to inform themselves as to the nature and degree of the suspicion attaching against these Government officials. And, thirdly, he charged the Irish Executive and the right hon. Gentleman that at a later period still, when it was manifestly evident to the right hon. Gentleman, at all events in the case of French, that this was a case in which an indictment ought to lie—that this was a case in which a warrant ought to be issued—that up to the very last moment the right hon. Gentleman steadily refused to investigate the matter, steadily refused to take any step against these alleged criminals. Now, what were they to suppose from this? They did not impute to the Irish Executive any sympathy with this form of crime, or with any form of crime; but they did say that it had been proved, by what had been brought to light in this matter, that the Irish Executive shrank from investigating this crime, because it was a crime which was committed by Irish officials, and that they were entitled to believe that, as regarded any other offence committed by that class of persons in Ireland, a similar course would be followed. The right hon. Gentleman himself drew a distinction. He said that when a charge was made against a Government official, it was right that the Government official charged should clear himself by an action. Well, he (Mr. Parnell) should like to know, in the case of any charge of felony against an ordinary individual in Ireland, whether it was right, before the Government put their Detective Department into motion to probe to the roots the grounds of the charge—whether it was right, or necessary, or desirable, that it should be left to the person to clear himself, by an action, before the Department responsible for the detection of felony took that course which they undoubtedly would take in the cases of any person except a Government official? He had very little knowledge of the mysteries of statesmanship; but, certainly, he should have thought that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, standing in the peculiar position he did, coming as an Englishman to Ireland—a nation that detested his rule and the rule of the nation who had sent him there, who distrusted, and rightly distrusted, his instruments and his officials—he should have thought that, if he had these good intentions which he desired them and the Committee generally to credit him with, he would have been amongst the first to have insisted that no shade of suspicion should attach to anyone in an official position; that he should have insisted upon an immediate and searching investigation being made by all the police and detective powers which undoubtedly were at the command of the Government in Ireland—looking to the acts and doings of these men, in order that he should assure himself that he was not aided in his work—his odious work, if they would—by such contaminating and vile officials. But what had

been the course taken by the right hon. Gentleman? He simply trusted to the chapter of accidents. He knew what difficulties must have surrounded his (Mr. Parnell's) hon. Friend the Member for Mallow, in face of all the intimidation of the underlings of Dublin Castle; in face even of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman; in face of the fact that one of the best detectives employed by his hon. Friend against this man French was actually arrested at the instigation of French—actually arrested by French himself—and spent a day or a night in the police cell; in the face of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, in which he most carefully turned himself into an advocate, not for French, because his case was then hopeless—though he was not to be arrested, because, poor man! he was suffering from a concatination of diseases — but into an advocate for Cornwall and Bolton; and it was a matter of notoriety that, in the opening statement of counsel for Cornwall, at the trial which took place immediately afterwards in Dublin, the strongest portion of the opening feature of that statement was a villification of the Detective Meiklejohn, following the lead which the right hon. Gentleman had given. These charges which had culminated in the arrest and, he supposed the prosecution of French and Cornwall, was not made yesterday. They were made 12 months ago. French was given seven months within which to bring his action. At the end of seven months his action was dismissed for want of prosecution. Then, was there an action by the right hon. Gentleman? On the contrary, only six weeks ago, when this case was over 10 months old, the right hon. Gentleman stated in this House that the question as to French's pension would have to wait the results of the action—after French had refused and failed to prosecute in his action. Therefore, he (Mr. Parnell) thought that, if ever there was a case made out by mortal man, against Executive Government, this case had been made out by his hon. Friend, and he was certainly surprised to see the Home Secretary step out of his Department and enter into a defence of his Colleague. There was absolutely no defence for the right hon. Gentleman against the charge which had been brought against him. His subordinate detectives were even ordered in Dublin to attempt to intimidate the Detective Meiklejohn. French had the invaluable assistance of the Detective Department of Dublin Castle in attempting to screen his guilt, and not a single word of explanation of this matter had ever been offered by the Government. The sole truth of the matter was this—it was necessary to prove, if possible, that no Government official in Ireland could do any wrong. French had been a prominent agent for the administration of the two Crimes Acts, one of which had already expired, and the other of which would very shortly expire. As Chief of the Detective Investigation Department in Ireland, his advice was sought for, undoubtedly, by the Chief Secretary in filling up the 1,000 and odd warrants under which men were arrested and held in detention in Ireland for long periods of time. Cornwall, also, had been a trusted public servant for 40 years. What a shock to public opinion if any charge was proved against him! It was felt necessary, at all hazards and under all circumstances, and at every risk, to protect these men from conviction and punishment. He charged that the right hon. Gentleman, at a time when he must have been convinced in his own mind of French's guilt, took no step or action against him. He fully admitted that had the right hon. Gentleman foreseen that this would have been the result of his undertaking the Office which he now held—that he would have been compelled and driven into these odious courses—he would have shrunk from the position. He (Mr. Parnell) hoped this would be a lesson to him and to others who were to follow in his footsteps, and a lesson to the Lord Lieutenant and those who in the future would follow him—he hoped that in the future they would know that it would be necessary and consequent upon the Office they held that they would be driven to acts and to the defence of individuals which, under any other circumstances, any English gentleman would shrink from with dread.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he hoped the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) would offer some observations on this very important subject; or that, at all events, he would answer one or two questions he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) would put to him. He had a theory of his own with regard to the

action taken by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary. If he was not wrong, the Home Secretary thought that the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) was a man who, through political enmity and bitterness, would make reckless charges against any man without any means of substantiating them. However, the Irish Members knew that their hon. Friend was a most conscientious man, and one who would not make a charge against any man if he had not good reasons and grounds to support it. For a long time the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) and a great many of his friends believed that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. O'Brien) and those on the Benches near him were the patrons and sympathizers of assassination. The right hon. and learned Gentleman acted upon that absurd and insane delusion for some time; but he now thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman was beginning to see that the hon. Member for Mallow was not one to make any charge which he was not able to prove. He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had to ask how long had the knowledge of these charges been going about Dublin? How long had these horrible scandals been the talk of almost every man living in Dublin? He did not suppose the Home Secretary heard many of the rumours; but how was it that the permanent officials of the Government living in Dublin did not hear of these charges, which were freely made from day to day? He would give an illustration of how the matter was known. Some time ago, he met two gentlemen who had lived in Dublin, but who were now living in London, one of whom held a very important position in the West End, was a very eminent man in his own way, and was well known to the Prime Minister. Both of these men had talked to him on this subject, and expressed a hope that the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) would not withdraw from the position which he had taken up. He told them that his hon. Friend was not the man to do that. They both told him, at different times and places, that the charges had been ringing through Dublin society for years and years, and that they made the names of certain Dublin officials odious and loathsome to every respectable citizen of that city. They said that these men were converting Dublin, from being a place which bore the good reputation it did formerly, into a foul Gehenna like the waters of the Sea of Sodom. One of his informants said—"I can tell you the name of another man mixed up in the scandal, which has not yet been mentioned;" and he asked him (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) to inquire privately from his hon. Friend (Mr. O'Brien) whether this other man was not mixed up in these charges, "because," his informant said—"against that man the finger of suspicion and scorn has been pointed in Dublin." He (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had never heard the name before; but he asked his hon. Friend, who said in reply—"that man is one of the men against whom the charges are going to be made." Was it conceivable that the permanent officials at Dublin had never heard a word of these charges? Both of his friends assured him that these abominable scandals were the talk of everyone in Dublin—in high and low society, in the police force, and everywhere. By what strange infatuation was it that no official of any mark in Dublin Castle ever heard one single word about them? One of his friends was at one time employed in Dublin Castle, and he told him (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) that he had heard officials in Dublin Castle speak of these things years ago, and speak of them with horror. Could be there any excuse for the extreme indifference and apathy which allowed these things to go on? Could there be any excuse for this House refusing to believe that none of the Dublin officials ever heard of these charges when they had been ringing through Dublin society for years and years?

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY said, the Prime Minister had honoured the debate by his presence; but he would have liked to have heard the right hon. Gentleman employing his eloquence in defending, or, more properly, in denouncing those Members of his Government who were being impugned to-night. The right hon. Gentleman had not seen fit to do that; but he had allowed two other Members of the Treasury Bench, the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Home Secretary, to defend the conduct of the impugned Irish officials. The Home Secretary's speech was not one of very remarkable

importance. They were accustomed in the House of Commons to the right hon. and learned Gentleman's "swashbuckler" style of eloquence; but to-night the Home Secretary was curiously tame. The few remarks the right hon. and learned Gentleman made were singularly damaging to the Irish Excutive. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was very greatly surprised that the Irish Members did not hear with homage the name of the three doctors who certified as to French's state of health. But Irish Members were naturally a little suspicious of the persons who were patronized by the Castle. Of the three doctors in question, one was a Government official, and another was a member of an Orange Lodge; and the Representatives of the people of Ireland were naturally inclined to imagine that such men, even with the best intentions, would be much more likely to lean to the side of an attacked Government official than to that of *United Ireland*. So it was that Irish Members did not regard the names of the three gentlemen to whom the Home Secretary referred with anything like veneration. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) made somer ather striking remarks about the Detective Meiklejohn, which were curiously damaging to the position always taken up by the Irish Executive. The right hon. and learned Gentleman denounced the party who employed such a man. But the Irish Executive were only able to live by the information of worse men than Meiklejohn—upon the information of assassins, murderers, and criminals of all kinds. If Meiklejohn was so obnoxious in the eyes of the Chief Secretary as to prompt him to declare that he would never employ such a man, how damaging were his words to the Executive, who ruled a conquered country solely by the aid of worse men, and whose rule would be impossible without the aid of such men! The Chief Secretary's speech was not a very valuable contribution to the debate. It was dramatic; it was pathetic; and he appealed to the House whether he did not deserve his salary. The Irish Members could only answer that he did not deserve his salary. The right hon. Gentleman said he worked hard for his salary, and complained of the hard words used of him at different times throughout the country. The Irish people were not accustomed to regard their Chief Secretary with any great affection. Even if the British Government could obtain the services of an Archangel in the shape of a Chief Secretary—and they had not yet got anyone as Chief Secretary who had the slightest resemblance to an Archangel—the Irish people would strongly dislike him. The Chief Secretary's speech was one of complaint, and not one of argument. Of course, they all felt for the right hon. Gentleman in the unhappy position in which destiny had placed him, and for which he was so unfortunately unsuited. But the Irish people, while waiting for a happier condition of things, would feel they owed a profound debt of gratitude to the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), who had carried on this contest so well, and in face of so much opposition. The hon. Member was very dear to the Irish people formerly, but he was ten times more dear to them now.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had rested his case to-night upon the fact that he was a popular Member of that House, and that he (Mr. O'Brien) was not. The right hon. Gentleman had appealed to the sympathies of the House on the strength of a statement which he (Mr. O'Brien) denounced, without contradiction in the House, in language as strong as Parliamentary usage would permit him to use, as a calumny and an untruth. He (Mr. O'Brien) stated that there was not one word of truth in the allegation that he had ever tried to link the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary with the charges he had made. Strong things would, no doubt, be said of him; but, whatever charge might be made against him, no one could say that he ever made a charge against any man if he had not good grounds for it. He had always distinctly stated that he had mentioned the right hon. Gentleman's name simply as an illustration of the cruelty and absurdity of asking him to mention, a month before his Motion, the names of a number of officials with whom his Motion was to be conversant. If he had mentioned names, he would have been obliged to mention the names of Dublin Castle officials, against whom he did not dream of bringing such charges as he brought against French, but against whom he did make the charge he had

made to-night of culpable negligence. He put it to any man who had listened to the debate from its inception—very few had listened to the discussion throughout; but a great many who had not had ventured to offer opinions about it, and would, no doubt, venture, by-and-bye, to give judgment upon it in the Division Lobby—he appealed to any man who had listened to the debate throughout, whether the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had answered any one of the points of the case he (Mr. O'Brien) had made out to-night? The right hon. Gentleman had stated that it was not the business of the Executive to have followed this matter up until proof had been been put into their hands. He (Mr. O'Brien) had stated—and his statement had not been contradicted—that the Government did institute an inquiry; that they instituted an inquiry before anything libellous appeared in *United Ireland* about French; and that, on the strength of their inquiries, they suspended French from duty. He asked what explanation had been given to the Committee to-night of the fact that the man, long in the service of the Crown, was put under the stigma of suspension? Was it not fair to infer that the Government well knew that there was, at least, *primâ facie* evidence against the man? Evidence of a sub-constable had been referred to—he (Mr. O'Brien) did not mention the official's name. Was it denied that this sub-constable was summoned up from the country, and that he gave the names of a dozen young cadets in the Royal Irish Constabulary from whom evidence could be had? Were those cadets questioned? No; nothing was done. It was said the Government induced French to bring his action immediately the charge was made. The investigation at the Castle took place upon the 1st of September—that was the right hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Trevelyan) own statement—the investigation took place on the 1st of September, the non-libellous article having appeared on the 25th of August. It was not until the 12th of October, not until *United Ireland* had stumbled into a mistake, and the Government thought they had *United Ireland* in a difficulty—it was not till then that an action was started by French. He (Mr. O'Brien) asked what explanation had been given of the conduct of the Government? Had the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary offered any explanation of the fact that French swore in his statement—a statement which appeared in every newspaper in Dublin—made six weeks after he had been dismissed from office, that nothing had occurred to damage his position, and that he had not been suspended from duty? The right hon. Gentleman's explanation to the Committee to-night was that he did not read the statement. Upon that ground alone, he (Mr. O'Brien) and his hon. Friends had a right to object to the right hon. Gentleman's salary being voted by the Committee. If the right hon. Gentleman did not see the statement, was it credible that other officials in Dublin Castle, who knew of the man's suspension, did not see it? Why did they not contradict it? Why did they allow a perjury to be circulated to his (Mr. O'Brien's) prejudice? On the strength of that statement, his motion for the remission of his action was dismissed with costs. What explanation had been offered about the detectives, Cottingham and Irwin? It was sworn to, not by a witness of his, but by one of Cornwall's witnesses, that this man French sent instructions to his friends and accomplices, Taylor and Johnston Little, to go to Dublin Castle and put Cottingham and Irwin on Brown. What was the meaning of that? Had any explanation been offered? He quoted to-night the explanation of the Deputy Inspector General; but, judging by the light of the evidence afterwards given, that explanation was a false and fraudulent one. The Deputy Inspector General's account was, that these men thought that some persons were engaged in plotting against French's life. It was, however, sworn in evidence that French was in league with these detectives, and that they knew well who Brown was. Again, take the question of French's dismissal. Had any explanation been given as to whether French was dismissed at all? If this man was a meritorious public servant, if he was not shirking the trial of his action, if it was not plain that he was shamming, and that he dare not face a public inquiry, why should he have been dismissed from the Public Service at that very moment, above all others? He would tell the Committee why French was dismissed. The action

dragged along, term after term, in the Queen's Bench—it dragged on with the connivance of the Government — until one of the Judges, Judge O'Brien, commented upon the inaction of the Government, and asked if the man was still in the Public Service. It was then, and then only, that French was dismissed. He (Mr. O'Brien) would not occupy the attention of the Committee further. He was perfectly certain that the right hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Trevelyan) friends, and his (Mr. O'Brien's) foes, would attack him to-night, just as they always did. He had been treated as nearly every man in Ireland who had crossed the path of Earl Spencer had been treated. He did not object to be attacked openly and manfully; but that had not been the policy of Earl Spencer. It used to be the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), bad as he was in other respects. The policy of Earl Spencer's Government had been, whenever they found a man they considered formidable as an opponent, to fasten upon him some stigma or other, or to incriminate him in something that was disreputable, and in that way to ruin and discredit him. That had been the course of Earl Spencer's administration in Ireland for the last two years. It was for that reason that Mr. M'Carthy was dragged through the streets of Galway handcuffed; it was for that reason that the Mayor of Wexford was put to the ignominy of a plank bed; it was for that reason that his hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) was put to horrible torture in Mullingar Gaol. The chief policy of the Irish Executive was to make false charges against opponents, and fasten some stigma upon them. Fitzgerald was arrested in London some time ago upon the charge of treason-felony; but the moment he was landed in Ireland that charge was dropped, and one of the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish was dragged out of gaol to tar him with the brush of murder conspiracy. There was not one of his (Mr. O'Brien's) hon. Friends who had not, for the last two years, been dogged with suspicion, and all with the same object and intent. All he could say, in conclusion, was that he did not envy the Government which did such things, or the House of Commons that would back them out obediently.

Mr. HEALY said, it was quite evident that this matter could not drop. They had had a speech from the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and another from the Home Secretary, who, by the way, knew nothing whatever about the subject; but neither of those right hon. Gentlemen had given them the smallest satisfaction. On a former occasion, a Motion was made in the House for a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of the Government; but the Motion was defeated. Why, if the Government were so innocent as they claimed to be, was the Committee refused? Were the Government willing now to give an inquiry? If not, why not? Were they afraid of publicity? The Home Secretary, contrary to his practice, made an extremely tame speech, and, in the course of it, said the Government knew nothing about the matter. But the charge the Irish Members made was that the Government did know all about it; that they held an investigation; that Sub-Inspector Maguire was brought up from the country to Dublin Castle by Colonel Bruce, and that he implicated French, and gave the names of other witnesses; and that then the Government dropped their inquiries. That was the position the Irish Party took up. The Home Secretary asked them what their charge was? Their charge was, that the Government, having investigated the matter through their own officials and subordinates, dropped the inquiry the moment they found what they were touching. Certainly, before this Vote was passed, the Irish Representatives must get some satisfaction. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had stated that these abominable practices had been going on amongst officials in Ireland time out of mind, and yet his speech was unanswered. In 1848, similar charges were made against Government officials; and, from that time down to the present, these things were notorious to all the world. The Government said they were the only persons who were ignorant of them. It was a very remarkable thing that when crimes were being committed the only persons ignorant of them should be the Government. The Committee, were entitled to be told by the Government whether any inquiry would be granted; and, in order to afford the Government an opportunity of consider-

ing the question, he begged to move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

MR. HARRINGTON desired to support the Motion of his hon. Friend. He thought the right hon. Gentlemen who sat upon the Treasury Bench, and who had listened to the statement of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, ought themselves to be very willing to render every opportunity to put themselves in a proper light before the public. He could scarcely congratulate them, if they were willing to remain satisfied with the inquiry or discussion as it had lasted up to now. It would not be in Order, however, to discuss the merits of the question any further upon the present Motion; and, therefore, he would only repeat that he had much pleasure in supporting the Motion to report Progress.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 24; Noes 143: Majority 119.—(Div. List, No. 172.)

Question again proposed,

"That the item of £4,425, for the Salary of the Chief Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant, be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(*Mr. O'Brien.*)

MR. PARNELL wished, before a Division was taken on the proposed Amendment, to put a question to the Government. The whole matter was now being investigated by the police authorities in Dublin; but he submitted that, after the facts which had been brought out in the course of this debate, the public could have no sort of confidence in the result of that investigation, and that it would be utterly impossible to believe, if it should be to the interests of the police authorities in Ireland to conceal the truth, that they would hesitate to do so. He and his Friends were in a position to show that these matters had been known to the police in Dublin, who were now charged with the investigation of a portion of the subject, for a great many years, and that, in fact, the facts of the case had been a matter of notoriety to the police authorities, and at any moment it would have been possible for high and responsible officials in connection with the Detective Department of Dublin Castle to place their hands on a large number of these criminals. But during many years they had failed to do so, until they had been forced to take action in regard to these two notorious persons. It would be impossible to feel any confidence in these inquiries, or to believe that the full truth would come out, if the matter were simply left in the hands of the police authorities; and he, therefore, wished to ask whether the Chief Secretary for Ireland would now shrink from the inquiry which the Irish Members had asked for, in the form of a Select Committee of this House? This was asked for six weeks ago. He could very well understand that hon. Members might think that this question was not satisfactorily raised upon a Motion dealing with the salary of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; but if the Government would grant the investigation which was asked for six weeks ago, but which he was precluded from moving for to-night, the time of the House would be saved. He would be glad to be spared the necessity of dividing against the salary of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary; but he wished to protest in advance against being obliged to receive an inquiry by police authorities in Dublin as a satisfactory or full one. The police authorities were known not to have acted when they possessed, not merely reasonable suspicion, but full proofs in their hands; and it was impossible, under these circumstances, to ask the Irish Members to accept as satisfactory any promise that a full and impartial inquiry would be held by the police in this matter, in regard to which the Government had been shown to have so grossly neglected their duty.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am very sorry that the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork feels it necessary, in the discharge of his duty, to bring such frightful charges and accusations against persons in most responsible positions—not against one, or more than one, but against all, apparently, concerned in the government of Ireland, and to suppose that, to avoid the inconvenience and scandal which the hon. Gentleman says would follow upon the discoveries, they would suppress the truth. Well, Sir, the hon. Gentleman thinks it part of his

duty to make that charge, and a more frightful charge never was launched by one man against a whole body of men. He has launched it without having given this House any grounds sufficient to sustain so tremendous an accusation, or any reason tending at all in that direction. Of course, Sir, the hon. Gentleman need not protest against being held bound to receive the Report which may be the result of the investigation. He is entitled to point out, and it is, indeed, his Parliamentary duty to point out, the insufficiency of such inquiry. But he would do far better, I confess, if he had performed that duty at a proper time, rather than to declare, in anticipation, his belief that all these gentlemen connected with the government of Ireland and with the administration of justice in Ireland are capable of what I must call such horrible contempt of duty as he ascribes to them. Then, Sir, the hon. Gentleman says that, as he has no confidence in any investigation proceeding from that quarter, he would propose to substitute, as a more trustworthy tribunal, a Committee of this House. He proposes to make a Select Committee of this House the instrument for examining into charges of a felonious character, and he proposes that that examination shall he conducted by unsworn evidence. He thinks that the substitution of a tribunal of that kind is the best mode of securing the administration and attainment of the ends of justice for which he asks. I can hardly believe that any Member of the House, except those who may hold themselves bound by a foregone conclusion to follow his opinions, will share the same view. At any rate, so far as regards the Government, I must not leave upon my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary the unmixed or chief responsibility of declining that course. It appears to me, and I am sure it will appear to all my Colleagues who are present, that we can hardly suppose the hon. Gentleman is serious in making this proposal—at any rate, it is one which is totally contrary to the most elementary notions of duty which we have derived from our experience of public life.

Mr. PARNELL said, the right hon. Gentleman was under a misapprehension as to the nature of the inquiry that was asked for. What was asked for, as he (Mr. Parnell) had stated, was an inquiry similar to that demanded about six weeks ago by the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Queen's County —a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of the Government in reference to these charges; and it did not at all necessarily follow that such a Committee would have to investigate the charges of a felonious character. What he should propose to establish before a Committee of this House would be that the ordinary tribunal in Dublin had failed in its duty in reference to the investigation of these charges; and he believed that could be established by evidence to the satisfaction of a Select Committee of the House. What course would then be pursued by the House, with reference to the setting up of an investigating tribunal to inquire into the offences themselves, would be a matter for the House to determine; but in special offences attended by special circumstances of difficulty the House had before adopted particular agencies, and had appointed special tribunals with greater powers than ordinary Courts to investigate such offences. In the present case, and having regard to all the surrounding circumstances and the action and conduct of the Irish Executive, and more especially the action and conduct of the Irish police, upon which he desired to lay particular stress, for he charged them with being unfit to investigate fairly and fully these matters in Dublin—in this case he maintained that it would be a right course for the Government to pursue under these circumstances if they would take the course he had suggested, especially as the officials in Ireland had failed to endeavour to take action against two members of the Irish Executive, one holding a very responsible position as Director of the Detective Department of Constabulary for the whole of Ireland, and the other holding the important post of Secretary to the General Post Office. In this case the conduct of the Irish Executive was supremely a matter for inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, with a view of seeing whether justice would not suffer if the question of the detection of the offences charged was left in the hands of the police.

Mr. HEALY wished to mention, as the Prime Minister seemed to have misapprehended the matter, that there were

three main points which ought to be investigated by the House, and which it was quite impossible for a Court of Law to investigate. The first was, whether it was or was not the fact, as was mentioned in the article appearing in August in *United Ireland*, and which was not a libel, that the head of the Constabulary, Colonel Bruce, telegraphed to Sub-Inspector Macrae, and had him up to his office, and made inquiries and received his testimony? The second point was as to the affidavit which French swore on the 27th of October, in reply to the claim that the action should be remitted to another place; and in that affidavit French swore that he was not deposed, or suspended, or had in any way suffered in his position. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had said to-night that though that affidavit was published in all the Dublin papers he (Mr. Trevelyan) heard of it to-night for the first time. The third point which a Court of Law could not investigate was as to the allegation made on certificate by Eames, Curtis, and Gordon. On whose authority did they make that investigation? How did they find French? What condition was he in? If their certificate was false, by what other machinery could the fact be ascertained? How could the blame be affixed? Was not Dr. Gordon the Constabulary doctor? Was he not entitled to have his character cleared by investigation from the inference that either these doctors were swearing a false certificate or else French was shamming? It was perfectly well known that French was shamming, because he did not keep it up. He appeared in rude health, and went about the country buying and selling cattle at fairs, and therefore he imposed on these medical men. By what machinery of a Court of Law could these things be inquired into? They ought to be inquired into, and they had been put before the House; but no information had been given about them. There was one further point which ought to be inquired into by a Select Committee, and it was a very scandalous point—he meant the employment by the Government of Detectives Cottingham and Irwin to watch the witnesses and the solicitor employed by his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow. The Prime Minister had totally misapprehended the case when he said that the Irish Members wished a Select Committee to inquire into these felonious practices. He (Mr. Healy) wished to know what satisfaction the Irish public were to receive in these matters? In short, did the Government mean to screen their officials or anybody else?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he had listened very attentively to the four points mentioned by the hon. Member for Monaghan, and he declared that every one of them could be made the subject of investigation by a Court of Law. If the allegation was that these doctors had wilfully and fraudulently given a false certificate, that could be investigated.

MR. HEALY: How? By whom?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that such a matter was not one to be investigated by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. If charges of this character were to be made against eminent doctors, it should not be on evidence which was not checked by the sanction of an oath where a man might be made responsible for what he said. There was not one of these charges that ought to be investigated by a Select Committee; every one of them could be brought before a Court of Law.

MR. HEALY: How?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, they were all involved in the prosecution of French. What was it that the Irish Members complained of? If French was guilty—if all these pretences on which the action was postponed were false—all that was capable of coming out, and he thought must come out, in the prosecution of French.

MR. HEALY: Who is to prosecute? The Crown?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the hon. Member for Monaghan declared that he would not trust the Courts of Law, and wished for the appointment of a Select Committee, which would take all statements that might be raked up anywhere, and which would not be testified upon oath. The hon. Gentleman wanted to catch this man, that, and the other, and said—"We will not submit the trial of this case to the constituted tribunals of the country under the sanction of an oath—we demand a Committee to supersede the Courts of Law." The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) also had said it was necessary to discover some tribunal other than a Court of Law to adjudicate on

the crimes themselves. But that was a suggestion which he (Sir William Harcourt) ventured to think no man could listen to. It was, in effect, to have a trial indirectly instead of directly, not upon sworn testimony, but upon any species of hearsay that could be brought forward. The hon. Member could not but see himself that any responsible Government must decline to assent to any such thing.

Mr. GIBSON said, he had listened to the whole of the discussion up to that time on the Motion of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien); and he was bound to say, with reference to the last proposal that a Committee should be appointed, that he did not think it should be acceded to for several reasons, including those given by the Prime Minister and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Trials were pending with regard to these men which would be decided by the jury on the evidence laid before them. If they were guilty, let them be punished; but, at all events, whether guilty or innocent, let them receive an impartial trial according to law. But if at the time when they were about to be returned for trial, and when the trial took place, the Government were deliberately to set up in the House of Commons another tribunal, even if it had only to examine into collateral questions leading up to the question whether these persons were guilty or innocent, they must necessarily prejudice their trial, as well as the public mind and those men who would have to try the question. It was, he said, absolutely impossible to avoid it. He would take the chief points put forward by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), who had an acute perception of all the features of the case. He had listened to them as fairly and impartially as he was able; and he asked whether it was possible to advance, to any extent, any one of those topics which the hon. Member had dwelt upon without prejudicing, it might be to a vital extent, the question of the guilt or innocence of one or both of the men who were now awaiting their trial in one of Her Majesty's gaols in Dublin? The Committee was aware that the name of a Sub-Inspector in Dublin had been prominently brought forward; that he was asked if he could give evidence; that it was stated his brother could have done so, but that the brother was dead. It was said that that statement rested on hearsay, and that it could not, therefore, be brought before a Court of Justice. But he pointed out that the question would have been considered whether that statement brought home guilt to the men who were now awaiting their trial. The next point of the hon. Member was that a certain statement contained in the affidavit of the 27th October was untrue. He would not go into the facts then. He had them distinctly in his own mind, but would make no reference to them. But what would be inquired before the Select Committee of the House would be whether French was guilty of perjury in what he swore on that occasion, or whether he was not. Was it not obvious that that must have an important bearing in Dublin on the trial. The third point of the hon. Member had relation to the state of French's mind; whether his state of mind was such as would enable him to take part in his own defence and plead; and whether he was now able to instruct his solicitors. It was said that on a former occasion he was not able to do so; but he (Mr. Gibson) expressed no opinion on that point now. He would simply indicate that it might become a point of immense importance in the opinion of the legal advisers of French and himself, and one which could not be investigated by any tribunal outside that before which French would shortly appear without being calculated, to a great extent, to prejudice the trial and interfere with the course of justice. He did not want to go further into this matter; but it was obviously desirable, as far as might be, to avoid saying anything which might be used on either side in the course of these trials. Finally, having, as he hoped, satisfied those who had listened to the few remarks he felt it his duty to make on this subject, he trusted the Committee might now be allowed to go to a Division on the Vote, and that any further comments might be abstained from which could but have the effect of interfering with the course of justice in this very disagreeable inquiry.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he and his hon. Friends wished the Committee to consider, not whether certain individuals charged with crimes were or

were not guilty of those crimes, but whether Her Majesty's Government, at a certain date, was not in possession of such knowledge and information that any conscientious and decent-minded set of men would have felt themselves compelled to act upon—to make further inquiries which, if the information were proved to be right, would have compelled them to take criminal proceedings against the persons implicated. He believed that he could show that the Government were fixed with such knowledge. When he said the Government, he did not mean the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland personally. The right hon. Gentleman told them that it was not until that evening he had brought to his knowledge an affidavit made by the head of the Detective Department in Dublin, which affidavit had been set forth in terms by every newspaper in Ireland, and that disclaimer alone showed how very incomplete the right hon. Gentleman's information must be on many matters which his position, as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, required him to be informed about. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) could understand that the multiplicity of the duties to which the right hon. Gentleman had to turn his mind one after the other would make it impossible for him to make himself familiar with any other Department than that of Chief Secretary. Therefore, he did not mean that the right hon. Gentleman was personally fixed with the knowledge he had referred to; but there were behind him a large number of persons who practically had the administration of affairs in Ireland in their own hands. It was the people behind the right hon. Gentleman who were really responsible for the course which had been taken in this matter. It was, at any rate, fair to say that several high officials, who might fairly be included under the title of the Government in Ireland, were in full possession of the facts relating to the conduct of certain officials now charged in Ireland, and it was their duty to make the facts known to those responsible in that House and elsewhere. But they failed to do so; and the right hon. Gentleman was, he contended, by the theory of the Constitution, responsible for that omission. When, therefore, they asked for an inquiry, it was not in order to inquire into the personal knowledge of the right hon. Gentleman only, but to inquire into the knowledge which the Irish Government possessed of the malpractices complained of. He was afraid the Rules of the House would not admit of the appointment of a Select Committee, even if it were time for an hon. Member to move for it, because the matter had already been put to the House, and refused this Session; the Government refused that which Irish Members were prepared, on behalf of public morals, to move for. The responsibility, therefore, rested with the Government. But everyone in Ireland, and everyone on those Benches, had a perfect conviction that the Irish Government did know of the circumstances of these crimes; that they did know of the character of the men in high places; and that, knowing it, they shielded them by making no effectual efforts to drag the character of these men into the light of day. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) did not charge the right hon. Gentleman with a share in any such culpable conduct; but he could not help fearing that there were many in Ireland who were of the opinion that he was personally acquainted with the circumstances. That, however, was the natural result of refusing these investigations, which would have been beneficial to the public morals and interest. What was the object which he and his hon. Friends had in view in asking for the appointment of a Select Committee? They did not wish that such Committee should investigate charges which could only be investigated by the recognized tribunals of the country; but that the inquiry should be with regard to the conduct of those officials in high places, the charges against whom were so simple, and admittedly of such easy establishment or refutation. The Government, however, had refused that reasonable request, and they must bear the consequences of that refusal.

MR. HARRINGTON said, hon. Members opposite seemed surprised that further discussion of this Motion seemed necessary to hon. Members on those Benches; but he could assure them that, notwithstanding their surprise, nothing would prevent him from pressing the Government still further for a satisfactory answer to the request of hon. Members. What was the position which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secre-

tary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland occupied? The right hon. Gentleman had himself admitted, in the course of the debate, that another formal inquiry had to be made into the facts of the case, and it was upon that the right hon. Gentleman rested his defence that evening. But he would point out that these charges had been in the air for the last 12 months; they had been mentioned in that House, and had been talked of everywhere; and, therefore, the Irish Government, he contended, were informally charged in regard to these cases. The right hon. Gentleman said that Colonel Bruce had made informal inquiries; but that he had done so on his own motion. But he would ask the right hon. Gentleman this question. Did Colonel Bruce communicate the result of those inquiries to anyone? Did he tell the right hon. Gentleman the result of his inquiries; did he tell anyone in Dublin Castle what he had ascertained; and, if Colonel Bruce did so, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman how he reconciled that fact with another fact—namely, that, six months afterwards, Sub-Inspector French was able to swear an absolute falsehood in a Court of Justice? The speech of the right hon. Gentleman himself was the best evidence of the necessity for an inquiry, because the right hon. Gentleman was not cognizant of the affidavit made by French, owing to persons in Office who ought to have done so having failed to convey to him the information. [Mr. HEALY: Progress.] Notwithstanding the ingenious arguments of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), he maintained, with regard to the unfortunate men awaiting trial, that hon. Gentlemen on those Benches had no wish to prejudice their position in any way by asking for a Select Committee to inquire into the facts indicated by his hon. Friends; and, further, he said that their position would not be in any respect interfered with by the appointment of such a Committee. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had touched upon three points which his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) said might well be made the subject of inquiry by a Select Committee of that House; but he would point out that the right hon. and learned Gentleman left out altogether any allusion to the fourth subject which the hon. Member for Monaghan said might also be inquired into—namely, the conduct of the detectives, who, when French was away in the country, were probably communicated with by him with the object of getting them to shield him. Now, surely the right hon. Gentleman did not want or expect the House of Commons to believe that those detectives did not know something of the charges which were alleged against French; he could not want hon. Members to believe that those detectives, who were conversant with the lives of French, and men like him who occupied similar positions in Dublin Castle, knew nothing of the fearful rumours which were current with regard to them. Then, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin said, with regard to the medical certificate, that if the Committee were to inquire into the affidavit with respect to French's state of mind, the subject of inquiry would be whether the men who signed the document had committed perjury or not? Now, he (Mr. Harrington) submitted that that would not be the subject of inquiry at all, and that it would not be necessary for the Select Committee to touch the subject. On the other hand, he submitted that the subject for inquiry would be, whether, at the time the statement was made, the authorities were watching the progress of French's case against the hon. Member for Mallow to the extent to which they ought to have watched it? They had it admitted that Colonel Bruce informally held an inquiry into the circumstances of the case. The subject for the Committee to investigate would be, whether Inspector French's statement was in accordance, or not, with the facts; and whether he had been replaced in his position for the purpose of fortifying the action taken against the hon. Member for Mallow? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland put it with great confidence to the Committee how it was possible to have the different points mentioned by his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) made the subject of official inquiry before the Courts? Now, he would point out that, whatever might be the right hon. and learned Gentleman's acquaintance with the English

law, it was plain that he knew nothing of the procedure in the Irish Courts if he thought that a Judge presiding at a trial would allow such matters to be the subject of inquiry. As had been before pointed out, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary stated that Colonel Bruce made an informal inquiry. The name of one officer of Constabulary had been mentioned who was brought up to the Castle and examined with regard to certain statements made by him. Who, he asked, gave the information except some members of the Constabulary Force? And if that were so, were the Government not cognizant of the charges made by his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow? The object of the inquiry asked for was not to establish the guilt or the innocence of these unfortunate men—that question the Select Committee need not touch—but it was to establish the guilt or innocence of men in high official positions in Ireland—as to whether they had certain knowledge, and, having it in their possession, whether they acted properly in not taking immediate and decisive action. He maintained that those persons who held the official positions referred to were bound to give the right hon. Gentleman information, and that he was bound to watch the progress of the case after one inquiry had been held; but they did not give him that information. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] Hon. Members were, doubtless, in a very great hurry to divide, and he could, of course, well understand their readiness to pass from a disagreeable subject, which he could assure the Committee hon. Members on those Benches had no desire to keep for an unduly long period before the public. But both Irish Members and the Irish public had been treated in such a manner, and society and morality had been so injured by the conduct of the Irish Government, that he and his hon. Friends would feel it their duty to keep the subject before the Committee a little longer. It was all very well to cry "Divide!" when Irish Members raised a question of this kind; but if this were a question with regard to Egyptian or South African affairs, the Committee would be willing to listen longer and more attentively to the discussion than they were willing to do on the present occasion. [*Interruption.*] If an English Member were to stand up to make a statement to the Committee on any subject relating to England, they would not hear those cries which were intended now to drown the voice of justice. It was not his habit to detain the House at any undue length at any time, nor was it his intention to do so now; but, before concluding, he would point out that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had himself completely and thoroughly disposed of the case of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when he stated how he would have proceeded under the circumstances. The former right hon. and learned Gentleman, having heard only that portion of the debate which did not include the speeches of the Chief Secretary and the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), proceeded to tell the Committee that he would have acted in a certain way if a charge were made against any official in his Department. But the way in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman said he would proceed was precisely that which the Chief Secretary did not follow, for he had taken the first opportunity that presented itself of denying and of discrediting as much as possible the statement of the hon. Member for Mallow.

MR. BARRY said, he was in favour of the appointment of a Select Committee to investigate the conduct of Irish officials throughout this business. His reason for supporting the proposal was that he had not the slightest confidence in the character of the investigations carried on by the police authorities in Dublin; nor could he see how the Government could have the slightest confidence in the Dublin police authorities after what transpired. They had it on the authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that Mr. French was practically dismissed; and they had it in the affidavit of French, sworn six weeks later in Dublin, that he had not been removed from his position, and that he had not been dismissed. That palpable lie, that deliberate perjury, was known to Colonel Bruce, and to the police authorities in Dublin. They knew it was calculated to prejudice the case of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien); but they did not bring it to the notice either of the right hon. Gen-

tleman the Chief Secretary, or of the other authorities. What confidence, then, could Irish Members have in the character of such officials? Then, with regard to the information conveyed to Colonel Bruce. Sub-Inspector Maguire told him of some terrible facts about his brother, but that they could not be supplied, because he was dead; Colonel Bruce was also told of a conversation which had taken place. He (Mr. Barry) said that Colonel Bruce had sufficient evidence to have convicted French, and yet he took no steps; and now the Government expected that the Irish people would have confidence in the inquiries being carried on by the Irish police authorities. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had mentioned in the course of the debate that evening that this matter had been the subject of common conversation in Dublin for years past; he had it on the evidence of two cardinal witnesses that it was a matter of common report with regard to certain proceedings of officials at Dublin Castle. If, then, the police in Dublin had remained blind for several years to notorious facts, how, he asked, could the people of Ireland be expected to have any confidence that they would properly carry out an investigation directed against French and his associates?

MR. HEALY said, the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had made it a point that any inquiry by a Select Committee of that House into the conduct of Irish officials must necessarily prejudice the case of the persons who were to be tried. It was not at all necessary, however, that the inquiry should be held publicly. The Government had made an inquiry into the Westmeath murders, which inquiry had been held in private. Therefore, he said that an inquiry held under the same circumstances could not, in the least degree, prejudice the case of the men for trial in Dublin. He was surprised that the right hon. and learned Gentleman should have thought it necessary to advance such an argument in support of the Government position with regard to the appointment of a Select Committee. Were Irish Members to understand that French would be prosecuted for perjury if the present action against him failed? The right hon. Gentleman had told the Committee deliberately that French was suspended; but six weeks before that French himself had stated that he had not been suspended. That was an act of perjury, which was practically within the knowledge of the officials at Dublin Castle; and every man in the force, from Colonel Bruce downwards, knew what had been sworn to by French; but the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said that, with the exception of what had been published in the newspapers in Ireland, he know nothing about the case. How would a Court of Law bring out the truth as to that matter? And, again, how would the hon. Member for Mallow bring out the truth as to whether the certificates given by the three doctors were correct or not? He said it was impossible for a Court of Law to go into those points. Then, with regard to his fourth point, which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin did not refer to at all, how would a Court of Law be able to enlighten them upon that? He was amazed that anyone should declare that a Court of Law could investigate these points, and particularly that the right hon. and learned Gentleman should do so. It was absolutely absurd to say that the case of the persons awaiting trial would be in any way prejudiced by the appointment of a Select Committee. There was not a shadow of foundation for the statement. How could the question of the correctness of the doctors' certificate affect the question of felony? If it could affect the question of felony the Committee could sit in private. Therefore, as no answer had been given to the Irish Members, the only inference the public of Ireland could draw would be this—that the Government would not give them an inquiry, because they were afraid to do so. He wished to know whether this matter was to drop here? Were the Irish Members, having on these four points convicted the Government, to some extent, to be guilty of screening these men from the charges brought against them—were they to be content with the vote of English gentlemen who knew nothing of what had been taking place, and had, perhaps, been dining out all day? The Government professed to be anxious to secure the confidence of the Irish people. How were they to set about it? Was it by refusing the Irish Members all inquiry, by defeating their Motions by

majorities in a Division Lobby? Not at all. Before the Government could get the affection and confidence of the Irish people, they had to get the affection and confidence of the Representatives of the Irish people; and they were a long way from that, so far as he was able to form an opinion. Irish Members in this House were witnesses of the goings on of the Government—they understood exactly what the Government were doing. The Irish Members, who knew more about the Government than did the Irish people at home, had a right to say—"If you cannot please us, and secure our loyalty and affection, how can you wish to secure the loyalty and affection of people 300 miles away, who know no more about you than what they read in the newspapers?" It was a monstrous thing to suppose that Government officials could give bogus certificates, and yet be retained in the Government service; that such a man as Colonel Bruce could make inquiries, and drop them when he pleased; that Detectives Cottingham and Irwin could endeavour to frustrate the objects of persons endeavouring to make good serious charges against public officials; and that English Members should come in from their clubs and vote the right hon. Gentleman's salary. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant would, no doubt, rest content with the result which would be brought in this way—Noes 24; Ayes 124. He (Mr. Healy) wished the right hon. Gentleman great comfort in that.

MR. GRAY said, he had followed the discussion with some attention to-night, and it appeared to him that the Government did not precisely realize the position. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary said he would refuse to discuss the question of the accusation made against the Government to the effect that they had sought to screen certain Irish officials because they were officials, and that they had not taken action when they had full knowledge of the crime, or, at least, full means of informing themselves upon it. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had also said no honest man would entertain that belief for a moment, and therefore he discarded it. The right hon. and learned Gentleman, he (Mr. Gray) presumed, did not think there were any honest Irishmen—the right hon. and learned Gentleman thought that because the vast majority of Irishmen in Ireland, rightly or wrongly, did believe this of the Government. He did not think he should be exaggerating if he were to say that 5,000,000 of people in Ireland believed it. It was within his knowledge that gentlemen holding very strong Conservative opinions, and differing completely in politics and religion from the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), believed it; and he (Mr. Gray) was of opinion that there was abundant evidence to justify that belief. So far as Ireland was concerned, the question now before the public in that country, and the question which was being tried before a public tribunal, was not the guilt or innocence of Cornwall or French, or of anybody else who might be involved in these transactions, but the conduct of the Government. That was the question that was being tried, and that question the Government were; apparently, quite willing to let go by default. The action of the Government had been incomprehensible, and there was one result of it that he believed the Irish people would never pardon; and that was the hideous scandal and the great demoralization which must inevitably result, and which, as a matter of course, resulted from the enormous publicity given to this case, and necessarily given, owing to the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and other Members of the Irish Executive. He made this assertion as one intimately connected with the Press in Ireland, and, therefore, having had unfortunately to be more or less the instrument for bringing about the publicity in connection with this matter, which he, for one, deeply deplored. Unfortunately crimes of this kind were not unknown either in England or Ireland. They might not be very common, but they constantly occurred; and the right hon. Gentleman had only to look at the English criminal statistics of every single year to find some formidable number of convictions for these crimes recorded. Why was it that the English public were never scandalized by having the cases he spoke of common gossip in every circle of the Kingdom. Why was it? Because the very moment such a crime was known, the criminal, if he happened to be, as he nearly always was, a man of low degree,

was instantly prosecuted. [*Laughter.*] He did not see what the Secretary to the Treasury had to laugh at. As a matter of fact, a person guilty of such a crime in this country was instantly prosecuted, if he was a man of low degree, and there was no publicity in the case. The man was punished effectually, and that was all about it. The same result would have happened in Ireland if the Executive had taken the same course as to their own officials that they would have taken if the offenders had been men in another position. It was because it was impossible to induce the Executive to take any action—it was because when they were taxed, and publicly taxed, with knowledge of the criminals, they still refused to take action, and sought to make the innocent occupy the place of the guilty, and to enable the guilty to escape with flying colours as virtuous and innocent. It was because of that that it was absolutely essential for his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) to resort to public opinion. Because of these things it was necessary for the hon. Member to make the thing public, the ordinary guardians of the law having refused to give him assistance. Therefore, he (Mr. Gray) maintained that for all the evil results that must follow, and for all the demoralization which must take place by making, perhaps, tens of thousands of people acquainted with the crime of which they had probably never heard or dreamt, the Government were responsible. Public opinion fixed all the responsibility on the Irish Executive, and the Irish Executive could not possibly free themselves from it. The only reparation they could now make was to accede to the suggestion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and allow a public investigation. It was no use for them to lay the flattering unction to themselves that by prosecuting two or three persons at the last moment they could save themselves from the discredit which rested on their action during the past two or three months. The public believed that the Executive could have avoided making all these things public if they would, and that it was only when they could not escape from it that they took action. He (Mr. Gray), for one, felt the utmost commiseration for the position in which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) found himself. He did not think any person sitting here, and watching the right hon. Gentleman's face during the last two or three hours, could feel for him anything but pity. Surely, if the right hon. Gentleman could, for one moment, have contemplated, when he accepted Office, that this would have been the result of his acceptance, no sense of public duty, and no ambition to find himself a little more rapidly than he otherwise would have been near a position in the Cabinet, would have induced him to accept his present post. But if the right hon. Gentleman found himself in this painful and humiliating situation at present, he had only himself to blame for it. He (Mr. Gray) was present when the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) brought forward his Motion in the House, and when the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) first spoke on the subject. He was present also when the hon. Member for Mallow proposed to put the Motion on the Notice Paper, which was ruled out of Order. No idea had entered the head of the hon. Member of making any accusation against the Chief Secretary. Anyone who knew the right hon. Gentleman must be aware that such a thing was an absurdity, and the right hon. Gentleman's sensitiveness on the point seemed to be so overstrained as to make them almost doubt its reality. But, so far as the hon. Member for Mallow and any of his Friends were concerned, to suggest anything that could cause the right hon. Gentleman pain was the last thing in their minds. It was only when the right hon. Gentleman, of his own motion, stood up in the House to defend the guilty that those who attacked his conduct were driven, by self-defence, to ask for a full investigation. If the debates which had occurred had elicited the fact that, for months and months, the Government left to a private individual the examination of a matter of the greatest difficulty and danger, abandoning their own claim to bring the great criminals to punishment, the right hon. Gentleman had only himself to blame, or those of his superiors who coerced him into a position which, no doubt, must be utterly repugnant both to his sense of justice and his sense of humanity. He (Mr. Gray) had no hope whatever that the right hon. Gentleman would grant an inquiry—in fact, it would not be a sensible thing to

expect him to do; but if the Government had any care for public opinion in Ireland on this matter, they would have to take some other steps to clear themselves, not of complicity in crime, which no one ever thought of charging them with, but of screening Government officials from the consequences of their crime. Look at the position occupied by French and Cornwall. French was the chief instrument of the criminal administration in Ireland. He it was who knew all the secret springs by which accused persons, whether innocent or guilty, were brought to trial. He possibly could have given a considerable amount of information as to the expenditure of the Secret Service money in Ireland. Was it not, therefore, conceivable that a man of that kind might have suggested—not, perhaps, to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, but to others—that it would be wiser of the Government not to drive them to bay, and to make disclosures that might be very damaging to people in a superior position? Take the case of Cornwall. He was a gentleman occupying a high position, and very highly connected, being the Secretary to the Post Office. They were told that the only interview that French and Cornwall had was one day when French called on Cornwall in connection with some letters, French being the Chief of the Detective Force, and Cornwall the Secretary to the Post Office. What was that interview about? Could they not, at least, conceive that Cornwall might have suggested that ugly disclosures in connection with some letters might be made if he were driven to bay by the action of the Government? They knew that the law, until it was changed by a trick some years ago, was, or professed to be, that a warrant should be obtained for the opening of a letter in the Post Office. Letters could only be opened on the warrant of the Home Secretary in England, and of the Chief Secretary and Lord Spencer in Ireland. He did not believe that in Ireland the law was carried out. He believed that letters were opened wholesale without authority in that country. Well, the right hon. Gentleman could conceive persons in Ireland suspecting that Cornwall had ugly disclosures to make in connection with these letters; and, believing that, he might have represented to the Government that it would be better not to drive him to desperation, but to let him get out of the difficulty as best he could. He (Mr. Gray) did not desire to draw the Chief Secretary into another indignant speech, or into another disclaimer of accusations against himself. He was quite willing to believe him innocent; but he thought the people of Ireland would require some proof, and as yet they had none. In fact, up to the present, the circumstances tended in the opposite direction. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant wished to clear his Government and himself from these accusations, he would have to do something beyond simply prosecuting these persons, whose guilt was already known before action was taken to bring them to justice.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 18; Noes 126: Majority 108.—(Div. List, No. 173.)

Original Question again proposed.

CAPTAIN AYLMER said, that before the Vote was passed he had a few words to say with regard to one of the subordinate Departments provided for in the Vote. He thought it was unfortunate that, in such a contentious Vote as the present, provision should be made for so many subordinate Departments; it was particularly unfortunate that the provision for the Fishery Board should be made in the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office. A separate Vote was taken for the Scotch Fishery Board, and the arrangement was found to work very satisfactorily. What he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to was the general feeling in Ireland that the Fishery Inspectors were crippled in the performance of their duties by the fact that they had not sufficient funds at their disposal; and he should like the right hon. Gentleman to consult with the Treasury in the hope that more money might be expended in the development of the fisheries of Ireland. The Report of the Inspectors was usually issued in April of each year; but the Report for last year had not yet been received. If reference were made to the Report of the previous year, it would be seen that the Inspectors complained of the want of means. The Inspectors said—

"Notwithstanding every effort on our part to secure correct statistics, we find, with the limited means at our disposal, we cannot do so as completely as we wish."

It was a very serious thing that an important Board like the Irish Fisheries Board was obliged to state in their Report that they were unable to give trustworthy statistics, because they had not sufficient means at their disposal. The Inspectors complained, also, that they had not at their disposal a gunboat such as was allowed to the Scotch Board. On this point they said—

"It would be a serious omission on our part, if we did not reiterate our opinion as to the great advantages which we consider would result to the fisheries if we had attached to this Department a properly equipped vessel with a crew composed of skilful fishermen," &c.

There was a general feeling in Ireland that the Board could do a great deal more good work with a very slight increase of their means. There was another point he desired to refer to. Last year Parliament voted £250,000 to the Commissioners, for the purpose of extending the fishery piers in Ireland. He was informed the Commissioners did not intend to make any Report to the House. He thought it was only proper that the House should know how it was proposed to spend so large a sum of money; and, therefore, he trusted the Chief Secretary would, during the Recess, turn his attention to the matter.

MR. KENNY pointed out that great injury was done to the fisheries on the South-West Coast of Ireland by foreign fishing vessels who came there, and practically spoiled all the chances of the weaker local vessels. There were a number of men-of-war plying about the South-West Coast of Ireland for the purpose of protecting the country, and these men-of-war might very easily be turned to the protection of the Irish fishing vessels from the encroachments of French fishermen, who came sometimes within half a mile of the shore, and with infinitely superior vessels and tackle fished there to the detriment of the poor Irish fishermen. It was a rather singular thing that while the Admiralty could depute as many as four of their vessels to convey people by stealth from the shore to emigrant ships brought there by a *quasi*-humanitarian Committee, headed by Messrs Tuke and Gaskell, who were anxious to export as many of the Irish people as possible, they could not afford a single vessel for the protection of the fisheries of the South-West Coast of Ireland. As to the grant made last year for the improvement of the fishery piers it was much to be regretted that the House had not been supplied with a Report. It was of the utmost importance they should know what schemes had been inquired into and passed, and what schemes had been rejected. It would be also interesting to know, seeing that the Fisheries Commission were about to lose the valuable services of their Chairman, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake), what course the Government intended to pursue as to the appointment of the hon. Gentleman's successor.

MR. BARRY asked what was the reason of the delay in issuing the Report of the Special Commission on Piers and Harbours appointed last year? It was promised at the time of the appointment that within a month or six weeks some Report would be issued setting forth the intentions of the Commissioners. From that day to the present he had heard nothing about the Commission, and, so far as he knew, no Report had been issued. He hoped some reason would be assigned for the delay.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that three points had been started with regard to the Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Act. That started by the hon. and gallant Member for Maidstone (Captain Aylmer) was as to whether the Inspectors would report to the House. Under the Sea Fisheries Act he (Mr. Trevelyan) thought that, though not legally bound to report, they were morally bound to do so. At any rate, the Irish Members considered the Church Fund was to so great an extent public money that they would not allow it to be spent without knowing how it had been disbursed. When the Commissioners had brought their labours to a sufficiently advanced point as to make it worth while to report, he had no doubt they would. He would attend to the matter as soon as he had leisure. [Captain AYLMER: Is it their intention to report?] He would discuss the matter with them, and see what their intention was. The hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) had asked who was to be the successor to the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) as Chairman of the Commission. That was a question he (Mr. Trevelyan) approached with very

great reluctance. His hon. Friend (Mr. Blake) showed the very greatest public spirit in undertaking the business at all; but those who knew how he had carried it out, and how his public spirit, fortified by very great knowledge, had been sustained from the first moment to the last, felt that his loss would be all but irreparable. It would be the duty of the Government to consider carefully how best they could repair the loss. He must say that the proposed resignation of his hon. Friend gave him a great shock. He knew the hon. Gentleman found difficulties in his work; but he was extremely sorry to hear from the hon. Member for Ennis that the retirement of the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) from Parliament would be coincident with his retirement from the Commission. He hoped they would be able to persuade the hon. Gentleman to reconsider his decision. It was extremely important that as soon as possible the Commission should report. He had received a very short and meagre Report; but it gave accurately enough the actual list of works recommended, amongst which, he was sorry to say, he did not see Kilmore. The Commission appeared to have held 50 Board meetings, and to have gone with more or less thoroughness into 47 cases. Of these cases, 10 had got to the point that a grant had actually been recommended. A pier and a harbour were to be constructed in County Clare—the pier would cost £3,400, of which £2,550 would be provided by grant, and £850 by contribution, and the harbour would cost £13,500, of which £11,000 would be provided by grant. A pier was to be constructed in Donegal, at a cost of £2,000, very nearly all covered by grant. In Galway the pier was to cost £8,000, of which three-fourths would be met by grant. There was a small work, costing under £20, in Limerick. In Mayo there was recommended a pier costing £3,000, very nearly all covered by grant; in Sligo, a pier, costing £6,000, entirely covered by grant; in Waterford there were recommended three piers, costing £1,500, £6,500, and £3,000 respectively. In all, the works would cost £46,911, of which £40,211 was to be covered by grant, and £6,700 by contribution. Hon. Members who followed work of this sort must know that in the first year it proceeded very slowly, because a great many operations were set on foot, and only carried through their earlier stages. They, however, came to their later stages in bunches and groups, and with considerable rapidity. He hoped that the second year's labour would appear to bear more fruit than the first year's labour had done. He thought, however, that, in order to systematize and push the work forward, a Report should be laid before Parliament; and he would confer with the Inspectors on that very point.

MR. SEXTON said, he entirely agreed with the right hon. Gentleman as to the high estimate he had placed on the public services rendered by the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) in connection with the Fishery Piers Commission. It would be well if his hon. Friend could be induced to retain his place; but he (Mr. Sexton) feared that if such an application were made to his hon. Friend it would be unsuccessful. He suspected that the disgust felt by his hon. Friend at the obstruction he had experienced from the Irish Board of Works would be found to be incurable. In looking through a Report published on the subject, he (Mr. Sexton) found that, up to the end of the financial year ending on the 31st of March last, 39 works had been recommended by the Fishery Piers Commission. In several cases not only had the works been recommended, but plans, estimates, and specifications had been prepared by the Board of Works, and considered and approved by the Commissioners. The plans, &c., were returned to the Board of Works; but not one stroke of work had been done up to the end of July in connection with any one of the schemes. He would like to know the reason of this. When the plans had been completed, and the assent of the Fishery Piers Commission obtained, every essential preliminary had been satisfied. He was, therefore, entirely at a loss to understand why the spring and summer of the year—the time most favourable for such operations—should be allowed to go by without anything being done. There was a case on the coast of Sligo. So long ago as February the Fishery Piers Commission returned the plans and estimates to the Board of Works. Some dispute had since arisen, the Board of

Works had not completed the plans according to the wishes of the Fishery Piers Commission; and although every essential was satisfied in February last, he found, from a communication he had the other day, that nothing had been done in the way of beginning the work. What was the result? Agherisk Harbour was the place of industry of hard-working fishermen. When they found the plans completed they expected the work would be done; they bought new boats and gear; but the parish priest informed him that the new boats would soon be destroyed, owing to the want of a proper landing-place. Such were the things which had induced the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) to separate himself from the Fishery Piers Commission. He (Mr. Sexton) would like to receive from the Government some assurance that the rest of the summer and the autumn would not be allowed to go by without some real and practical effort being made to set to work upon some of the numerous plans which had been approved by the Fishery Piers Commission.

MR. COURTNEY said, he must deny that there had been any delay on the part of the Board of Works in regard to the Agherisk Harbour. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton) had singularly misread the dates to which he referred. The hon. Gentleman spoke of the plans of Agherisk Harbour as having been returned to the Board of Works so far back as February of this year. As a matter of fact, that was the date on which the Board of Works sent the plans to the Fishery Piers Commission.

MR. SEXTON said, the plans were returned immediately afterwards with some proposed alteration. From that day to the present the Board of Works had obstinately refused to satisfy the wishes of the Commission; hence the delay.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Board of Works transacted their part of the work, and sent it back to the Commission for approval. According to an official statement, out of 39 applications made the Board of Works had forwarded plans and specifications in no less than 34. The Board of Works had been waiting, to a large extent, on the Fishery Piers Commission; and it was not the case that the Board of Works was responsible for the delay.

MR. SEXTON: Why do they not start the work?

MR. GRAY: Will the hon. Gentleman tell us what work has been done?

MR. COURTNEY said, he presumed that work was now about to be done. Five cases had been finally approved by the Treasury in the course of the last few weeks. He was astonished that statements, such as the hon. Member for Sligo had made, should be repeated over and over again, when it was well known they had no foundation.

MR. SEXTON said, it was very easy to astonish the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury. The hon. Gentleman had not uttered a syllable in explanation of the delay which had occurred. He trusted that the summer and autumn would not be allowed to pass without some of the works being put in hand.

MR. KENNY inquired if it was a fact that the Board of Works had refused, in several instances, to grant the loans on the ground that the Grand Juries would not make provision for the repayment of the interest?

MR. COURTNEY: No, Sir.

MR. BARRY said, he understood that some of the plans had been sent back to the Fishery Commissioners by the Board of Works, and that, in consequence of a disagreement on some trivial point, several months had elapsed and no work had been done. If that was true it was a disgraceful state of affairs, and the Secretary to the Treasury ought to take some immediate steps to settle the differences between the Board of Works and the Fishery Commissioners, and thus cause the work, which had already been delayed an unreasonable time, to be started forthwith.

MR. GRAY said, the Vote included the sum of £11,215 for the Veterinary Department; and he wished to call the attention of the Committee to a matter concerning which he asked two or three Questions in the House early in the Session. He commenced by asking a Question of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board as to the state of meat slaughtered under the Act which constituted the Veterinary Department. Under that Act animals were slaughtered which were suffering from pleuro-pneumonia; and he asked the

hon. Gentleman whether in England Boards of Guardians sold such animals for use by the public, and the hon. Gentleman congratulated himself on being able to state that nothing of the kind was known in England. He (Mr. Gray) wished to compare the practice in England and Ireland; and he followed up the Question to the Secretary to the Local Government Board by one to the Chief Secretary, as to whether it was a fact that, with the knowledge and sanction of the Local Government Board in Ireland, diseased meat was sold in Ireland, and, if it was, how much was sold? It seemed he was in error in thinking that the regulation of the matter was vested directly in the Local Government Board—it vested, as he understood, now in the Privy Council to the Lord Lieutenant and the Veterinary Department. However, the fact he ascertained was, that about 1,000 beasts were slaughtered annually under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, and sold in Ireland at an average of about £5 14*s.* each. The Chief Secretary was in happy ignorance of what became of the carcases. He (Mr. Gray) supposed it was not rash to assume that they were eventually eaten, or else persons would not be found willing to give £5 14*s.* each for them. It was also safe to assume that no one in his senses would knowingly buy unhealthy meat, so that what happened was this—meat was sold at an average of one-third the ordinary price; it found its way, sooner or later, into the hands of butchers, who retailed it as healthy meat at full prices, so that they, therefore, made an enormous profit by what was in reality a fraud, though perhaps not technically a fraud. The serious aspect of the question was that, under the sanction and with the authority of a Governmental Department, this trade in diseased meat was carried on to a gigantic extent in Ireland. Under the Public Health Act elaborate machinery was provided in England for the detection of the sale of diseased meat, for the confiscation of the meat, and for the prosecution of the seller. In Ireland, however, the officials, whose salaries the Committee were now asked to vote, sanctioned an elaborate system, under which diseased meat was sold. Some explanation was required from the Chief Secretary. It had been said that meat in certain stages of pleuro-pneumonia might be eaten by human beings with impunity; but he denied that it could. But whether it could or not be so eaten he contended that those who purchased it had a right to know that they were purchasing pleuro-pneumonia meat, and that a Government Department ought not to lend themselves to a traffic in diseased meat. The Department, he knew, argued that they were not responsible after the meat left their Inspectors' hand; that they were not bound to know what became of the meat; but that excuse was not sufficient. Returns which had been presented showed some extraordinary anomalies between the expenditure for the Veterinary Department in England and for that in Ireland; but the Chief Secretary rather conveyed, in one of his replies to him (Mr. Gray), that they were somewhat misleading, owing to the charges in the English Returns being placed under a different head, or presented in a different manner to the charges in the Irish Returns. It was said the expenditure was in Liverpool £890, in Birmingham £900, &c., &c., as against nearly £12,000 in Ireland. If that were so, it was very extraordinary, and he imagined it was capable of some such explanation as, he understood, the Chief Secretary had suggested. But the main question was, after all, was it desirable to encourage this traffic in diseased meat under Government sanction? He would give the Committee the opinions of several medical authorities. Dr. Gordon—this gentleman, he believed, was the same whose name had been so frequently mentioned during the evening, and who was, therefore, well known to the Chief Secretary, and probably the right hon. Gentleman would accept the authority. Dr. Gordon said—

"I cannot think that the flesh of animals killed while suffering from pleuro-pneumonia should be used as food under any circumstances."

Dr. R. M'Donnell, whose reputation was well established throughout the United Kingdom, said—

"Nothing would induce me, if I knew it, to eat of the flesh of an ox killed while suffering from pleuro-pneumonia. This may be only an unreasonable prejudice; but it is an insuperable objection on my part."

Dr. Stokes said—"I do not consider it fit for food under any circumstances." Dr. Parker said—

"It is absurd to suppose that the flesh of animals suffering from a fever like pleuro-pneumonia can be fit for food. No doubt, like other toxic agents, it was not always severe."

Dr. Butcher said—

"It is impossible to suppose it can be wholesome food for man."

Dr. Hamilton said—

"It is not food fit for man. The blood must be infected, having to pass through lungs charged with the virus of contagion. It is difficult to imagine flesh so supplied with blood can be wholesome food."

Doctors in England expressed similar opinions. Dr. Sedgewick Saunders said—

"Reason, knowledge, and common sense suggest it is not fit for human food. Those persons who attempt to dispose of it in London for such a purpose are always successfully prosecuted."

So, here were persons prosecuted in London for doing that which they were encouraged to do in Dublin by a Department for which the Committee was now asked to vote £12,000. Dr. Cameron, Medical Officer of Health for the City of Dublin, who compiled the pamphlet from which he had made these quotations, pointed out how dangerous was the use of such food, and he said one of the most constant consequences was the production of large eruptions of carbuncles and similar diseases. He thought it ought to be tolerably manifest that, although it might be that the flesh of animals in this condition, if slaughtered at an early stage of the disease, might not be so immediately poisonous as in the latter stage of the disease, still it did not require medical opinion to show that such food could not be as wholesome as the flesh of healthy animals. If it was said that, with the high price of animal food, we ought to economize our food supply, and that we ought to preserve this food for the use of the poor, then let that be done in reality, and let it be provided at a reduced price in proportion to the price it was sold at to the butchers. If it was thought to be good food, why should it be sold at a third of the price of healthy beasts? And if it was thought that it could be used for human food, though not so good as the flesh of healthy animals, then sell it with full knowledge to the consumer, and, if he liked, let him take his chance of carbuncles with meat at 4*d.* per lb. He trusted that the Chief Secretary, who, as President of the Local Government Board, was also head of the whole sanitary department, would see that the subordinate officers prosecuted rigorously those who were detected selling this unsound meat, instead of encouraging the sale, as, practically, the Board now did. As Chairman, he knew the difficulty the Committee of the Dublin Corporation had in detecting the sale of unsound food. They confiscated a large quantity every year; but, unfortunately, it was within their knowledge also that a large quantity escaped detection, a great deal of the sale of which they would prevent if they could, and yet this pleuro-pneumonic food was now sold apparently under the sanction of the authorities. No butcher would acknowledge the sale of such an article; the Butchers' Association had been for months investigating the subject—nobody sold it, and yet it was bought. They did not know what became of it. It was bought under the sanction of Government, and here was the history of the transaction—about 1,000 beasts sold annually at the average price of £5 odd—but something more ought to be known of the system. Such a practice, he had been told, was unknown in England, while he was told by the Representative of the Local Government Board that it was not only known, but carried on openly in Ireland. Why was this difference? Why was the Local Government Board in England so careful to protect the health of the people by prohibiting the sale of this diseased meat, while the authority in Ireland—whether of Dublin Castle or the Local Government Board made little difference, for they happened to be represented by the same individual acting in a double capacity—sanctioned and encouraged this practice unknown in England?

Mr. KENNY asked to what purpose were the proceeds of the sale of diseased meat devoted? There was a Cattle Disease Fund in Ireland, he believed for the purpose of indemnifying, to the extent of a moiety, the district where the cattle were slaughtered. He would like to know, if diseased meat was sold in Ireland, the proceeds of the sale were used for augmenting this fund for the relief of the local rates, thereby dis-

seminating disease, while in England, where no such system of compensation existed, diseased meat was not turned to that account? He would also like to know the condition of Ireland in regard to foot-and-mouth disease, now that the restrictions in England had, in a few instances, been relaxed since the passing of the recent Act. In the majority of the English counties, in a great number of counties in the South of England, the restrictions for the excluding of Irish cattle still existed; he could name seven, where Irish cattle, though allowed to pass through on the way to their destination elsewhere, were not allowed to remain or to be sold in those counties. It was known that, for a length of time, Ireland had been free from foot-and-mouth disease. No instance in the last four or five months had been clearly proved that Irish cattle were suffering from foot-and-mouth disease. It was alleged, in one instance, that Irish cattle brought through Bristol became affected with foot-and-mouth disease immediately after their arrival in England; but it had not been proved, and if it had been proved, probably the result of an investigation would have shown that they caught contagion on shipboard, owing to the bad state of the vessels used in the trade between the South of Ireland and Bristol. It would be re-assuring to the cattle dealers in Ireland, to breeders, and to English farmers interested in Irish cattle—and some had dealt largely in Irish cattle—it would be re-assuring to know that for the present foot-and-mouth had become extinct in Ireland; that there had been no case for a considerable length of time, and that there was a guarantee that purchasers of Irish cattle would not find, as a result, disease introduced among their herds.

MR. TREVELYAN said, if the hon. Member for Carlow had closed his interesting speech without the peroration, he would have missed a point; but his speech would have been more instructive. The hon. Member, while describing what, no doubt, existed in Ireland, with considerable knowledge, was mistaken as regarded England. In both countries, so far as he could gather, it was impossible for the Central Government under the Act to prevent the sale of beasts for human food—it was the local authority in each case who had to determine whether or not the sale should go on. But in England the supervision of the central authority was *nil* in the matter; while in Ireland the supervision of the local authority was, at any rate, constant and, to a certain degree, effective. Now, in England, taking a Report of the Metropolitan Board of Works for 1880—and he was informed that the same system was going on pretty freely over the country—the Report gave the number of cattle slaughtered in a considerable number of counties; for instance, in the West Riding of Yorkshire 360 were slaughtered and considered fit for food, 256 in Kent also, and, in another county, 101 were certified to be unfit for food. So that there were cases where the animals were, and were not, used for food. In only one instance did he find a record of the price, and that was in the City of Edinburgh, and in the accounts for seven years the average price for carcases was £7, including hides; and the carcases sold to butchers or knackers averaged £5, £6, and £8. The pamphlet contained the names of a considerable number of medical authorities; and it appeared to him the differences of opinion among medical authorities would pretty well answer for differences of opinion among different local authorities. When the hon. Member called attention to the subject he (Mr. Trevelyan) made inquiries as to what guarantee there was that pleuro-pneumonic meat should not be sold when unfit for human food, and he found that the guarantee was, at least, as good as that adopted in England; but in consequence of attention being drawn to the matter in the House another guarantee was added. The only other precaution they could think of was that the local authority should make it a rule that the Inspector should in every case give notice of the sale to the medical sanitary officer of the district, and a Circular was sent to the local authorities asking them to insist that their medical officer should be present on every occasion. Whether or not the power of selling the beasts for human food should be taken out of the hands of the local authority and vested in the Central Government, or whether the sale should be forbidden altogether, were considerations that could only be settled by statute. But under the statute, as it existed now, the English Govern-

ment had certainly not more power than the Irish Government, and certainly did not exercise more power. As to the question of the hon. Member for Ennis, he only wished it had been asked yesterday. The condition of Ireland with regard to foot-and-mouth disease was, on the whole, satisfactory, almost brilliant. During the present year, comparing the respective weeks with those of last year, the numbers came down until on March 14th there were only five diseased animals in the country, and these were in the Poor Law Union of Dunshaughlin. By arrangement with the Poor Law authorities and the Government the animals were slaughtered and the disease wholly disappeared. At a late period in April another outbreak occurred; but it was confined to 14 animals in one shed, and these all recovered, and the disease was again extinct in Ireland. This morning he should have been able to say that Ireland was entirely free from the disease; but he had heard since of a mild outbreak in Navan; he had not the telegram with him——

MR. KENNY asked from what did it originate?

MR. TREVELYAN said, the only information he had was that there was an outbreak. He only mentioned it to correct the statement that there was no foot-and-mouth disease in the country. But he thought the telegram said the cattle were few in number, and if they had been all slaughtered, the country might be said to be again quite free from the disease. Practically Ireland might be said to be free.

MR. KENNY said, the right hon. Gentleman had not answered his question as to the proceeds of the sale of diseased carcases.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the proceeds of such sales were devoted to the relief of the local rates as in England.

MR. GRAY said, he was sorry that the Secretary to the Local Government Board had, with great discretion, retired while the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was entering upon his explanation. The information he (Mr. Gray) had from the hon. Gentleman (Mr. George Russell) was distinct. Not professing to have any knowledge of the practice in England he took his knowledge from the hon. Gentleman, who told him, in answer to a Question, that the practice of selling the diseased carcases was unknown in England. He was very glad to hear of the extra precaution the right hon. Gentleman had introduced. The responsibility now, to a considerable extent, would be fixed on the sanitary medical officers; and if they, on their professional responsibility, passed diseased meat, then, to some extent, the Government were relieved from responsibility. There was only one safeguard, besides the complete prohibition of the sale; and that was the natural one, to provide that the butchers who bought the meat—whether wholesome or not he would not now argue, on that there was a difference of opinion among medical authorities—should sell it for what it was, and, if the public chose to buy it, they would do it at their own risk as to consequences. This was the proper way of protecting the public in the matter. He did not quite know whether it was in connection with this subject; but there was another matter to which he should like to call attention, and as to which he had also asked one or two questions earlier in the Session. There were two Bills the Government had promised to introduce for the benefit of the citizens of Dublin. One referred to the system of collecting the rates; and the reason why he mentioned it in connection with this Vote was that a letter from the Irish Executive gave an assurance that had not, so far, been kept, the letter being written by a Secretary whose salary was included in the Vote. He would be brief in his explanation; but the subject was too important to Dublin to allow the only opportunity of calling attention to it to pass. The collection of the rates in Dublin was upon an extremely inconvenient and anomalous system. Every local authority in England and Scotland, and every place in Ireland, except Dublin, had the natural duty of collecting the rates it levied; but, owing to an Act passed in 1849, the origin of which it was absolutely impossible to discover—the only thing known about it was that it was an Act passed by the Government of the day, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the Corporation of Dublin—the collection of the rates in Dublin was vested in Government officials. The result had been, to the last degree, unsatisfactory. The average of uncollected rates was enormous, considerably over 12 per

cent, amounting in 10 years—he had not the figures by him—to something like £60,000, neglected by this Government official in Dublin. Of course, the result was that while dishonest ratepayers escaped payment, honest ratepayers had to make up the deficiency; if a number of persons evaded payment, higher rates had to be struck. Well, the working of the system had been most unsatisfactory, and when inquiry discovered that an official had been guilty of malpractices under the Arrears Act, necessitating his dismissal, the Corporation of Dublin seized the opportunity to press upon the Government the necessity, which for years had been evident, of allowing the local authority its natural function—the collection of its own rates—and of enabling them to make those responsible for rates amenable to the law. The last Government had introduced a Bill for the purpose, but afterwards dropped it. The Lord Lieutenant received a deputation on the subject; he did not commit himself to the proposition that all local bodies should collect their own rates; but he did commit himself to the necessity of re-introducing the Bill, and the Under Secretary said the Government proposed such a Bill this year. The Corporation rested on the hope that the pledge would be carried out, and since the dismissal of the late collector the office had been temporarily filled by an official of the Board of Works. For the promised Bill they had been waiting, but the Government had never introduced it. When asked a Question a while ago, the Chief Secretary spoke lightly—he would not say flippantly—that, owing to pressure of Business, he could not introduce the Bill; and, when reminded of a definite promise, he said every Government had a number of such paper promises flying about. This was all very well, from a Government point of view; but, meanwhile, the ratepayers were mulcted unjustly with heavy rates, while a certain percentage escaped scot free, paying nothing at all. It was not fair for the Government to let this go on. Such a Bill might easily be introduced; it was drafted a long time ago by the late Government, and very little amendment would make it all that was required, and it would pass without any serious opposition. At any rate, the Government were bound to redeem their pledge; perhaps the Chief Secretary would say what they intended to do on the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Question before the Committee is the Vote for the Chief Secretary's Office; and I do not, therefore, think it would be in Order for the hon. Member to go into the details of a Bill.

MR. GRAY asked whether the Chairman would permit him to point out why he thought his observation relevant to the subject under discussion? They had been for many hours occupied in discussing, on the Vote for the Chief Secretary's salary, the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman in his official capacity. They were referring to his having given a pledge in his official capacity, which he had not carried out. Was that in Order?

THE CHAIRMAN: So far as the hon. Gentleman has now gone, he is in Order; but it seemed to me that he was about to discuss the details of a Bill.

MR. GRAY said, there was a promise to extend the Borough Funds Act, in operation in England, to Ireland. The effect of not having that Act extended to Ireland was that the Corporations were rendered powerless in the matter. Not only was it impossible for a Corporation in Ireland to promote a Bill, but, at the present moment, it could not even use the Corporate Seal for any purpose in connection with a Bill, so that they were absolutely helpless. The Government had promised to amend the Collection of Rates Act this year, and the Borough Funds Act; but neither of the measures promised had been introduced. The Chief Secretary's excuse was pressure of Business, and he (Mr. Gray) could accept that excuse if a measure were likely to be strongly opposed; but, as that was not the case in this instance, there was no earthly reason why the Bills should not have been brought forward. Dublin was placed in the same position as other Corporations. When they had obtained the consent of the ratepayers to the carrying out of such reform as he suggested, they were absolutely dependent on the Government; and the Government, not much caring about the amount of this dishonoured paper in circulation, were presumably inclined to leave them in their difficulty. There could not be much hope of their being able to do much good this year; but he

certainly hoped that they would give a promise that next year they would endeavour to redeem their pledge.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he should be prepared to give a positive assurance that next year he would introduce the Borough Funds Bill. After his experience in connection with the Revision of Voters (Ireland) Bill, over which he had taken a great deal of trouble, he must own that he felt a little despairing as to the success that was likely to attend the most humble and just Bills referring to Ireland. He thought, however, that next Session they would be able to take up the Revision of Jurors Bill and the Borough Funds Bill. He was very sorry that they had been unable to fulfil their pledges this year.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) SALARIES BILL.—[BILL 292.]

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. COURTNEY said, this was a Bill which he proposed should be read a second time. He did not think there was any opposition to it; but, at any rate, as it was a Money Bill it was not possible to block it. It could not be prevented from going on if it was thought desirable to press it. It was a measure of great simplicity, its object being merely to continue and legalize what had been done this year. [Several hon. MEMBERS: Postpone, postpone!] If hon. Members thought he had taken them by surprise in proposing the second reading, he would not insist upon taking the stage to-night, but would put it down for to-morrow.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the hon. Member had given them fair warning that the Bill was of a peculiar character; and he had also told them that he proposed to take the Bill, which some of them thought a very singular one, at any hour. It would be monstrous if such a thing as that were done; and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) did not think the hon. Member should endeavour to advance the Bill by means such as he proposed.

MR. SEXTON said. that unless they got a special undertaking that Mr. Clifford Lloyd would not be appointed a special magistrate they should have to give a strenuous opposition to the Bill, and it would lead to a long debate.

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

TRUSTS (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 279.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 15th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 3 (Investment of trust funds).

MR. A. GRANT said, he had an Amendment to propose to that clause. It seemed to him that to allow Trustees to invest Trust funds in Preference Shares of railways was a permission which went far beyond what was safe or what was prudent. Preference Shares of railways had not even any fixed return in a great many cases. All those who had anything to do with railways knew that in the majority of cases of Preference Shares the dividends were dependent or contingent on the profits of each separate year, which meant that in any one year, if the profits of the undertaking were not sufficient to cover the Preference dividend, the holders of Preference Shares would have no claim to any dividend in the succeeding year. This was a fluctuating kind of security, which seemed to him not proper for the investment of Trust money. Preference Shares were not like Debenture Stock. They did not hold that fixed value which the other Stock did, but were liable to be tossed every day up and down in the market by bulls and bears continually acting on them. For this reason he would move the omission from the beginning of Sub-section 4 of the word "Preference."

Amendment proposed, in Sub-section 4, to strike out the word "preference."—(*Mr. A. Grant.*)

Question proposed, "That the word proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. WARTON said, he quite agreed that Preference Shares were very faulty securities, and not fit to invest the Trust funds in.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, that there was an Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Webster), which he proposed to accept, to the effect that all Stocks in which Trust funds were invested should have paid a dividend during the 10 preceding years. The securities proposed in this clause had been suggested by the most experienced legal authorities in Scotland. It was now found that it was almost impossible to get good investments for Trust purposes by the methods at present adopted; and those interested in the matter were of opinion that those particular Shares which had paid dividends for 10 years would afford very good security. The question was, whether the loss would not be greater by limiting the investments under the existing system than could occur through the risk of investing in these Preference Shares. The question was whether, with the safeguards which were to be proposed in the clause by the hon. Member for Aberdeen, Trust funds should not be invested in Preference Shares.

MR. WEBSTER said, that the Amendment which his right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate had mentioned would be a sufficient safeguard, and he trusted that it would be accepted. Trust funds must be made as absolutely safe and secure as possible; but everyone acquainted with these transactions knew the great and increasing difficulty of finding safe investments for Trust funds in Scotland. If the investments proposed were made safe, as he believed they would be by the Proviso he intended to move, he thought there would be sufficient protection in the matter, and that these funds might be allowed to be invested in the manner suggested in the clause.

MR. A. GRANT said, that in reply to what had fallen from his right hon. and learned Friend on the Front Bench, he wished to point out that in the Amendment proposed there was nothing whatever said as to the dividend to be paid during the 10 years. It might be that a railway was being worked on a margin of ½ or ¼ per cent per annum on its ordinary shares, and yet they were going to allow Trust funds to be invested on a security so shaky and so liable to be swept away as that. His hon. Friend below him had stated that it was very desirable that Trust funds should be made a little more remunerative than at present. He (Mr. Grant) would point out, however, the enormous hardship which would result to many persons by rash investments of Trust funds. The House would, therefore, do well to pause before it gave power to Trustees to invest in these Preference Shares.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in line 9, to omit the word "two," and insert the word "ten."—(*Mr. Webster.*)

Question, "That the word 'two' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'ten' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

HULL, BARNSLEY, AND WEST RIDING JUNCTION RAILWAY AND DOCK (MONEY) BILL.

Select Committee to consist of Nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House, and Four by the Committee of Selection:—Admiral EGERTON, Mr. WHITLEY, Mr. THOROLD ROGERS, Mr. MACFARLANE, and Mr. SEVERNE *nominated* Members of the Committee.

Ordered, That the Committee do meet on Friday the 25th day of July at Twelve o'clock, to consider the Bill.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the said Bill be referred to the Committee, and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, Agents, or Witnesses, be heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit, and Counsel heard, in favour of the Bill, against such Petitions.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.—(*Colonel Smith.*)

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

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VOLUME CCXC.

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When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

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HENRY, Mr. M., *Galway*
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HERBERT, Hon. S., *Wilton*
Friendly Societies—Registrar's Report, 1883, 918

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HIBBERT, Mr. J. T. (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Oldham*
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HILL, Mr. A. S., *Staffordshire, W.*
Supply—Woods, Forests, &c. 1538

HOLLAND, Sir H. T., *Midhurst*
Africa—South African Republic—Transvaal and Zululand—Appointment of a Commissioner, 1112, 1113, 1114
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HOME, Lieutenant-Colonel D. Milne, *Berwick-on-Tweed*
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Education Department—Vaccination in Board Schools, 669
Navy (Health) Report, 1883—Operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts in Protected Ports, 1724
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HOUGHTON, Lord
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HOWTH, Earl of
Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County), 2R. 1593

Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Money) Bill
c. Moved, "That the Standing Orders be suspended, and that leave be given to bring in a Bill to authorise the Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock Company to raise further money by Debentures; and that Mr. Norwood, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Colonel Smith do prepare and bring it in" (*Mr. Dodds*) *July* 11, 816; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Ordered, That the Standing Orders be suspended, and that the Bill be now read the first time (*Sir Charles Forster*); Bill read the first time
Ordered, That Standing Order 62. be suspended, and that the Bill be ordered to be read a second time (*Sir Charles Forster*); Bill referred to a Select Committee
Nomination of Select Committee postponed *July* 18, 1596
Select Committee nominated *July* 21; List of the Committee, 1898

HUNTLY, Marquess of
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ILLINGWORTH, Mr. A., *Bradford*
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ILLINGWORTH, Mr. A.—*cont.*
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Improvement of Lands (Ecclesiastical Benefices) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*)
l. Report * *July* 4 (No. 131)
Read 3ª * *July* 8
c. Read 1° * (*Mr. Albert Grey*) *July* 18 [Bill 298]

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Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order, 2R 650
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Government of India—Cost of Annual Change of Location, Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 21, 1742
Increase of the Army in India, Question, Mr. A. Grant; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 7, 194
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Bombay—The Bikanir Field Force, Question, Observations, Lord Waveney; Reply, The Earl of Kimberley *July* 4, 11
Madras—Forest Conservancy, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 10, 667
The Cholera, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 15, 1128
Native States—Nizam of Hyderabad, Questions, Mr. Gorst, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 21, 1746
Railways—The Harnai Railway, Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 14, 922
The Cholera — The Salt Tax, Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Cropper; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 7, 209; Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 17, 1407; *July* 21, 1730; —*Salt as a Remedy for Cholera*, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *July* 17, 1413

India—East Indian Medical Service
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 18, To leave out from "That," add "the condition of the East Indian Medical Service calls for

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India—East Indian Medical Service—cont.
the early attention of Her Majesty's Government, and this House trusts that steps will soon be taken to lessen the block in promotion and the disappointment at the methods of employment and pay which exist in its ranks" (*Mr. Gibson*) *v.*, 1617; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put, and agreed to

Indian Marine Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Kimberley*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 4 (No. 170)
Committee *; Report *July* 10
Read 3ª * *July* 11
c. Read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 291]
Read 2° * *July* 21

Infants Bill
(*Mr. Bryce, Mr. Davey, Mr. Henderson*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 14, 1061; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. A. F. Egerton*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Question again proposed, 1063; after short debate, original Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P. [Bill 14]

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Board of Works—Mr. T. J. Bowers, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 7, 194
Contemplated Transfer of Customs Warehouses, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 17, 1418
Cork City Police Force, Questions, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1396
County Down—Mr. Henry Smyth, County Surveyor, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1384
Emigration—The Tuke and Gaskell Committee, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 21, 1737
Free Force of the City of Cork—Distribution under 20 *and* 21 *Vict., Chapters* 17 *and* 3, Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *July* 21, 1748
Industrial Schools, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1722
Intestate Estates—Estate of the late Mrs. Helen Blake, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 11, 827
Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883—*Return of Paid Officials*, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 11, 920
Limerick City (Extra Police Tax), Observations, Mr. Parnell *July* 18, 1650; after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*); Question put, and negatived
Local Government Board—Mr. J. D. Elliott, Rate Collector for the Blackrock Township Commissioners, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 911
Local Taxation—Collection of County Cess, Queen's County, under Relief of Distress (Ireland) Act, 1880—*Section* 13, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 11, 824

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Lunacy Inspectors—The Report for 1883, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 11, 821
Mr. George Bolton—Proceedings in Bankruptcy, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 213; Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland *July* 14, 908
New Science and Art Museum, Dublin, Questions, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 10, 679; Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1397
Orange Meetings—Military and Constabulary Pensioners, Question, Mr. Small; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Healy; [no reply] *July* 18, 1602
Relief of Distress—Loans to Irish Landlords—Captain M'Gill, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 4, 21
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland)—Bonâ Fide Travellers, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 907; *July* 17, 1398
The Coastguard—The Coastguardsmen at Dalkey, Co. Dublin, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 7, 209
The 12*th of July Meeting at Newry*, Questions, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 18, 1605

National Education
Board of National Education—Case of William Hurson, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 18, 1599
Commissioners of National Education—Rule 14*—School Sites*, Questions, Colonel Nolan; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 224
National Schools—Vested Schools—Loans for Teachers' Residences, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 8, 501; Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 10, 674
Building Loans to Vested Schools, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 10, 883
Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, District Inspector, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1736

National School Teachers—Legislation, Question, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 11, 821
Payment of Results Fees, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 4, 21

Teachers in Convent National Schools—The Grant, Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 18, 1609

Poor Law
Ballycastle Union, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1382
Belfast Workhouse—The Chaplain's Report, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 193
Cork Union Workhouse, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1380
Donegal Workhouse, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 195; *July* 18, 1600

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Mr. E. Browne, Poor Rate Collector, Clones, Co. Monaghan, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 8, 499

Newtownards Board of Guardians—Instruction of Roman Catholic Children, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 927

Removal of Paupers—Lismore Board of Guardians, Question, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [no reply] *July* 17, 1413

Election of Guardians

Athenry—Mr. P. W. Lambert, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 222

Ballinakill, Co. Sligo, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 4, 22

Baltinglass Union, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 203; Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1728

Carmeen Division, Cootehill, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 18, 1598

Greethill, Co. Galway, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1735

Rathdrum Union, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 204

Shillelagh Union, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 913; Question, Mr. John Redmond; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan, 922

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Acting Mail Guards, Dublin, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 4, 20

Appointment of Female Telegraph Learners, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 7, 216

Appointments to Surveyors' Clerkships, Question, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 17, 1408

Sunday Delivery of Letters, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 15, 1109

The Dublin Post Office, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 21, 1738

The New Post Office at Mullingar, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 21, 1748

The Postmaster at Kilmore, Co. Roscommon, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *July* 21, 1729

Public Health

The Cholera, Questions, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 15, 1114

Cholera Hospitals, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1401

Precautions against Cholera, Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1732

Water Supply at Urlaur, Swineford Union, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 10, 666

Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878—*Section 7—Collection of Water Rates*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *July* 14, 911

Killarney Waterworks, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 18, 1603

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Salmon Fisheries—Police Surveillance, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 15, 1116

Fishery Piers and Harbours

Aughris, Co. Sligo, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 14, 903

Enniscrone Pier, Co. Sligo, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 17, 1394

Garry-Kennedy Harbour, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 17, 1386

Proposed Pier at Tramore, Question, Mr. R. Power; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 11, 825

Teelin Pier, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 15, 1107

Law and Justice

Arrest of James Ellis French, Ex-Detective Director of Police, Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1416

Case of Bryan Kilmartin, a Convict, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 224

"*Cornwall v. O'Brien*," Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Sexton, Mr. William Redmond; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Fawcett, The Attorney General *July* 8, 509; Questions, Mr. Healy, Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Trevelyan, The Attorney General *July* 10, 683;—*Employment of Detectives*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *July* 11, 823

Dr. Hancock, Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper, Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 212

Suicide of Thomas Kennedy, an Approver, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 206

The Crossmaglen Prisoners in Chatham, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 21, 1750;—*Major Blair*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1386

Death of Michael Watters, of Crossmaglen, in Mountjoy Prison—The Papers, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 10, 668; *July* 15, 1111

The Nationalist Meeting at Newry—Use of Firearms—Trial of the Rioters, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *July* 15, 1115

Trespass in Pursuit of Game, Co. Sligo, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *July* 11, 828

Trial of the Kilcross Rioters, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *July* 21, 1743

The Magistracy

Appointment of Mr. Martin Langton, Co. Wicklow, Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 211; *July* 11 821

Appointment of Roman Catholics, Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. J. Lowther; [no reply] *July* 15, 1116

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Appointments to the Commission of the Peace, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. O'Brien; [no reply] *July* 17, 1399; Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1741

Bawnboy Union, Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 199

Mr. Clifford Lloyd, Questions, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Question, Mr. Harrington; [no reply] *July* 7, 216; Questions, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 8, 506; Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 10, 689

Mr. John Stack, Co. Kerry, Questions, Viscount Castlereagh, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 925

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Case of Mr. John Nelson, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 206

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Death of Michael Watters, of Crossmaglen, in Mountjoy Prison—The Papers, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 10, 668; *July* 15, 1111

Royal Irish Constabulary

Constable Fitzgerald, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 7, 200

Extra Police (Cork), Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1749

Mrs. Kearney, Hotel at Ballydehob, Co. Cork, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 8, 502

The Constabulary Depôt, Phœnix Park, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1726

The Constabulary List—James Ellis French, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 920

State of

Orange Procession, Glenarm, Co. Antrim, Questions, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1741

Crime and Outrage

The Barbavilla Conspiracy Case, Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 21, 1732

The Tubbercurry Prisoners, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *July* 21, 1740

Evictions

Burning a House—Clooncheswers, Co. Roscommon, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 8, 501

Estate of Mr. Wybrants Olphert, Co. Donegal, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 7, 227; Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 10, 670

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[See titles *Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act*, 1882
Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—*Irish Land Commission*
Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881
Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882]

Ireland—Agricultural Labourers

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed 'To inquire into the working of recent legislation with reference to cottages and plots of land for agricultural labourers in Ireland; and to Report whether it has been established that any amendments of such legislation are at present necessary: That the Committee do consist of Twenty-one Members'" (*Mr. Trevelyan*) *July* 9; Motion agreed to; List of the Committee, 648

Moved, "That the Select Committee do consist of Twenty-two Members" (*Mr. Sexton*) *July* 10, 793; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Irish Land Commissioner (Continuance) Bill (*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)

c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 290]

JACKSON, Mr. W. L., *Leeds*

Education Acts—Loans for School Houses, 1385

JAMES, Sir H. (*see* ATTORNEY GENERAL, The)

JAMES, Mr. C. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*

Mining Industry, Res. 81

JAMES, Mr. W. H., *Gateshead*

Supply—Friendly Societies Registry, 1260
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JENKINS, Mr. D. J., *Penryn*

Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1210
Supply—Board of Trade, 997

JERNINGHAM, Mr. H. E. H., *Berwick-on-Tweed*

Civil Service Commission—The Report—Examination Papers, 211
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KENNARD, Mr. C. J., *Salisbury*

Egypt—Questions
Corporal Punishment—The Courbash, 504, 505
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KENNY, Mr. M. J., *Ennis*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878 (Districts), Comm. *add. cl.* 1081
Ireland—Questions
Emigration—The Tuke and Gaskell Committee, 1737
Irish Land Commission — Sub-Commissioners sitting at Kildysart, 903, 904
Limerick City (Extra Police Tax), 1688
National Education—Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, District Inspector, 1736
Royal Irish Constabulary—Constable Fitzgerald, 200
Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland), 2R. 1079
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Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1798

KIMBERLEY, Earl of (Secretary of State for India)
Elections (Hours of Poll), 2R. 1082, 1084; Comm. 1709; *cl.* 1, 1710
India (Bengal) Court Fees Bill, 1881—Case of Louis Ramay, 1708
Bombay—The Bikanir Field Force, 13
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KING-HARMAN, Colonel E. R., *Dublin County*
Army (Ordnance Department) — Moncrieff Gun, 1409
East Indian Unclaimed Stocks, 2R. 1055
Ireland—Arrears of Rent Act, 1882—Colonel Digby, J.P., 1396
Ireland—Agricultural Labourers, Motion for a Select Committee, 648, 794, 795
Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. 1065; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 1066; *cl.* 13, Amendt. 1067; *cl.* 24, 1072, 1073, 1240; *cl.* 26, 1243; *add. cl.* 1246; Consid. Amendt. 1560, 1562, 1564; *cl.* 25, 1570; Sub-section, 1576; 3R. 1579
Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County), 3R. 342
Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland), 2R. 1076; Amendt. 1077, 1081
Supply—Report, Fourteenth Res. 1560
Trees Planting (Ireland), 2R. 642; Amendt. 644
Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation, 2R. 1060

KINGSCOTE, Colonel R. N. F., *Gloucestershire, W.*
Army Estimates—Military Education, Establishments for, 335
Dean Forest and Hundred of Saint Briavels, 682

KNIGHT, Mr. F. W., *Worcestershire, W.*
Ouse (Lower) Improvement, Consid. 486

LABOUCHERE, Mr. H., *Northampton*
Egypt—Corporal Punishment, 225
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Metropolis—Reform Demonstration—Access to the House, 1755
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LAING, Mr. S., *Orkney, &c.*
Parliament—Rules and Orders—Private Bill Legislation—New Standing Order to follow Standing Order No. 133, Res. 633

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Landed Estates Court (Orders)
Question, Mr. John Redmond; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1401

Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *July* 15 [Bill 166]

Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) (Extension to Leaseholders) Bill
(*Mr. Findlater, Mr. Thomas Dickson, Mr. William Shaw, Mr. Lea, Mr. Charles Russell*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *July* 17 [Bill 29]

Land Law (Ireland) Act 1881 — *Irish Land Commission*
Footpaths, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 18, 1599
The Appeal Court, Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 920
The Supplementary Estimate, Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Brodrick; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 15, 1110

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Re-appointment of Sub-Commissioners, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 10, 677
Continuance of Appointment, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [no reply] *July* 17, 1385
Sub-Commissioners sitting at Kildysart, Questions, Mr. Kenny; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 903
Monaghan, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 15, 1110

Land (Perpetual Grants) Bill
(*Sir John Jenkins, Mr. Powell*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 8 [Bill 156]

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) (*Questions*)
Distraint for Tithe at Ormskirk, Lancashire, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *July* 10, 666
Dormant Funds in Chancery, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 8, 502
High Court of Justice—Mr. Butcher, a Commissioner to administer Oaths, Questions, Mr. Warton; Answers, The Attorney General *July* 17, 1387
Lord St. Leonards, Question, Mr. Carbutt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 7, 220
Sentence on Frank Stockmell, an Infant, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 17, 1470
Stipendiary Magistrate at Brighton, Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 21, 1722
Supreme Court of Judicature—Loss of Affidavits, Question, Mr. Marriott; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 14, 905
The New Assize Arrangement, Questions, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General, Mr. Speaker *July* 18, 1604
The Office of Land Registry, Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 14, 917
Will of Mr. James Whalley—Criminal Proceedings against Charles Thomas, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Attorney General *July* 21, 1730

LAW AND POLICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) (*Questions*)
Cleator Moor Riots, Cumberland, Notice of Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 14, 896; Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Dawson, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Gorst, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Gray; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 15, 1118; Questions, Mr. Synan, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Healy, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 17, 1410
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Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 218]

LAWRENCE, Sir J. J. Trevor, *Surrey, Mid*
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LAWRENCE, Mr. Alderman W., *London*
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LAWSON, Sir W., *Carlisle*
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LEAMY, Mr. E., *Waterford*
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LECHMERE, Sir E. A. H., *Worcestershire, W.*
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LECONFIELD, Lord
Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Orders, Res. 1091

LEFEVRE, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw (Chief Commissioner of Works), *Reading*
Literature, Science, and Art—Tapestry at Hampton Court, 921
Palace of Westminster—Westminster Hall—West Front, 898;—Dr. Pearson's Report—Proposed Appendix, 1418
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Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Onslow*)
l. Bill withdrawn * *July* 15 (No. 134)

LEIGHTON, Sir B., *Shropshire, S.*
London Government, 2R. 576

LEIGHTON, Mr. S., *Shropshire, N.*
Education Department — Over-Pressure in Board Schools, 1384
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Supply—Offices of the House of Lords, 772

LENNOX, Right Hon. Lord H. G. C. G., *Chichester*
Navy Estimates—Dockyard and Naval Yards, 1201, 1212
Medicines, Medical Stores, &c. 1237
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Licensing Act (1872) Amendment Bill (*The Earl of Rosebery*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 11 (No. 160)
Committee * ; Report *July* 14
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LIMERICK, Earl of
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The National Portrait Gallery, Question, Observations, The Earl of Annesley, Viscount Hardinge, Lord Lamington ; Reply, Lord Sudeley *July* 11, 810
The Royal Academy—The Chantrey Bequest, Question, Sir Robert Peel; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 21, 1758
The Tapestry at Hampton Court, Question, Mr. Montague Guest ; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 14, 921

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Dundalk Waterworks) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Monson*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. civ]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 4) Bill (*The Lord President*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 4 (No. 161)
Committee * ; Report *July* 7
Read 3ª * *July* 8
Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. lxxvii]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 5) Bill (*The Lord President*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cx]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 6) Bill (*The Lord President*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxi]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (No. 7) Bill (*The Lord President*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 4 (No. 162)
Committee * *July* 7
Report * *July* 8
Read 3ª * *July* 10

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (No. 8) Bill (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 14 [Bill 283]
Read 2° * *July* 21

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Naas, &c.) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord President*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cv]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Labourers Act) (Carrick-on-Suir) Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord President*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cvi]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Labourers Act) (Enniscorthy, &c.) Bill [H.L.]
c. Report * *July* 8 [Bill 236]
Considered * *July* 9
Read 3° * *July* 10

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee * ; Report *July* 21 (No. 132)

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (*Mr. George Russell, Mr. Chamberlain*)
c. Report of Select Comm. *July* 15 [No. 272]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 4 (No. 163)

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 5) Bill (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Read 3° * *July* 8 [Bill 239]
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Carrington*) *July* 8 (No. 183)
Read 2ª * *July* 15

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *July* 8 [Bill 240]
Considered * *July* 9
Read 3° * *July* 10
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Carrington*) *July* 11 (No. 189)

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 4 (No. 164)

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 4 (No. 165)

Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 1i) Bill
(*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 7 (No. 156)
Read 3ª * *July* 8
Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxiii]

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 14) Bill
(*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 4 (No. 166)
Committee *; Report *July* 7
Read 3ª * *July* 8
Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxiv]

Local Government Provisional Order (Poor Law) (No. 15) Bill
(*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 4 (No. 167)
Committee *; Report *July* 7
Read 3ª * *July* 8
Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxv]

Local Government Provisional Order (Salt Works) Bill
(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)
c. Report * *July* 4 [Bill 216]
Considered * *July* 7
Read 3º * *July* 8
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Carrington*) *July* 8 (No. 182)
Read 2ª * *July* 15
Committee *; Report *July* 17
Read 3ª * *July* 18

London Government Bill
(*Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. George Russell*)
c. Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendt. proposed to Question [3rd July], "That the Bill be now read 2º;" and which Amendt. was, to leave out from "That," add "while ready to consider the question of a reform in the Government of London, this House declines to assent to a proposal by which the control over the levying and expenditure of rates would be vested in one central body to the practical extinction of the local self-government of the various cities and boroughs of the Metropolis" (*Mr. Ritchie*) *v.*; Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" Debate resumed *July* 4, 53; after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. R. N. Fowler*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned
Debate resumed *July* 8, 514; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Alexander Gordon*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 117, N. 188; M. 71 (D. L. 154)
Original Question again proposed, 575; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Colonel Makins*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Debate further adjourned
Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 171]

LONGFORD, Earl of
Ireland—Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Compensation Clause—Barbavilla Murder Case—William Barlow Smythe, Esquire—Presentation of Petition, 883
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LOPES, Sir M., *Devonshire, S.*
Navy Estimates—Works, Buildings, &c. 1227

LOTHIAN, Marquess of
Navy (Boilers), Motion for Returns, 659, 660, 661
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LOWTHER, Right Hon. J., *Lincolnshire, N.*
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Law and Police—Cleator Moor Riots, Cumberland, 1125
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Parliament—Business of the House—Setting up of Supply, Res. 936
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LUBBOCK, Sir J., *London University*
Parliament—Adjournment, Ministerial Statement, 729
Supply—Deficiency of Income from Fees, &c. for the requirements of the Board of Trade, under "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883," 1036, 1049, 1050
Woods, Forests, &c. 1539

Lunacy Commissioners (Great Britain)—The Reports for 1883
Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 11, 820; Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Hibbert *July* 21, 1731

Lunatics (Ireland) Bill
(*Sir Thomas M'Clure, Lord Arthur Hill, Mr. Thomas Lee, Mr. Greer, Mr. Findlater, Dr. Lyon*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 4 [Bill 39]

LUSK, Sir A., *Finsbury*
Public Health—Metropolis—Lower Thames Valley Sewerage Board, 1607
Sanitary Condition of the Thames, 912

LYMINGTON, Viscount, *Barnstaple*
Supply—Woods, Forests, &c., Motion for reporting Progress, 1537, 1556

LYONS, Dr. R. D., *Dublin*
East Indian Medical Service, Res. 1635
Palace of Westminster—Westminster Hall—Dr. Pearson's Report—Proposed Appendix, 1418
Supply—Woods, Forests, &c. 1547, 1549, 1551
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McARTHUR, Sir W., *Lambeth*
South African Republic—Transvaal and Zululand — Appointment of a Commissioner, 1111
Western Pacific—The Reports, 910

McARTHUR, Mr. A., *Leicester*
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MACARTNEY, Mr. J. W. E., *Tyrone*
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M'CARTHY, Mr. J., *Longford*
India—Salt Tax, 1407
Salt as a Remedy for Cholera, 209, 1413, 1730
Ireland—Limerick City (Extra Police Tax), 1676
Post Office—Appointments to Surveyors' Clerkships, 1408
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1848

M'CARTHY, Mr. J. Huntly, *Athlone Bo.*
Ireland—Questions
Law and Police—Arrest of James Ellis French, late Detective Director of Police, 1417
Limerick City (Extra Police Tax), 1671
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M'COAN, Mr. J. C., *Wicklow*
Egypt—Abyssinia and the Soudan, 1414
Berbera—Rumoured Annexation by the Resident at Aden, 1417
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MACFARLANE, Mr. D. H., *Carlow Co.*
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Lead Mines in the Isle of Islay—The Truck Act, 1742
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MAC IVER, Mr. D., *Birkenhead*
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McKENNA, Sir J. N., *Youghal*
Supply—Mint, including Coinage, 1316, 1317, 1320

MACKINTOSH, Mr. C. FRASER-, *Inverness, &c.*
Education Department—Gaelic and Irish Languages, 898
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Supply—Public Education, Scotland, 1444

MACLIVER, Mr. P. S., *Plymouth*
House of Lords—Representation of the People —The Compromise, 858
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1143, 1209

Magistrates (Ireland) Salaries Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan*)
c. Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *July* 15, 1252

[*cont.*

Magistrates (Ireland) Salaries Bill—cont.
Res. reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * *July* 16 [Bill 292]
2R. deferred, after short debate *July* 21, 1895

MAGNIAC, Mr. C., *Bedford*
Army Estimates—Works, Buildings, &c. at Home and Abroad, 333
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Money), 1597
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MAKINS, Colonel W. T., *Essex, S.*
London Government, 2R., Motion for Adjournment, 575, 577
Parliament—Rules and Orders—Private Bill Legislation—New Standing Order to follow Standing Order No. 133, Res. 633

Malta—Civil Service, Naval, and Military Examinations — Administration of Civil Affairs
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Papers and for Correspondence which has taken place during the last few years with reference to the question of making Malta a centre for civil service, naval, and military examinations" (*The Earl De La Warr*) *July* 18, 1584; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway (Chester to Connah's Quay) Bill (by Order)
c. Lords Amendts. considered, and agreed to *July* 15, 1096

MARLBOROUGH, Duke of
Representation of the People, 2R. 177

Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Houghton*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *July* 7 (No. 177)
Bill withdrawn, after short debate *July* 10, 654

MARRIOTT, Mr. W. T., *Brighton*
Supreme Court of Judicature—Loss of Affidavits, 905

MARTIN, Mr. R. B., *Tewkesbury*
Supply—Deficiency of Income from Fees, &c. for the requirements of the Board of Trade, under "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883," 1032

MARUM, Mr. E. P. M., *Kilkenny Co.*
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MAXWELL, Sir H. E., *Wigtonshire*
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MAXWELL-HERON, Captain J. M., *Kirkcudbright*
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Medical Act Amendment [Cost of Certificate]
c. Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *July* 4, 75
Res. reported *July* 7

Mercantile Marine—Shipping Legislation
Observations, Mr. Mac Iver; Reply, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 18, 1641
Board of Trade (Marine Department)—The Royal Commission, Questions, Mr. C. M. Palmer, Mr. Mac Iver, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 7, 191

Merchant Shipping
Harbours of Refuge, Question, Mr. Brinton; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 4, 25
Uniform System of Buoyage, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 18, 1601

Merchant Shipping Bill [Bill 1]
(*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Holms*)
c. Questions, Mr. Mac Iver, Sir Frederick Milner; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *July* 7, 217
Bill withdrawn, after debate *July* 7, 348

METROPOLIS (*Questions*)
Open Spaces, Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *July* 7, 219

Public Health
Covent Garden and the Chelsea Embankment, Question, Sir Frederick Milner; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 7, 219
Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Board, Questions, Sir Andrew Lusk, Viscount Folkestone; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 18, 1607
Pollution of the River Lea, Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 17, 1409
The Cholera, Question, Viscount Folkestone; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 14, 931
The Metropolitan Sewerage System, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Mr. George Russell *July* 8, 500 [See title *Public Health*]

Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 278]
Read 2° *July* 18, 1704
Committee *; Report *July* 21

Metropolitan Building Act — The New Hotel, Northumberland Avenue
Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 21, 1750

Middlesex Land Registry Bill
(*Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Hopwood*)
c. Referred to Select Comm.* *July* 10 [Bill 91]

MILLTOWN, Earl of
Representation of the People, 1084
Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County), 2R. 1593
Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment, Comm. 889

MILNER, Sir F. G., *York*
Egypt—Army of Occupation—Drunkenness, 1744
Events in the Soudan—General Gordon, 1744
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Public Health (Metropolis)—Covent Garden and Chelsea Embankment, 219
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Mineral Leases—Fines for Transference
Question, Mr. Rolls; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 17, 1390

Mining Industry
Amendt. on Committee of Supply *July* 4, To leave out from "That," add "considering the great development of the mining industry of Great Britain in recent years, the number and extent of the mines, their increasing depth, and the large number of persons employed therein, this House is of opinion that the time has come when there should be an addition to the staff of inspectors of mines" (*Mr. Burt*) *v.*, 76; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

MINTO, Earl of
Secretary for Scotland, 3R., Bill withdrawn, 650

MOLLOY, Mr. B. C., *King's Co.*
Supply—Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 1732; Amendt. 1783, 1784, 1787
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Amendt. 1793
Lunacy Commission, Scotland, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790

MONK, Mr. C. J., *Gloucester City*
Parliament—Rules of Procedure, 1420
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Public Health—Cholera—Importation of Rags, 1739

MOORE, Mr. A. J., *Clonmel*
Irish Land Commission—Appeal Court, 920
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MORGAN, Right Hon. G. Osborne (Judge Advocate General), *Denbighshire*
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MORLEY, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for War)
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MORLEY, Mr. J., *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
Parliament—Adjournment, Ministerial Statement, 725, 726

Morocco—Fraudulent Claims of English Subjects against Natives
Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 15, 1111

MOWBRAY, Right Hon. Sir J. R., *Oxford University*
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MUNDELLA, Right Hon. A. J. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Sheffield*
Education Department—Questions
Catholic Schools in Monmouthshire, 1394
Education Acts—Loans for School Houses, 1384
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Gaelic and Irish Languages, 899
Obligation of School Boards to Furnish School Accommodation, 1604
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School Attendance—Medical Certificates, 1740
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Scotland—School Accommodation at Cumbernauld, 1109
Vaccination in Board Schools, 669
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Public Health—Vaccination in Elementary Schools, 926
Sale of Patent Medicines—Inclusion of Ireland, 672
Supply—Charity Commission of England and Wales, 1489, 1499, 1500
Privy Council Office, 972
Public Education, Scotland, 1425, 1433, 1458, 1466, 1471, 1475, 1477, 1479, 1480

MUNTZ, Mr. P. H., *Birmingham*
Supply—Mint, including Coinage, 1317

National Debt (Conversion of Stock) Act
Question, Mr. Francis Buxton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *July* 14, 919

Naval and Greenwich Hospital Pensions Bill (*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Thomas Brassey*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 7 [Bill 276]
Read 2° * *July* 17
Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 18
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Northbrook*) *July* 21 (No. 203)

Naval Discipline Act (1866) Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Thomas Brassey*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 14 [Bill 263]
Committee *; Report *July* 15
Considered *; read 3° *July* 16
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Northbrook*) *July* 17 (No. 199)

Naval Enlistment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Northbrook*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 17 (No. 175)
Committee *; Report *July* 18
Read 3ª * *July* 21

Navy
Health Report, 1883—*Operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts in Protected Ports*, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 21, 1724
H.M.S. "*Polyphemus*," Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *July* 18, 1603

Navy (*Boilers*)
Moved for, "Returns of fighting and sea-going ships of the Royal Navy, specifying also the state of forwardness (1) of ships now building; (2) of those under repair; (3) the condition of the boilers of ships in commission; (4) the draught of water of each ship known and estimated when all her weights are on board; and for a Return of the new boilers now in store in Her Majesty's Dockyards, and of boilers in a state of preparation" (*The Viscount Sidmouth*) *July* 10, 655; after short debate, Motion amended, and agreed to

Netherlands—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero"—See title *Straits Settlements*

Newcastle Chapter Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Bishop of Durham*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 4 (No. 130)
c. Read 1° * *July* 10 [Bill 281]
Read 2° * *July* 14
Committee; Report; read 3° *July* 15, 1239

NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*
House of Lords—Representation of the People—The Compromise, 869
London Government, 2R. 533, 575
Parliament—Public Business—Supply—Standing Order of November 27, 1882, Res. 1134
Parliament—Public Business—Tuesday Sittings, Res. 35
Supply—Foreign and other Secret Services, 1764
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New Parishes Acts and Church Building Acts Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 17 (No. 171)
Committee *; Report *July* 21

NICHOLSON, Mr. W. NEWZAM-, *Newark*
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NOLAN, Colonel J. P., *Galway Co.*
Army Estimates — Warlike Stores — Supply, Manufacture, &c. 305
Ireland—Questions
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National Education — Loans to Vested Schools, 683
Public Health—Cholera, 1114, 1115;—Cholera Hospitals, 1401
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Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 24, 1074; *add. cl.* 1244, 1246; Consid. 1576
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Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland), 2R. 1076
Supply—Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1795
Woods, Forests, &c. 1551
Works and Public Buildings, 1698, 1699
Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation, 2R. 1056

NORFOLK, Duke of
Representation of the People, Res. 1361

NORTHBROOK, Earl of (First Lord of the Admiralty)
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NORTHCOTE, Mr. H. S., *Exeter*
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NORWOOD, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Money), Leave, 819
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O'Beirne, Colonel F., *Leitrim*
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Supply—Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1799

O'Brien, Mr. W., *Mallow*
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Limerick City (Extra Police Tax), 1678
Magistracy—Justices of the Peace, Appointment of, 1401
Poor Law—Cork Union Workhouse, 1380
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1801; Amendt. 1809, 1817, 1840, 1852

O'Connor, Mr. A., *Queen's Co.*
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O'Connor, Mr. T. P., *Galway*
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O'Shea, Mr. W. H., *Clare*
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Ouse (Lower) Improvement Bill [Lords]
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Read 3°, after short debate *July* 14, 893

Oyster Cultivation (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Blake, Mr. O'Shea, Colonel Nolan*)
c. Read 2° *July* 10, 792 [Bill 43]
Committee *; Report *July* 14
Considered *; read 3° *July* 15
l. Read 1a * (*Lord President*) *July* 17 (No. 197)

PAGET, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*
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PALMER, Mr. C. M., *Durham, N.*
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Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gorst, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 7, 231;—*Representation of the People Bill*, Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone *July* 10, 692; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*); after long debate, Question put, and negatived;—*Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill*, Question, Mr. Waugh; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 14, 930;—*Merchant Shipping Law Amendment Bill*, Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 14, 932;—*Medical Act Amendment Bill*, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 15, 1126; Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 21, 1757;—*Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) Bill*, Question, Dr. Lyons; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 15, 1127;—*Waterworks Act Amendment Bill*, Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *July* 17, 1408;—*The Zulu Vote*, Questions, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 17, 1423; *July* 21, 1758

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Making a House on Wednesdays, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Speaker *July* 7, 230

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"*Intimidation of the House of Lords*," Questions, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, The Attorney General *July* 14, 914
Legislative Action—Creation of Peers, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 7, 226
Resolution as to Incompatibility and Irresponsibility, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *July* 10, 690

Palace of Westminster—Westminster Hall (West Front), Question, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 14, 898;—*Dr. Pearson's Report—Proposed Appendix*, Question, Dr. Lyons; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 17, 1418

[*cont.*

Parliament—Business of the House—Setting up of Supply
Moved, "That this House will immediately resolve itself into Committee of Supply" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *July* 14, 932; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Parliament—Public Business—Supply—Standing Order of November 27, 1882
Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, the Standing Order of the 27th November 1882, relating to Notices on going into Committee of Supply, on Monday or Thursday, be extended to Tuesday and Wednesday" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *July* 15, 1132
After short debate, Amendt., after "That," insert "in view of an Autumn Session" (*Mr. Dillwyn*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after further short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put; A. 185, N. 46; M. 139 (D. L. 162

Parliament—Public Business — Tuesday Sittings
Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Orders of the Day have precedence of Notices of Motions on Tuesday, and that Government Orders have priority" (*Secretary Sir William Harcourt*) *July* 4, 27; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Raikes*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 136, N. 189; M. 53 (D. L. 153)
Original Question again proposed; after debate, original Question put, and agreed to

Wednesday Sittings—Priority of Government Business—The New Rules of Procedure (*Rule* 7)
Moved, "That, for the remainder of the Session, Government Orders have priority on Wednesday" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *July* 15, 1129; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Parliament—Rules and Orders of the House—Private Bill Legislation—New Standing Order to follow Standing Order No. 133
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendt. proposed to Question [21st May], "That where a Chamber of Commerce or Agriculture, or other similar body, sufficiently representing a particular trade or business in any district to which any Railway Bill relates, petition against the Bill, alleging that such trade or business will be injuriously affected by the rates and fares proposed to be authorised by the Bill, or is injuriously affected by the rates and fares already authorised by Acts relating to the Railway undertaking, it shall be competent to the Referees on Private Bills, if they think fit, to admit the Petitioners to be heard, on such allegation, against the Bill, or any part thereof, or against the rates and fares authorised by the said Acts, or any of them: The provisions of this Order relative to rates and fares already authorised, extend to Traders and Freighters, and to a single Trader, in any case where a locus standi would have been allowed to them or him, if this Order had not been made. Nothing in this Order shall authorise the Referees to entertain any question within the jurisdiction of the Railway Commissioners" (*Mr. B. Samuelson*)
And which Amendt. was, to leave out all after the first word "Where," insert "an application is made by a Railway Undertaking for Parliamentary powers, attention shall be directed by the Board of Trade to the proposed, and, in the case of an existing Company, to the existing rates or fares, with a view to their consideration by the Committee; and that persons affected by such rates or fares shall have a 'Locus Standi' before such Committee" (*Mr. Laing*) *v.*; Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" Debate resumed *July* 9, 578; after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
Main Question put; A. 94, N. 84; M. 10 (D. L. 155)
Resolved, That the said Resolution be a Standing Order of the House

Parliament—Ventilation of the House
Observations, Mr. J. Lowther; Reply, Mr. Speaker; Observations, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Courtney *July* 9, 634; Question, Mr. J. Lowther; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 10, 691
Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed 'to inquire into the Ventilation of the House'" (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) *July* 18, 1705; after short debate, Motion agreed to; List of the Committee

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS
Sat First
July 7—The Earl of Harrowby, after the death of his father
July 8—The Earl of Chesterfield, after the death of his cousin
July 17—The Lord Somers, after the death of his cousin

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*
Ireland—Cork City Police Force, 1396, 1397; — Distribution under 20 & 21 Vict. chapters 17 and 3, 1748;—Extra Police, 1749
Law and Justice—"Cornwall *v.* O'Brien," 684, 686
Limerick City (Extra Police Tax), 1650
Ireland—Agricultural Labourers, Motion for a Select Committee, 648
Navy Estimates—New Works, Buildings, &c. 1233
Parliament—Adjournment, Ministerial Statement, 739
Parliament—Business of the House—Setting up of Supply, Res. 942
Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 24, Amendt. 1069, 1075

PARNELL, Mr. C. S.—*cont.*
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1813, 1844, 1857, 1859

PATRICK, Mr. R. W. COCHRAN-, *Ayrshire, N.*
Personal Estates (Scotland), 2R. 787
Supply—Public Education, Scotland, 1437

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881
Extra Police, Co. Waterford, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 17, 1419
Licences to Carry Arms, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 4, 20

PEASE, Sir J. W., *Durham, S.*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Money), Leave, 816
India—East India Revenue Accounts—Annual Financial Statement, 930
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Parliament—Public Business—Tuesday Sittings, Res. 31
Parliament—Rules and Orders—Private Bill Legislation—New Standing Order to follow Standing Order No. 133, Res. 583, 619

PEASE, Mr. A., *Whitby*
Africa—South African Republic—Transvaal and Zululand—Appointment of a Commissioner, 1112
Yorkshire Registries, Comm. *cl.* 1, 789; *cl.* 27, 790

PEDDIE, Mr. J. DICK-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Edinburgh Northern Tramways, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1106
Supply—Public Education, Scotland, 1450, 1471

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

PEEL, Right Hon. Sir R., *Huntingdon*
Literature, Science, and Art—Royal Academy—The Chantrey Bequest, 1758
Supply—Local Government Board, 1278
Works and Public Buildings, 1693, 1694

PELL, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*
Parliament—Rules and Orders of this House—Private Bill Legislation—New Standing Order to follow Standing Order No. 133, Res. 608, 613, 616

PEMBERTON, Mr. E. L., *Kent, E.*
Ouse (Lower) Improvement, Consid. 493, 495
Parliament—Rules and Orders of the House—Private Bill Legislation—New Standing Order to follow Standing Order No. 133, Res. 594, 620, 623, 627

PERCY, Lord A. M. A., *Westminster*
Education Department — Over-Pressure in Board Schools, 508

Personal Estates (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr. Sellar, Mr. Arthur Elliot, Mr. James Campbell, Mr. Webster, Mr. Bolton, Mr. Dalrymple*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *July* 10, 787 [Bill 262]

Petty Sessions Clerks Act, 1881—*The Dog Tax*
Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [no reply] *July* 14, 906

PICTON, Mr. J. A., *Leicester Borough*
Public Health (Metropolis)—Pollution of the River Lea, 1409

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders Bill [H.L.]
c. Report * *July* 17 [Bill 259]
Considered * *July* 18

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Sir Lyon, *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
East Indian Medical Service, Res. 1622
Supply, Comm. 1425

PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
East Indian Medical Service, Res. 1638
Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Consid. 1565

Police Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 56]

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Mayne, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Marum*)
c. Committee—R.P. *July* 14, 1064 [Bill 22]
Committee; Report *July* 15, 1239
Considered; read 3°, after debate *July* 17, 1560 [Bill 286]
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *July* 18 (No. 201)

Poor Law Industrial Schools—Inspectors
Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. George Russell *July* 10, 678

Portugal—The "City of Mecca"
Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 8, 508

Post Office
Contracts—The West India Mails, Questions, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 10, 678
The Irish Mail Service, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Villiers Stuart, Mr. Harrington, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. Fawcett *July* 17, 1391
[See title *Ireland—Post Office*]

Post Office Protection Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Thurlow*)
l. Read 2ª *July* 4, 13 (No. 172)
Committee * *July* 10
Report * *July* 11 (No. 185)
Read 3ª * *July* 14
c. Read 1° (*Mr. Fawcett*) *July* 18, 1705 [Bill 297]

POWER, Mr. R., *Waterford*
Ireland—Piers and Harbours—Proposed Pier at Tramore, 825

POWERSCOURT, Viscount
Representation of the People, 2R. 154

POWIS, Earl of
Elections (Hours of Poll), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1709, 1710
West India Islands—Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago, and St. Lucia, Report of the Royal Commission, 7

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882
Sec. 8 (*Proclamations*)—*The Irish National League Meeting, Rathkeale*, Questions, Mr. William Redmond; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 10, 674
Sec. 16—*The Tubbercurry Conspiracy—Mrs. Gannon*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 14, 929
The Compensation Clause—The Barbavilla Murder Case—William Barlow Smythe, Esquire, Petition presented (*The Earl of Courtown*) *July* 14, 882; after short debate, Petition ordered to lie on the Table

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1162, 1167, 1195, 1207
Medical Establishments, 1215

Prisons Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 16 [Bill 293]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 18, 1703
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Healy*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

Prisons (Ireland) (Cost of Conveyance of Prisoners) Bill
(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 7 [Bill 275]
Read 2° * *July* 10
Committee *—R.P. *July* 14
Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 15
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *July* 17 (No. 196)
Read 2ª * *July* 21

Prisons (Ireland) [*Expenses*]
c. Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *July* 14, 1061
Res reported *July* 15

Prosecution of Offences Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Hibbert*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 287]

Public Health
Portable Hospitals, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *July* 18, 1606
Quarantine, Questions, Mr. O'Shea; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 8, 513
Quarantine at Smyrna, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 14, 923
State of the Thames, Question, Mr. D. Grant; Answer, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg *July* 7, 227; Questions, Dr. Cameron, Baron Henry De Worms; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 11, 826; Questions, Sir Andrew Lusk, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 14, 912; Questions, Sir Frederick Milner, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 21, 1745
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Outbreak in France—Number of Deaths, Question, Earl De La Warr; Answer, Lord Carrington *July* 8, 374
Importation of Rags from Marseilles, Questions, Mr. G. W. Elliot, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Observations, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 18, 1612
Importation of Rags, Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Monk; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *July* 21, 1738
Vaccination in Elementary Schools, Question, Mr. Hopwood; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 14, 926
[See title *Metropolis—Public Health*]

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill
(*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 4 (No. 149)
Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cix]

Public Libraries Acts Amendment Bill [H.L.]
c. Read 2° * *July* 14 [Bill 273]
Committee *; Report *July* 15
Read 3° * *July* 17

Public Offices, The—Designs for the New Admiralty and War Office
Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 18, 1602

Public Works Loans Bill
(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)
c. Res. considered in Committee *July* 17, 1579
Res. reported, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * *July* 18 [Bill 299]

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Army Estimates, 340
Navy Estimates—Questions
Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1149, 1212, 1213
Medicines, Medical Stores, &c. Motion for reporting Progress, 1237
Naval Stores for Building, &c. the Fleet and Coast Guard, 1224, 1225
New Works, Buildings, &c. 1228
Parliament—Public Business—Tuesday Sittings, Res. 33
Supply—Woods, Forests, &c. 1557

Purchase of Land (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 238]

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C., *Cambridge University*
Ouse (Lower) Improvement, Consid. 494, 495
Parliament—Public Business—Tuesday Sittings, Res. 40

Railway Regulation Acts Amendment Bill (*Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. John Holms*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 225]

RAMSAY, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c.*
Navy Estimates—Naval Stores for Building, &c. the Fleet and Coast Guard, 1226
Supply—Fishery Board in Scotland, &c. 1778
Lunacy Commission, England, 1311
Lunacy Commission, Scotland, 1788, 1790, 1791
Public Education, Scotland, 1441, 1464

RAVENSWORTH, Earl of
Representation of the People, 2R. 432
Western Pacific—Deportation of French Recidivists, 881

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Bishopric of Bristol, 2R. 891
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Representation of the People—Speech of the Prime Minister, Explanations, 808
Representation of the People, Notice of Res. 876
Secretary for Scotland, 3R., Bill withdrawn, 652
Southwark and Vauxhall Water, 3R. 1582
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REDMOND, Mr. J. E., *New Ross*
Ireland—Poor Law—Election of Guardians—Shillelagh Union, 922
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REDMOND, Mr. W. N. K., *Wexford*
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Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Sec. 8 (Proclamations)—Irish National League Meeting, Rathkeale, 674, 675
Merchant Shipping, 2R. 366
Parliament—Adjournment, Ministerial Statement, 732

REED, Sir E. J., *Cardiff*
Navy Estimates—New Works, Buildings, &c. 1231, 1233

Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Manx Children) Bill
(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Hibbert*) *July* 10, 792; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * Read 2° * *July* 14 [Bill 280]
Committee *; Report *July* 15
Read 3° * *July* 17
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Dalhousie*) *July* 18 (No. 200)

REID, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
Africa (South)—Basutoland, 917

Representation of the People Bill
Notice of Question, The Earl of Limerick *July* 4, 2; Question, Observations, Lord Randolph Churchill; Reply, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon *July* 11, 831; Notice of Resolution, The Earl of Wemyss; short debate thereon *July* 14, 872; Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, Earl Granville; Observations, Lord Stanley of Alderley *July* 15, 1084
Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone *July* 10, 692; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*); after long debate, Question put, and negatived
Statement of the Prime Minister at the Foreign Office, July 10, Personal Explanation, The Marquess of Salisbury; short debate thereon *July* 11, 796; Question, Observations, Lord Randolph Churchill; Reply, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon, 831

Representation of the People Bill (No. 159)
(*The Earl of Kimberley*)
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *July* 7, 97
Amendt. to leave out from ("That,") insert ("this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, does not think it right to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom, but which is not accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return Members as to ensure a true and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme") (*The Earl Cairns*); after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*The Earl of Carnarvon*); Motion agreed to

[*cont.*

Representation of the People Bill—cont.

Debate resumed *July* 8, 375; after long debate, on Question, "Whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand part of the Motion?" Cont. 146, Not-Cont. 205; M. 59; Resolved in the negative

Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont. 477

Moved to resolve ("That this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, does not think it right to assent to the Second Reading of a Bill having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom, but which is not accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return Members as to ensure a true and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme") (*The Earl Cairns*)

Moved as an Amendt. to the foregoing resolution to leave out ("a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise") insert ("the principles of representation contained in this Bill") (*The Earl of Dunraven*); Amendt. agreed to; said Resolution, as amended, agreed to

Representation of the People Bill

Moved to resolve, "That this House is prepared to proceed now with the consideration of the Representation of the People Bill, on the understanding that an humble Address shall be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying Her Majesty to summon Parliament to assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible" (*The Earl of Wemyss*) *July* 17, 1334

Amendt. to leave out all after ("is") insert ("of opinion that it would be desirable that Parliament should assemble in the early part of the autumn for the purpose of considering the Representation of the People Bill, already presented to Parliament, in conjunction with the Redistribution Bill which Her Majesty's Ministers have undertaken to present to Parliament on the earliest occasion possible") (*The Earl Cadogan*); after debate, on Question, "Whether the words proposed to be left out shall stand part of the Motion?" Cont. 132, Not-Cont. 182; M. 50; resolved in the negative

Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont. 1377

REPTON, Mr. G. W. J., *Warwick*

Law and Police (Metropolis)—Reform Demonstration—Access to the House, 1756, 1757

Revenue, &c. Bill

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution reported; Bill ordered; read 1° * *July* 18 [Bill 300]

Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill

(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*)

c. Read 3°, after debate *July* 7, 342 [Bill 124]

l. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *July* 8 (No. 178)

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª" *July* 18, 1589

Amendt. to leave out ("now") add ("this day three months") (*The Marquess of Waterford*); after short debate, on Question, "That ('now,') &c.?" resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 2ª

Committee *; Report *July* 21

RICHARD, Mr. H., *Merthyr Tydvil*

Parliament—Public Business—Tuesday Sittings, Res. 30

RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of

Representation of the People, 2R. 134, 137

Secretary for Scotland, 3R., Bill withdrawn, 651

RIDLEY, Sir M. W., *Northumberland, N.*

Ecclesiastical Commissioners — Sites for Churches, 1391

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*

London Government, 2R. 548, 553, 554, 569, 570, 572

Supply—Board of Trade, 1002, 1006, 1012, 1013

ROGERS, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*

Supply—Charity Commission of England and Wales, 1504

Civil Service Commission, 1255

Record Office, 1322, 1324

ROLLS, Mr. J. A., *Monmouthshire*

Mineral Leases—Fines for Transference, 1390

ROMILLY, Lord

Southwark and Vauxhall Water, 3R. 1581

ROSEBERY, Earl of

Representation of the People, 2R. 407; Notice of Res. 874

Secretary for Scotland, 375; 3R., Bill withdrawn, 652

Western Pacific—Deportation of French Recidivists, 876

Royal Irish Constabulary Bill

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)

c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 176]

Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea (Transfer) Bill [H.L.] (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*)

c. Read 2° * *July* 14 [Bill 267]

Committee *; Report; read 3° *July* 15

RUSSELL, Mr. G. W. E. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Aylesbury*

Divided Parishes Act, 1876—Registration of Voters, 1417

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RUSSELL, Mr. G. W. E.—*cont.*
London Government, 2R. 532, 533, 534
Poor Law Industrial Schools—Inspectors, 679
Public Health Act—The Cholera, 214, 215
Public Health (Metropolis) — Metropolitan Sewerage System, 500
Supply—Local Government Board, 1287, 1294, 1295

RUTLAND, Duke of
Representation of the People, 2R. 424

RYLANDS, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 258
Clothing Establishment, Services, and Supplies, 295
Commissariat, Transport, and Ordnance Store Establishments, 283
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1158, 1213, 1215
Naval Stores for Building, &c. the Fleet and Coast Guard, 1222, 1224
New Works, Buildings, &c. 1231
Parliament—Adjournment, Ministerial Statement, 753
Parliament—Business of the House—Setting up of Supply, Res. 938
Parliament—Public Business—Supply—Standing Order of November 27, 1882, Res. 1135
Parliament—Public Business—Tuesday Sittings, Res. 32
Supply—Deficiency of Income from Fees, &c. for the requirements of the Board of Trade, under "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883," 1040
Foreign and other Secret Services, 1764
Friendly Societies Registry, 1264, 1265
Local Government Board, 1297
Mint, including Coinage, 1317
Offices of the House of Lords, Amendt. 766, 773, 774
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 946, 951, 953, 958
Stationery and Printing, 1328

ST. ALBANS, Duke of
Parliamentary Representation—Redistribution of Seats, 96

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill (*Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Thomas Richardson, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Thomas Thompson*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 16 [Bill 81]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 10 [Bill 109]

Sale of Patent Medicines Bill—Inclusion of Ireland
Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 10, 672

SALISBURY, Marquess of
Elections (Hours of Poll), 2R. 1084
Representation of the People, 2R. 455; Notice of Res. 873, 874; Res. 1368, 1374
Representation of the People — Speech of the Prime Minister, Explanations, 796, 807
Secretary for Scotland, 3R., Bill withdrawn, 652
Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.), Comm. 1587

Salmon Fisheries (Scotland) Bill [H.L.]
(*The Marquess of Huntly*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *July* 10 (No. 184)

Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. M'Mahon, Mr. Blake, Mr. Leamy, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Barry*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 14, 1076; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Gibson*); Question put; A. 24, N. 37; M. 13 (D. L. 191)
Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read 2°;" Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Colonel King-Harman*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°, and referred to a Select Committee

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Mining Industry, Res. 94

SAMUELSON, Mr. B., *Banbury*
Parliament—Rules and Orders—Private Bill Legislation—New Standing Order to follow Standing Order No. 133, Res. 623, 625

Savings Banks Acts Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 7 [Bill 277]
Questions, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 18, 1616

SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G., *Hants, N.*
London Government, 2R. 558
Parliament—Adjournment, Ministerial Statement, 717
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Parliament—Business of the House—Setting up of Supply, Res. 939
Parliament—Public Business—Tuesday Sittings, Res. 48

SCOTLAND (*Questions*)
Education Department—School Accommodation at Cumbernauld, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 15, 1109
General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh, Question, Mr. J. A. Campbell; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 7, 212
Law and Justice
Defalcations of Mr. J. Gardiner, S.S.C., Edinburgh, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 10, 669

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SCOTLAND—*Law and Justice*—cont.
Sheriff's Court, Portree—"*Martin* v. *Macleod*," Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 8, 498
The Procurator Fiscal in Lewis, Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answers, The Lord Advocate *July* 14, 900
Lead Miners in the Isle of Islay—The Truck Act, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 21, 1742
Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh, Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Mundella *July* 14, 900
Publican's Certificates (Scotland) Act, 1876, Questions, Dr. Cameron; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 14, 901
Spirits Act, 1880—*The "Ship" Inn, Dumfries*, Questions, Dr. Cameron; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 14, 902
The Chapel Royal—Warrant of 9th February, 1873, Question, Mr. Webster; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 11, 820
The Crofters and Cottars of the Highlands and Islands—Evictions for giving Evidence before the Royal Commission, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Jesse Collings, Dr. Cameron; Answers, The Lord Advocate *July* 7, 1969
The Crofters' Commission—Case of Donald Colquhoun, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate *July* 17, 138
The Queen's Park, Edinburgh—Right of Meeting, Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *July* 10, 681
The Western Islands—Circulation of Inflammatory Publications, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate *July* 17, 1388

Sea Fisheries Act (1868) Amendment Bill [H.L.] (*Sir Hussey Vivian*)
c. Read 2° *July* 7, 369 [Bill 265]
Committee *; Report *July* 8
Read 3° * *July* 10
l. Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. 27]

Secretary for Scotland Bill [H.L.] (*The Earl of Dalhousie*)
l. Observation, The Duke of Argyll *July* 8, 375
Order for 3R. discharged; Bill withdrawn, after short debate *July* 10, 650 (No. 157)
Questions, Mr. Dalrymple; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *July* 14, 922

SELBORNE, Earl of (*see* CHANCELLOR, The LORD)

SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir H. J., *Essex, W.*
Edinburgh Northern Tramways, Lords Amendts. Consid. 1104

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo*
House of Commons—Ventilation of the House, Motion for a Select Committee, 1705
Ireland—Questions
Arrears of Rent Act, 1882—Lieutenant Colonel Digby, J.P. 919

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SEXTON, Mr. T.—*cont.*
Coastguard—Coastguardsmen at Dalkey, Co. Dublin, 200
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Fishery Piers and Harbours—Aughris, Co. Sligo, 903;—Enniscrone Pier, Co. Sligo, 1394, 1395
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Limerick City (Extra Police Tax), 1663, 1685
Local Government Board—Mr. J. D. Elliott, Rate Collector for the Blackrock Township Commissioners, 911
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Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 24, 1240; *add. cl.* 1248; Consid. 1564; *cl.* 25, 1568
Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland), 2R. 1077
Supply—Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c. 1882, 1883, 1884
Civil Service Commission, 1256, 1258
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SEXTON, Mr. T.—*cont.*
Friendly Societies Registry, 1268
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SHAFTESBURY, Earl of
Representation of the People, Res. 1342

Sheriff Court Houses (Scotland) Amendment Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Secretary Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Considered * *July* 10 [Bill 245]
Read 3° * *July* 14
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Dalhousie*) *July* 15 (No. 193)

SIDMOUTH, Viscount
Navy (Boilers), Motion for Returns, 655, 660, 664

SMALL, Mr. J. F., *Wexford Bo.*
Ireland—Orange Meetings—Military and Constabulary Pensioners, 1602

SMITH, Right Hon. W. H., *Westminster*
House of Lords—Representation of the People—The Compromise, 866
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards, 1174, 1178, 1189, 1191, 1192, 1199, 1211
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Medicines, Medical Stores, &c. 1238
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SMITH, Lt.-Colonel G., *Wycombe*
Hull, Barnsley, and West Riding Junction Railway and Dock (Money), 1596, 1597
Ouse (Lower) Improvement, Consid. 490

SMITH, Mr. S., *Liverpool*
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SOLICITOR GENERAL, The (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL), *Durham*
Infants, Comm. 1063
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Personal Estates (Scotland), 2R. 787
Supply—Deficiency of Income from Fees, &c. for the requirements of the Board of Trade, under "The Bankruptcy Act, 1883," 1047, 1050
Works and Public Buildings, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694

SOMERSET, Duke of
Representation of the People, Res. 1361

Southwark and Vauxhall Water Bill
l. Read 3ª *July* 18, 1580

Spain
Commercial Negotiations, Question, Mr. Cartwright; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 10, 675
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Metropolis—Reform Demonstration—Access to the House, 1753, 1757
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Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment, Consid. 372; 3R. 373

STANHOPE, Earl
Representation of the People, 2R. 155

STANHOPE, Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Mid*
India (Native States)—Nizam of Hyderabad, 1746
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STANLEY, Right Hon. Colonel F. A., *Lancashire, N.*
Army Estimates—Army Reserve Force, 272
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Education Department—School Hours—Compulsory Attendance, 1583
India (Bengal) Court Fees Bill, 1881—Case of Louis Ramay, 1707
Ordnance Survey—Maps for Anglesea and Carnarvonshire, 1706
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STOREE, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*
Supply—House of Commons Offices, 781

STOREY, Mr. S., *Sunderland*
Savings Banks Acts, Amendment, 1616
Straits Settlements—Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero," 1404, 1405, 1610

Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero"
Questions, Mr. Gourley; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 14, 924; Questions, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Brogden, Sir John Hay, Mr. Storey, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 17, 1402; Questions, Mr. Storey, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 18, 1610
Maintenance of the Families, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 21, 1729

Strensall Common Bill
(*Mr. Brand, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Arthur Hayter*)
c. Committee * (*on re-comm*); Report *July* 14
Considered *; read 3° *July* 15 [Bill 266]
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Morley*) *July* 17 (No. 195)

STUART, Mr. H. VILLIERS-, *Waterford Co.*
Egypt (Finance, &c.)—Debts of the Fellaheen, 201
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SUDELEY, Lord
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Suez Canal, The
Sanitary State, Question, Lord Lamington; Answer, Earl Granville *July* 15, 1094
The Technical Committee, Question, Mr. Magniac; Answer, Mr. Courtney *July* 4, 25

Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) Bill
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Committee *July* 18, 1587 (No. 155)
Report * *July* 21 (No. 202)

SUPPLY
Civil Service Estimates
Non-Effective and Charitable Services—Mr. Corry Connellan, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 7, 228; Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Courtney; Questions, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Healy; [no reply] *July* 8, 507; Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Courtney *July* 14, 906
The Zulu Vote, Questions, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *July* 17, 1423; *July* 21, 1758

SUPPLY
Considered in Committee *July* 7, 233—ARMY ESTIMATES, Votes 8 to 14
Resolutions reported *July* 8
Considered in Committee *July* 10, 758—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 1, 2, 3
Resolutions reported *July* 14
Considered in Committee *July* 14, 944—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 4 to 10
Resolutions reported *July* 15
Considered in Committee *July* 15, 1137—NAVY ESTIMATES, Votes 6 to 10 (Secs. 1 and 2), and Vote 11
Resolutions reported *July* 17
Considered in Committee *July* 16, 1255—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 11 to 24
Resolutions reported *July* 17, 1557
First Four Resolutions agreed to
Fifth Resolution read a second time; Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution;" after short debate, Question put; A. 78, N. 27; M. 51 (D. L. 165)
The next Six Resolutions agreed to
Twelfth Resolution; after short debate, agreed to, 1559
Thirteenth Resolution agreed to
Fourteenth Resolution; after short debate, agreed to
Considered in Committee *July* 17, 1425—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Vote 11; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 11 and 26
Resolutions reported *July* 18
Considered in Committee *July* 18, 1690—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 26 and 27
Resolutions reported *July* 21
Considered in Committee *July* 21, 1759—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 29 to 36
Resolutions reported *July* 22

Supreme Court of Judicature Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Committee, after debate *July* 14, 885 (No. 152)
Report * *July* 15 (No. 191)
Read 3ª * *July* 18

SYNAN, Mr. E. J., *Limerick Co.*
Ireland—Limerick City (Extra Police Tax), 1656
Law and Police—Cleator Moor Riots, Cumberland, 1410, 1411, 1412

TALBOT, Mr. J. G., *Oxford University*
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Divided Parishes Act, 1876—Registration of Voters, 1417
Education Department—Obligations of School Boards to Furnish School Accommodation, 1604
Supply—Charity Commission of England and Wales, 1531, 1534

Teachers' Residences (Ireland) Bill
(*Colonel Colthurst, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Moore, Mr. Thomas Dickson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 288]
Read 2° * *July* 18

Thames Crossings—Report of the Select Committee
Question, Mr. Arthur Cohen; Answer, Sir Hussey Vivian *July* 17, 1415

THOMPSON, Mr. T. C., *Durham*
Mining Industry, Res. 93

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The United States and the West India Colonies—Cuba, Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 10, 681

Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act (1883) Amendment Bill
(*Colonel Colthurst, Mr. Findlater, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Deasy, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Shaw*)
c. Considered; read 3°, after short debate *July* 7, 372 [Bill 231]
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord FitzGerald*) *July* 8 (No. 180)
Read 2ª *; Committee negatived *July* 10
Read 3ª * *July* 11
Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. 28]

Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Order Bill (*The Lord Carrington*)
l. Read 2ª, and committed; the Committee to be proposed by the Committee of Selection *July* 10, 649 (No. 168)

Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Orders
Moved, That the following clause be added to all Tramways (Ireland) Provisional Orders; —"No capital authorised by this Act shall become guaranteed capital until it has been certified by the Board of Trade to have been expended on the undertaking: Provided, that the Board of Trade shall not give any less certificate than for a sum of £10,000 (where the capital is over £100,000, or £5,000 where it is under that sum); and the Board of Trade shall not give their final certificate in respect of any such capital until twelve months after the opening of the line for traffic, when, being satisfied that the line has been duly completed and is in working order, they may issue a certificate for the balance of capital authorized by the Act" (*The Lord Inchiquin*) *July* 15, 1088; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Tramways Provisional Orders Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 7 (No. 150)
Read 3ª * *July* 8
Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cvii]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 4 (No. 151)
Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cxii]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 14 [47 & 48 *Vict.* c. cii]

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Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *July* 10, 680

Trees Planting (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Harrington, Mr. Marum, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Sheil*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 9, 635
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Colonel King-Harman*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 32]

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Trusts (Scotland) Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 10 [Bill 279]
Read 2° * *July* 14
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c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 14, 1055; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*); after further short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned [Bill 244]

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c. Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report *July* 10, 788 [Bill 264]
Considered *; read 3° *July* 14
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Wenlock*) *July* 15 (No. 192)
Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 21, 1716

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